













THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME XLVIII.

1869.

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*No man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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CALCUTTA :  
BARHAM, HILL, & CO., DALEHOUSE SQUARE.  
LONDON :  
LONGMANS GREEN, READERS, AND DYER, PATERNOSTER ROW.



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No. XCV.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 95.

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## ART. I.—MAJOR CHESNEY'S INDIAN POLITY.

“**FIAT** experimentum in corpore vili.” This sentence, we fear, is a more true than flattering abstract of the dealings of the British Government with India since the acquisition of the Dewani; and, besides the family physicians, so to speak, who had the power to force their prescriptions on the patient, there has been, at least of late years, no lack of volunteers waiting to be called in to consultation, and provided, each of them, with his own infallible nostrum.

We have now before us the latest, or one of the latest, of these prescriptions, in Major Chesney's work, which we may begin by admitting to be far above the average of similar productions. The author evidently knows his own meaning, which is not always the case; and, moreover, writes so that none of his readers can misunderstand him. He has, besides, a manifest disbelief, as novel as it is refreshing, in the ordinary popular panaceas, whether anicuts, education, joint-stockeries, or British barristers of five years' standing.

“Ubi plura nitent—non ego paucis  
“Offendar maculis.”

When a writer on Indian Policy can compose a book of 482 pages without once talking of “development of resources,” “Anglo-Saxon energy,” or “progress,” he may surely be forgiven for a little fit of enthusiasm, rather absurd to be sure (*vide* page 189), *à propos* of those dispensaries of justice which the natives in the Mofussil call “Petti-Coats” (we spell as they pronounce), and for the expenditure of time in proving (page 58,



*et seq.*), *first*, that the word "Presidency" means three different things; and *secondly*, that it now-a-days means nothing at all.

To pass, however, to a serious consideration of Major Chesney's statements and proposals. He has, while reviewing Anglo-Indian Polity generally, divided the subject into four principal heads, *viz.*, Civil Administration properly so called, Military Matters, Public Works, and Finance together with Currency.

It would be impossible, in the space of a magazine article, fully to discuss all the topics adverted to by Major Chesney. Fortunately, the several heads admit of being easily distinguished; and we propose to notice, first and separately, the propositions which he has advanced touching Civil Administration.

His first proposal is, that the three existing Civil Services should be fused into one; and in support of this he argues that Bengal Civilians have occasionally been employed in Mysore, and that a Madras Civilian may, under the existing rules, be transferred from a Canarese to a Tamil-speaking district. He likewise urges that the present system operates unfairly in depriving the Madras and Bombay Civilians of their proportionate share of the higher appointments under the Supreme Government, and thereby produces needless class jealousies.

The first of these arguments we think he meets himself. He admits that Civilians on first appointment should still, as at present, select, before leaving England, that portion of India in which they will serve; and that the smaller Administrations should still, as at present, indent upon the Government of India for the servants they may require. The proposal, therefore, simply comes to this, that the Madras and Bombay foxes should be consoled for the cutting off of their tails, or distinctive appellations, by causing the Bengal fox to lose his. Whether this result is worth the trouble of another amalgamation, we, with the result of one such arrangement before us, must take leave to doubt. As to the second argument, if the best officers are not chosen for the Secrétariat, and so forth, because they happen to belong to the Bombay or Madras Establishments, the fault must lie somewhere else than in the mere existence of these separate Services; and besides, Major Chesney himself, while pointing out (p. 111, *note*) that in the three Lieutenant-Governments there are employed 512 Bengal Civilians, and under the Governments of Madras and Bombay, only 167 and 125 Civilians of these establishments, seems to forget that the latter small bodies include

a larger proportionate number of high functionaries, Councillors, Supreme Judges, and so forth, than the former large one. That, therefore, Bengal Civilians should hold the greater part of the higher appointments under the Supreme Government, is nothing more than equitable. Finally, we think the proposed arrangement would rather increase than diminish any jealousy that may now exist. As matters stand, if one officer at Rungpore is superseded by one at Gya, or an officer at Delhi by another at Peshawur, at least the superseded knows the why and wherefore; and the tests to which successful and unsuccessful have been subjected, are similar. It would be a very different thing to be passed over in the general list in favor of an officer serving in Scinde or Malabar, subjected as the latter must be to different tests, and unknown as must be his merits or demerits. Moreover, the *esprit de corps* of an old Service is worth preserving, even at the cost of much greater inconvenience than the present divided state of the Services entails.

What amount of independence, especially as regards money matters, may safely be left to the local Administration, is a very interesting subject of enquiry.

Nothing can, *primâ facie*, be more tempting to those charged with the administration of any province than to be told—"Raise your own taxes in your own way; pay your fixed quota to the Supreme Government; and spend the rest on your province, at your own discretion." The question is, how far this is practicable. First, as to the fixed quota, no doubt the Home expenses, as those for the debt, army, telegraphs, and such like, must be shared *pro ratâ* among the provinces, and a province is not always entitled to carry to its sole credit the entire revenue collected within its territorial limits. Major Chesney admits that the adjustment of the *quotas* would be extremely difficult, and must be to a certain extent arbitrary; but let us grant it effected, and matters arranged suitably for a period of peace. How is an adjustment to be effected when the army charges, for example, are swollen by war, or when one of the pauper provinces referred to by Major Chesney becomes for the moment the spoilt child of the Supreme Government, and cries out for an extra grant? We have got a small war on hand now, and we do not know how soon we may have a great one. We cannot tell what expenses may prove necessary for the construction of new telegraphs or military railways; and the result is, that the provincial *quotas*, instead of being fixed, would have to be continually alter-

ed. Unless, however, fixed permanently, or nearly so, the whole advantage of the proposed arrangement disappears; for no provincial Government could tell from one year to another what amount of revenue it would have at its own disposal: and Bengal, for example, might find that sums raised by a taxation, only not severe because levied for the immediate benefit of the province, were drained away to meet the cost of a Persian expedition, or of a railway from Rangoon to China. No provincial Governor would, under these circumstances, feel much inclined to lay on extra taxation; and if he had a surplus, his natural tendency would be to spend it hastily, and probably, because hastily, rashly, before the Supreme Government could lay hands it.

We think, therefore, that, despite many objections which may undoubtedly be urged, the present plan of distributing the gross revenue among the provinces, is, on the whole, fairer than the proposed demi-independence. But this conclusion by no means affects Major Chesney's next proposal. He lays down, and we think with perfect truth, that uniformity of taxation in a country circumstanced like India is at once a political blunder of the first magnitude, and at the same time bad finance. Of all the mistakes made since 1857, beyond doubt the two greatest have been, the general tax bills and the uniform police. The Punjab, Bengal, and Madras, resemble each other no more than do Spain, France, and Russia. The Russian Government derives far the largest item of its revenue from an excise on spirits. This would yield a mere trifle in Spain. A very considerable item of the French revenues arises from a tax on furniture. This would be almost unproductive in Russia. To come to India itself, octroi could hardly be levied in the country-towns of Bengal, scattered, buried in jungle, and often accessible by half a dozen out-of-the-way creeks: it is raised without difficulty in the compact cities of the Punjab. In 1813, if we remember rightly, an insurrection, caused by the levy of a house-tax, was suppressed by a considerable force, with some difficulty, in the town of Bareilly. A similar tax is collected without trouble in Bengal. The Mublasa of Madras, a stringent License tax on trades and professions, was easily collected, and yielded more than the more general Income tax which succeeded it.

Diversity of taxation should, therefore, be the rule, and each provincial Administration is clearly best fitted to judge what taxes should be imposed in its proper territory. But we do not

see the necessity for vesting the existing provincial Councils with fuller powers, or setting up petty Parliaments where they do not now exist. It should suffice that the local Government made out a good case for each tax to the Supreme Government, and that the latter gave its *fiat*.

Having treated of the taxing power which should be conferred on each of the local Administrations, Major Chesney proceeds to consider the constitution of the Administrations themselves. He would, apparently, take a little dignity from the Governments of Madras and Bombay, adding a little to the three Lieutenant Governments, and a good deal to the Chief Commissionerships. He sets out by proving, which we think, at least for Indian readers, was hardly necessary, that the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal are more important and complex, and his authority more extensive, than those of the Governors of Madras and Bombay. While, therefore, he would raise the Lieutenant-Governor to the higher title, he concludes, on the whole, that the office should be filled by an official of Indian experience.

Upon this conclusion the question of Council or no Council seems entirely to depend. That a Council is not required in the Punjab or North-West, where every one admits that the Governor must be an Indian officer, Major Chesney lays down; and experience seems to bear him out. Were the three Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, likewise certain to be presided over by Indian officers, we should feel much inclined to doubt the utility of a Council in any of them.

All Governors, no doubt, occasionally want advice: the difference is that, whereas an Indian officer, like a grown man, may be trusted to know when he wants physic, and left to take it himself, a Home or Colonial Governor must, like a child, have the physic presented to him, whether he asks for it or not, and must be compelled to take it: or, in other words, he must have a Council of experienced and responsible officers, possessed of a right to know all that is being done, and entitled to tender and place on record their advice.

This is in substance what is laid down by Mr. Mill in the passage quoted by Major Chesney; for it is only inexperienced Governors who are there referred to. Whether the necessity of adding a Council to such a Governor does not outweigh any advantages to be derived from his non-connexion with the Service, may, we think, very fairly be questioned.

Even should there be a Council, we question much the advantage of including in it, as suggested by Major Chesney, a non-official member. The collective opinion of the Chamber of Commerce, which the Governor, be he who he may, can always procure, must be of more weight than the individual opinion of any one merchant or settler : and it is not likely that a legal member would be secured for such a Council, whose opinion would be as valuable as that of the legal members of the Supreme Council, or the Chief Justice of the High Court, on the presence of one of whom at least the Governor of Bengal may safely reckon.

Major Chesney urges, as has often been urged before, that Bengal, as now constituted, is too large for any one man to manage. Very plausible arguments may be advanced, no doubt, in support of this view ; but we should have been more impressed by them had the question been first mooted, or the first complaint of over-work made, by any of the four Lieutenant-Governors who have succeeded each other in Bengal. We cannot think inferences drawn from the Orissa catastrophe, or the backward state of Assam, in any way conclusive. The former could only have been avoided by the existence of roads and harbours ; and that roads and harbours did not exist, was due to no fault of any Lieutenant-Governor, but solely to the fact that the province of Bengal generally had not been assigned sufficient money to make them : and the case of Assam is similar. The successive Lieutenant-Governors have had a heavy arrear of work undone upon their hands ; and, while their paying districts stood in want of so much, could hardly come as very sturdy beggars upon the Supreme Government on behalf of their pauper provinces.

In favour of cutting off Orissa from Bengal, Major Chesney argues that at certain seasons it is almost impossible to get from Calcutta to Cuttack, either by sea or land. But surely the mere appointment of a separate Administration will not supply roads or harbours ; it will, on the contrary, rather divert to official establishments the sums needed for these ; while, should roads and harbours be constructed, to say nothing of the canals now in progress, Cuttack will be at least as accessible from Calcutta as is Chittagong, which nobody has proposed to annex to British Burmah, although it contains a considerable high population. As to language, the difference between Oriya and Bengali is not so very much greater than that which

exists between the Bengali of Calcutta or Hughli, and the Patons of the eastern districts.

We think the same arguments apply against the excision of Assam. The ports of Bengal are the ports of Assam, and the latter province has, in proportion to its size, quite as great an interest in the state of the Hooghly or Mutlah as any district of Bengal Proper. If it really takes a month for Assam officials to get an answer from Calcutta, the appropriate remedy seems to be more railways or steamers, not more separate Administrations. Besides, to carry out to their logical conclusion the arguments urged for the separation of Assam, much more must go with it. Sylhet and Cachar are also tea-growing tracts, with hitherto a small administrative staff. If, as we presume, it is intended that the motto of the Chief Commissioner of independent Assam be, 'Te deum laudamus,' or something equivalent, these districts must follow in the wake of the northern province, together with the hill-tracts which separate them. Now, these hill-tracts contain by far the best steam-coal in India—in what quantities no one can very exactly say. To the shipping interest of Calcutta, these mines are, or ought to be, of the greatest importance; and we question how far it would be advisable to withdraw the tract which contains them, from the cognizance of the Government in which Calcutta is situated. Major Chesney admits the great increase of expenditure which the separation would entail, and was, we think, bound to make out a stronger case than can be done by repeating the platitude that justice is likely to be better administered where there are many magistrates than where there are few.

Were any district to be removed from the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, we should feel inclined to select Behar, a country inhabited by a totally different race. It has, it is true, been subjected to the permanent settlement, but so have Zillahs Benares, Ghazee-pore, and Mirzapore, in the North-West Provinces. Were the transfer of Behar carried out, one of the results would be, that all the opium-growing districts would be under the same Government,—a fact which would facilitate the reduction, if desired, of the Bengal Revenue Board to a single Commissioner of Revenue or Finance.

No important suggestions occur in this part of the volume before us, touching the Governments of Allahabad, Lahore, Madras, Bombay, Burmah, and the Central Provinces; but when we

come to Oudh, Major Chesney deprecates its annexation to the North-West Provinces, on, as it seems to us, insufficient grounds. The differences in land tenure between Oudh and part of the North-West Provinces, are no greater than exist already between different parts of these Provinces; for example, the districts of Cawnpore and Benares. Neither is it necessary to enquire whether Oudh can or cannot afford to pay for a separate Governor; the question being whether the Staff of the Allahabad Government, its Board, perhaps, being re-inforced by one member, and its High Court by an additional Judge, can or cannot manage Oudh in addition to its present territories? We think it could. The railways and roads now existing and in progress make it quite as easy for the Governor of the joint provinces of Allahabad and Oudh to see all his districts, as it is for the Governor of Bengal to see the districts of Bengal Proper only; and the whole territory lies compactly together, besides being inhabited, from end to end, by the same race.

Major Chesney's next proposal is, that the *status* of Chief Commissioners should be raised, by conferring on them the title of Governor, and allowing them Aides-de-Camp: one of the arguments being, that as matters now stand, the Chief Commissioner must, if a bachelor, write his own dinner invitations, and, we presume, though it is not stated, look after his own pickles. This is really too absurd. Macaulay tells us how, in the time of the later Stuarts, a domestic Chaplain was generally required to take a wife with the living to which he was presented. Why not carry out the principle here, by requiring Private Secretaries, if bachelors, to take a wife along with their Chief Commissionerships, and thus dispose of the momentous question of the dinner notes, without any charge to Government.

As to outward display, the natives no doubt think a great deal of it. But to be consistent, let us carry the principle out to its full length. Let us require all "*hakims*" to go to office in gilt-laced frock-coats; let us require Mr. Gilbert Scott in place of gothicize or palladianize our public buildings, which are now for the most part of what, for want of a better name, we may call the keraniesque order of architecture; and let us require the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor to appear in public wearing a white hat.

Chesney's remarks on the actual Cabinet, and on the Supreme Council, as the state of affairs

is presumably known to Indian readers. His remarks, however, on some proposed alterations in the composition of the Council are well worthy of notice. The addition of a native member to the Executive Council he deprecates, and, as we think, with much reason. The appointment of any one prince could not fail to mortify all the others,—men who value precedence so much, that there is probably not one among them who would not prefer the curtailment of his territories to a reduction in his salute; and the appointment of any native under princely rank would give deadly offence to all the royal houses of India.

As to a non-official member, Major Chesney has very well shewn that the English community do not require such a member for any practical purpose; and that if an additional member were wanted, a better selection might be made from the official body. There is, however, much force in the reason given for adding to the Council a member whose special duty should be supervision of the Public Works Department; and it might be left an open question, whether a skilled English Engineer should not be admissible to the appointment, as well as officers of the Indian Services. Of the Legislative Council as at present existing, perhaps the best that can be said is, that it is harmless, with, at most, a slight tendency to over-legislation. More and more elaborate laws are, no doubt, needed in the present day, than before 1833; and the executive duties of the Supreme Council have increased. On the other hand, that body now contains one member whose sole function is the preparation of laws, and there seems nothing impossible in an arrangement by which the legal member should, in communication with the local Governments, prepare such bills as are needed, and leave them to be passed by the Supreme Council alone, without the formality—for it is nothing more—of a debate.

On the vexed question of the future capital of India, Major Chesney's arguments carry much weight. We think, indeed, that he under-rates the extreme strength of the position of Calcutta, accessible to friends, and inaccessible to enemies, from our true basis, the sea; and under-rates the danger of an isolation of the Supreme Government at Simla on some similar position, by a sudden revolt, as the North-Western Government was isolated in the fort of Agra in 1858. To the danger of the Calcutta climate he has, we think, attached too much weight. Governors-General of the present day are not, or ought



not to be, more delicate than those of the past ; and Calcutta is certainly not more unhealthy than when Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley ruled there. As against the claims of Bombay and Poona, and the clap-trap proposal for erecting a new capital somewhere near Jubbulpore, the arguments advanced seem conclusive.

The claim is clearly between Calcutta and Simla, the respective advantages and disadvantages of which seem pretty equally balanced ; or if there be a difference, Simla should have the preference, on account of the greater independency which the transfer of the Supreme Government would leave to the Government of Bengal.

If Major Chesney's work be meant for Indian as well as English readers, his chapters on the organization of Regulation and Non-Regulation districts seem to us rather jejune. To the ordinary English reader, no doubt the term "Magistrate" suggests nothing but Bow Street, wife beating, and charges of being drunk and disorderly ; and the "Collector" is a compound of Mr. Lillyrich and Joseph Sedley. But Indian readers know on these subjects all that Major Chesney sets down, and more ; and would have been glad to see a discussion of several of the most points touching district management for instance. To one of the most important administrative topics of the present day, the Police system, he gives but a sentence or two in page 183, and a chance allusion in page 291.

It might have been supposed that a writer who, in his chapter on taxation, has pointed out so clearly the danger and absurdity of treating all the provinces of India as precisely alike in all matters, would have noticed the still greater blunder and absurdity of establishing the same Police force over the whole country, and of employing the same organization in the case of the warlike Pathan or Punjabi that has been given to Bengal policemen, the majority of whom are very nearly, if not quite, as much afraid of standing behind a loaded musket in their own hands as before one in somebody else's, and who never abandon themselves to "tired nature's sweet restorer" with such devotion as when posted on sentry. There must be armed men, however, to watch jails and treasuries ; and these in Bengal must be foreigners.

Punjabis and Hindostanis, however, are for Police purposes proper, quite as unfitted in Bengal as Europeans would be, and suffer quite as much from the climate. Unfortunately, it

was thought fit, in a country where the fighting and writing classes are as different as an Italian Soprani from a grenadier of the old Guard, to establish a force destined to fulfil very different duties, each man of which should be ready in turn to discharge any one of the duties in question. This was not all. That personal concentrated power so necessary in India, whereof the district officer, owing to the great authority of the judicial branch, had even before perhaps too little, was for a time almost reduced to a nullity by the partial and ill-defined independence conceded to comparatively inexperienced District Superintendents of Police.

That error has, it is true, been remedied, so far as the nature of the case admits. The Magistrate has full power to order and punish; he has none to reward: to the Police he is merely a jealous master,—an incarnation of punishment.

Secrecy, so essential in Police matters, is, under this double Government, practically unattainable. Every report and order has to be filtered through half a dozen channels, among which it is very fortunate if there be not more than one leaky; and as to expense, we wish Major Chesney, who is an accountant, had given a table of the cost of the new Police in Bengal Proper alone, from the date of their first harlequinade in life-guard plus horse-maine uniform, down to this date of their decadence. What shall we say of those wonderful functionaries, the Deputy Inspectors-General, whether they appeared to greater advantage at the taking of their salary, or when stirring up some reluctant Superintendent to a fight with his Magistrate! They remind us of the manner in which Benjamin Franklin suppressed titles in America. Washington had always been "His Excellency," and it was intended that future Presidents should bear the same title. There was some doubt, however, about the Vice-President, which Franklin solved by proposing, "His Most Superfluous Highness;" since which all Yankeeedom have rested content with "Mister."

It should not, however, be forgotten, because the thing has a ridiculous side to it, that this Police really contains elements of very considerable danger. In page 291, Major Chesney states that the enormous reduction in the Native Army has been rendered possible only by the number of armed men embodied in the Police.

That the red-turbaned heroes, at least of Bengal, would not be formidable to the smallest force in a military point of view, is

true beyond doubt. But it must be remembered that these armed bodies are scattered across districts where, formerly, there were no armed men ; that they are minutely acquainted with these districts, being mostly natives of that in which they serve ; and that men who would run from a squad of European troops, though the latter were only one to twenty, might yet find courage to knock a sleeping Collector on the head, loot a treasury, and break open a jail. The reduction of the Native Army serving mostly out of its own district, massed together, and capable of being watched as the Police cannot be, may have been too dearly purchased at such a price. Nor, if the red coat mutinied, have we any security that the blue coat will not : "*nimum ne crede colori.*" He has not quite so much pay, a very much harder life of it, and a much greater opportunity of hiding himself safely away after doing mischief. That the new force is more moral or less tyrannical than the old, may be true ; but we never met a native, high or low, who thought so ; and we have spoken on the subject with zemindar, ryot, mahajun, pleader, "fine old Hindû gentleman of the olden time" and "Young Bengal : " and finally, we doubt much of its greater efficiency, swathed as it is in red tape. Eggs may be hatched by steam, but thieves will hardly be caught by machinery.

Besides the Police, there is another subject of great importance, on which we should have been glad to have had Major Chesney's opinion at much greater length : that is, Government education. He gives, in page 205, *et seq.*, a short account of the establishments maintained ; and, again, in page 262, refers to the system of the Government Schools. The most important of these, undoubtedly, are the Zillah Schools and Government Colleges, or High Schools as they might more correctly be named. We think it is high time to consider the condition of these schools. When they were first set up, it may have been advisable to offer a premium, in some sort, for the study of English—both language and literature. That necessity, however, no longer exists ; and it remains to be considered whether these colleges and schools should be any longer maintained on their present footing. Large as the Government grant for the purpose of education has been of late years, it is but, as a drop in the ocean compared with the wants of the country. So long as the ryot is, through ignorance, at the mercy of the mahajun and zemindar, it becomes a question whether there is not positive wrong and injustice in paying out of the Government revenue for any

portion whatever of the education of those who are in a position to pay for their own, whether at school or university. An exception must as yet be made, no doubt, in the case of the Medical and Engineering Colleges, and perhaps, also, on the ground of long prescription, in favor of the Madrisa and Sanscrit Colleges. But there the grants should stop. Of two young men, one elects to be a cloth-dealer ; the other wishes, as a writer, or, if possible, something better, to obtain Government or private employ. We hold that the Government is no more bound to furnish the latter *gratis* with his stock-in-trade, which is his education, than the former with his first supply of Manchester goods.

Even were these schools a legitimate object of expenditure in the abstract, they are not, as now conducted. Not only does the system of management, as well shown by Major Chesney in page 262, render them disliked and disused by the native gentry generally, but, for one important class, we mean the Mussulman, no provision has been made at all. We know of no school that teaches Persian ; and of very few that profess to teach Arabic or even Urdù. Yet to the Mussulman gentleman of Bengal, Urdù is all that French is to an English gentleman ; while Arabic and Persian are to him in the place of the Englishman's Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at once. An important class, whom it would politically be far more important to attach to our Government, and introduce to European knowledge and ways of thought, than the sons of the parvenu shop-keepers and mukhtars who now crowd the schools, is thus almost entirely cut off from the educational system as it stands. There is political danger in this ; and there is also much danger from the crowd of lads annually turned out of the University, without employment, or the prospect of it, without a profession, unable to dig, and ashamed to beg of any one save Government. In short, the system pursued is not educating the gentry or the lower classes, and is educating the bourgeoisie out of their proper sphere, in great part at the cost of the State.

There is little to be said *à propos* of Major Chesney's chapters on the Covenanted Civil Service and on Military Civilians. It is now too late to enquire whether nomination or competition has been most successful. If the latter, so much the better, for it seems fixed ; if the former, so much the worse, for the system cannot be restored. How selection should be made, affects rather education in England than the efficiency of the selected officers in

India ; for we cordially agree with Major Chesney in his conclusion, that a body of English gentlemen of sufficient age, and subjected to a test examination sufficient to exclude dunces, will, after going through a practical Indian training, turn out almost equally efficient, however they may have been selected in the first instance. The admission of natives to the Civil Service will be more conveniently considered, when we come to consider the chapter treating of Uncovenanted Servants, which we now come to.

Major Chesney gives a brief but clear description of that huge and heterogeneous mass which comprises the majority of persons in public employ, from a chaprasi up to a native judge of the High Court, or a Director of Public Instruction. He, like, we believe, every one else, thinks this unorganized body in need of some classification ; and his first remedy is that the tables of precedence for India be re-adjusted. To a certain extent this is, no doubt, feasible. For example, the officers of the Education Department, who are now mostly men from English universities, might very well be classified apart, and receive relative rank. But how can the great mass of appointments be dealt with ? Shall precedence be made to depend on amount of salary, or amount of white blood ? How can the proper relation of a Vice-Sub-Deputy Assistant Opium Agent to an Assistant Patrol of Customs or a Deputy Collector of the 6th class, with powers of a Subordinate Magistrate of the 2nd grade, be adjusted ? Are we to imitate the old Spanish colonial legislature, which solemnly enacted that octoroons "*se tiene por blanco* ?" Imagine the rummaging among the records of Kyderpore and the peccadilloes of long defunct Colonels and Collectors brought in unseemly fashion to the light ! What an apple of discord would not be thrown into hitherto peaceable stations ! There shall be two women out of society ; the one shall be taken, and the other left. Precedence-quarrels are already a great deal too frequent ; and we think Indian society is very little obliged to Major Chesney for a suggestion which could not fail to multiply them *ad infinitum*.

Major Chesney's next proposition is a good deal more practical, though at the same time it opens a wide field for discussion. He lays down what we conceive to be the true doctrine, namely, that when an appointment can be equally well filled by a native and by a European, Government is under a moral obligation to select the former ; but that having selected a Euro-

pean, there is nothing objectionable in recognizing his special wants in the matter of leave, or otherwise. The question thus arises, what posts should be reserved for Europeans? Not the Deputy Magistracies, for the bulk of officers holding these appointments are natives; and if a Native Deputy is fit to be in charge of Sub-Division A, or the Treasury at Sudder Station B, he is fit for a similar post anywhere else. Not the Subordinate Judicial Department, for a similar reason. The Education Department is, in the higher grade, already in the hands of English university men, and should remain so; while the Customs and Subordinate Opium Departments are, we believe, chiefly officered by East Indians, with a small admixture of Europeans.

It is impossible to go through all the classes of employes; but we think it no unreasonable conclusion that nineteen out of twenty appointments in what is called the Uncovenanted Service might be just as well filled by natives as by Europeans. Of the remaining five per cent. perhaps half are of the nature of the Customs Patrol appointments on the North-West Customs line. These cannot be better filled than, as we believe, has been the practice, by the selection of well conducted and intelligent Non-Commissioned officers among the European Regiments. The other two and a half per cent. should be filled by Covenanted Civilians.

Were we not blinded by habit, it would appear preposterous to have two different Services, both composed of Europeans, for doing the civil work of the country. Either the present system of selecting Covenanted officers is the best, and therefore ought to be extended to all posts which require to be filled by European gentlemen, or else better men are likely to be selected as the European members of the Uncovenanted Service now are; and if this be so, importing Covenanted Europeans is more than useless. Whichever be the case, the argument for a uniform Service remains unaffected.

Major Chesney urges the hardship imposed on Uncovenanted Servants in the judicial and revenue lines by the prohibition of rising. Here he makes a mistake at the very outset. He says (page 257) of the Native Judicial Service: "So ill-paid a Judicial Service is probably not to be found in any other part of the world." We have taken the pains of comparing with the pay receivable by Native Judges, the allowance drawn by French Judges of corresponding powers, and have found the result altogether more favorable to the former; while, moreover,

French Judges are, as a rule, better paid than Austrian, Prussian, or Italian officers of similar grades. Till recently, the Chief Justice of the State of New York received only from £900 to £1200 a year, equal to Rs. 750 or 1000 per mensem, and the Subordinate Judges very much less. It is not wise in controversy to lay down statements derived from one's inner consciousness; and this is what Major Chesney has done.

In advocating the advancement of Uncovenanted Servants to the higher posts now held by Covenanted Civilians, he has also, as appears to us, mistaken the force of the argument that the present holders accepted their appointments with the knowledge that there was a point beyond which they could not advance. It may be taken as an axiom that every man makes the best bargain for himself he can, and sells himself to the highest purchaser. The Covenanted Civilians receive, on the average, higher salaries than the Uncovenanted Servants; yet, as Major Chesney has himself pointed out in Chapter IX., the inducements offered fail to tempt the *élite* of the English public schools and universities. Yet it is acknowledged on all hands that the very best article procurable is required; and therefore, raising the salaries of the Uncovenanted Servants to the Civilian standard, is a pure bonus of the difference, granted, without reason, to a man who might have been had cheaper. If Uncovenanted Servants suffice, the proper course would be to cease filling up vacancies among the Civilians, and let the Service die out; not to pay men Rs. 2000, who can be had for Rs. 1000 at their own valuation.

It must at the same time be admitted that there may be, from time to time, cases of such extraordinary merit as to require an exceptional arrangement in their favour. The difficulty might, we conceive, be easily met by the grant of a personal allowance, which, while it enables Government to reward a deserving individual, does not bind it to maintain a highly paid post on the chance that somebody may hereafter deserve it.

How far, and in what way, natives of rank can be admitted to Government service, is a very delicate question. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the elevation, of which there have been recently several instances in Bengal, of ministerial officers to the posts of Deputy Collectors and such like, would, if systematically practised, do more to improve the class of Amlah, than even a larger increase of pay than that recently granted. On the other hand, it would be most desirable to secure the

aid of the native gentry ; and it is quite certain that they will not be content to rise from the ranks.

An attempt has been made to make use of the zemindars of Bengal as Honorary Magistrates, and has not been by any means a success ; not, so far as we have been able to learn, owing to positive mal-feasance, but rather to carelessness, ignorance, and procrastination. There are, no doubt, in most zillahs, three or four well meaning men who might, without fear of their indulging in corruption or tyranny, be entrusted with limited magisterial powers ; but if they are to inflict any other punishments than petty fines, if they require a hajut, police guard, and so forth, what Government gains by employing them is not so very manifest.

That the Act under which the first appointments of Deputy Collectors took place was passed with the intention that they should be, as far as possible, nominated on the recommendation of the Collector from among the cadets of good families resident in the district, we infer from the wording, whether rightly or wrongly. It might be worth while to try, whether the practice could not be to some extent revived, with the safe-guard of posting the nominee to a district other than his own. Indeed, we think that the subordinate Executive, though perhaps not the Judicial, Service would be best filled if half the appointments were given to ministerial officers of approved service, and the other half to the class just referred to.

As to the admission of natives to the Covenanted Service by competition or otherwise, the case may be stated very briefly. Either English gentlemen are required to conduct civil duties in India, or they are not. If they are, they will not come forward if liable to service under a native. The prejudice may be unreasonable and ungenerous, but it exists ; and no amount of argument will suffice to remove it. Setting aside the national pride of conquerors, the Anglo-Saxon races both in England and its colonies, and America, have an inveterate dislike to the dark skin, which is shared by no other European race, certainly not by French or Spanish, though possibly Dutch or Danes feel it to a slighter degree. Thus, Native Civilians, however appointed, could not be employed in district duty along with Europeans, but must be restricted to such posts as Customs, Accounts Department, and such like. But it is not these posts that the native gentry covet.



Of all the absurd and incorrect statements advanced here and in England by those engaged in discussing Indian topics, none is more absurd and incorrect than the popular allegation, which is generally swallowed without reflection, that the Indian Mofussil officers are not trained Judges or lawyers. The inference is, of course, that every English barrister is such ; which we beg leave to question. To be a trained lawyer, means nothing more than that the person of whom it is predicated, has, either by reading, by acting as an advocate, or by presiding as a Judge, made himself acquainted with a certain code, or codes of law, together with any authoritative exposition thereof, which there may be. In this view, the Mofussil Magistrate or Judge is not a trained lawyer *quoad* English law ; but neither is the barrister *quoad* Indian law ; while they are on a par as to their ignorance of that great body of Roman law which forms, substantially, the basis of the various German codes, of Scotch law, and of the "Code Napoleon."

As to training as a Judge, to quote Sir John Grant, "a Civilian begins substantially to do the work of a Judge on the day he joins his appointment, and in one form or other never leaves off doing it until he takes his pension." It may indeed be well questioned whether the functions and habits of an advocate are not at least as much opposed to the acquisition of a judicial frame of mind as they are calculated to teach an intelligent appreciation of the law.

It is no answer to say that the English Judges are, as a rule, all that could be desired. Had we in India an able bar numbering 6,000 or more, and did we require only some forty Judges to be selected therefrom, the matter would be easily settled. All nations have not adopted the English practice in selecting their Judges from the body of advocates. Justice between man and man is nowhere better administered than in Prussia ; yet, as a rule, Judges have never been advocates, but, like Indian Civilians, have, on leaving their training institutes, been first set to try petty causes, and in due course been advanced to try important ones.

Be this as it may, there remains the question whether it would not be desirable, at least at and above the grade of Zillah Judge, to establish a separation between the Judicial, Fiscal, and Administrative branches. We have here experience to guide us. For many years there has existed in the Bombay Presidency, if Major Chesney will pardon our use of the word which

seems to be his pet aversion, certain appointments known as Assistant Judgeships, held by officers of about the standing of a Bengal first-grade Joint. These officers have certain criminal powers, but their main duty is the trial of civil suits, in regard to which they are vested with powers not differing very much from those of the officers known to us on this side of India as Principal Sudder Ameen.

Any one would have supposed, *à priori*, that these men would have been better fitted for the duties of a Zillah and Session Judge than the Sub-Collectors and Collectors, whose time had been wholly engrossed by revenue and administrative questions, together with some slight magisterial practice. The contrary, however, is the case. It has more than once been found necessary to pitchfork a Collector into the place of Zillah Judge over the head of the Assistant, solely on the ground that his knowledge of revenue matters was essential to the proper discharge of judicial functions.

There is yet another point. Could India afford two or three Civil Services, there might be some reason in telling off assistants after their probation had been gone through, to one branch of the Service or the other. But this is not the question. Besides, such a distribution must, as Major Chesney himself admits, cause many of the ablest officers to refuse the position of a Judge. Purely judicial work is not, to the majority of men, so interesting as administrative or even fiscal duties; and really there is not so much talent to spare, that any of it should be wasted of *malice prepense*.

Major Chesney has, in a former chapter (IX), enquired into the popularity, or otherwise, of the British Administration. Setting aside the native aristocracy and "Young Bengal," we firmly believe that, if the body of the people, ryots or traders, could be polled, that which they would select as the most obnoxious of our arrangements, is the distinction between Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Courts, each presided over by a different officer, and acting on a procedure of its own. It is, no doubt, contrary to European notions, that private wrongs and "delicts," *i. e.*, offences against both the person and the public, should be dealt with by the same Court and under the same procedure. A modified system, however, is possible, and would, we think, meet all the necessities of the case. We refer to what is known as the "Punjab system," where each Deputy Commissioner, governing absolutely his district of reasonable size, was at once Civil

Judge, Magistrate, Collector, and Superintendent of Police, controlled by the Commissioner holding powers over some four of these districts, and acting as Sessions Judge and Commissioner of Revenue in the same. Unhappily, in the Punjab as elsewhere, this wholesome concentration of authority has been infringed by the appointment of separate District Superintendents of Police. To what extent it has affected the efficiency of the Administration, we cannot tell, for no one any longer places trust in Punjab "Carmagnoles;" but it cannot fail more or less to weaken that grasp which the events of 1857 proved the Punjab district officers to possess.

To adapt this system to Bengal would necessarily entail a very extensive re-arrangement of the present districts, which are, with perhaps one or two exceptions, much too large to be efficiently managed by a single officer, while no one Commissioner could dispose of the Session cases of three, as they at present exist. The expenses, however, would be in buildings only; and, looking to the new Central Jail system, and the number of sub-divisional holdings already in existence, this need not be very great. As to the *personnel*, the existing establishment should, when properly distributed, suffice amply for the new and simple arrangement. That such a re-organization will be carried out, is too much to hope for. We can only regret that advantage was not taken of the events of the mutiny, which left the North-West Provinces a *tabula rasa* to carry out such a reform, the results of which might in time have shamed Bengal and Madras into following the same course.

We have now done with the Civil Departments Proper, and shall certainly, from a prudent regard to our own soundness of mind, decline to follow Major Chesney into any speculations touching the past, present, or future of the Staff Corps. We will, in passing, only remark this much,—that it is clearly absurd to preserve military titles and rank to men who have become, to all practical intents and purposes, Civilians; and that, whether an amalgamation on equitable terms could be effected with the existing Civil Service (which we very much doubt), or not, at all events military officers now employed in purely civil duties should be drafted into an extra Civil Service, to be formed *ad hoc*, and permitted gradually to die out; the places of its members being taken by officers of that single Civil Service which we have before advocated.

As to public works, however, the case is different. The subject is involved in no intricacies, and we may venture to discuss it without risking the confusion of our intellect, or the loss of our self-respect from inevitable blunders.

Major Chesney gives estimates for the construction and maintenance of first-class roads, which are at first sight very discouraging, the total annual amount which Government can allot for works of this kind being considered.

But, looking to the circumstances of Bengal Proper, there is room for a more confident feeling. That country, as a rule, does not require any considerable length of first-class roads intended to carry heavy traffic, for the place of such roads is supplied, and more than supplied, by its numerous water-channels. The staple productions of the country are, with the exception of opium and indigo, and, to a comparatively small extent, silk and tea, all of a bulky kind, in the conveyance of which land carriage even by rail cannot compete with transit by water.

Bearing this in mind, we cannot but regard, as thrown absolutely away, the sums which have been expended on the Assam Trunk Road parallel to the Brahmaputra, or the Sylhet and Cachar Road parallel to the Surmah or Barak. Less money would have supplied to a very considerable extent what was really wanted—short roads at right angles to the main water-lines of communication. Canals and improvements of existing water-roads have hardly, we think, been estimated as highly as they deserve as a substitute for roads in Bengal. For instance, perhaps, the busiest line of traffic in the country, at least when the Nuddea rivers are closed, is what is known as the Sunderbund's inner route. Boats travelling along this line must go with the tides. It is much waste of labour to tow or row a boat against the current. Something has been done along this line in the way of removing obstructions and forming towing paths; but there are, probably, few undertakings in which the same amount of money would go so far in benefiting the trade of the country as a series of cuts taking off some of the windings of the principal channels, and probably saving two or even three days in the passage. These cuts would entail but little expense after being once completed, for they would be scoured by the strong tides. Indeed, canals anywhere have, in this respect, a marked superiority over roads. There are in many, if not in most, districts of Bengal, many works of this kind, small individually, but which in the aggregate would af-

ford greater facilities for trade than more pretentious undertakings. Another thing recommends this class of improvements:—their utility is manifest to the people who reside in the vicinity, at once; and they are appreciated where perhaps first-class trunk roads would not be. In many instances a great part of the cost would be subscribed by the landholders whose estates are affected thereby. We have known of at least two instances in which an offer of the necessary land and of half the expense was volunteered, and of another instance in which a small improvement was carried out entirely by means of local subscriptions. The construction, too, would be inexpensive,—little engineering skill is needed,—and they might in general be carried out by the district officers, even without placing at the disposal of the latter an agency similar to that known in Madras as the Maramat Department.

The failure of the guarantee system in the case of Indian railways has been very clearly shewn in Chapter XX of the work under consideration. It is now useless to lament over the lines which have cost twice what they ought to have cost over the delays and the rotten bridges, and subordinates paid Rs. 100 a month, and living at the rate of Rs. 500. We only hope that we have seen the last guarantee for railways, or any other undertaking which the State can execute itself. All experience favours this direct action. All the Prussian and most of the Belgian railways have been constructed directly by the State; they pay rather more than the interest of the money borrowed to make them, and are amply sufficient for the present wants of the countries they traverse; and the fares are lower considerably than those of the English or even the French lines.

Irrigation, which is the next subject discussed by Major Chesney, concerns Bengal Proper but little. When, however, he speaks of the possibility of throwing a weir across the Ganges somewhere near Rajmahal, we doubt whether he is fully acquainted with the topography of the district. At one time the Ganges flowed passed the city of Gour, some distance north of Rajmahal, and probably continued its course through what are now the swamps about Nattore, to some point on the Pudda, not far from Comercolly or Pubna. It has long since deserted this course; but had Major Chesney examined the records of the Bengal Government, he could have found that the main stream wanders capriciously in a tract of at least 30 miles wide. For many years, the high clay bank at Rampore Bauleah resisted

the stream ; but of late years, that too has yielded ; and though the south end of the thirty-mile weir might be abutted on rocks at Rajmahal, it is not easy to say on what the other end could be rested. Short of the Himalayas at Darjeling, there is really no solid basis.

Suppose, however, the weir constructed, and so based at either end, that the river could not work round it : there remains another difficulty. No canal could possibly be constructed, capable of taking off an appreciable quantity of the flood-waters of the Ganges. Now these flood-waters, falling over a weir of even ten feet elevation, to the extent of millions of tons daily, have power to scoop out in front in forty-eight hours a hole large enough to hold all the pyramids of Egypt, into which the weir itself would very probably slip forward ; and the mass of water thus suddenly released, would sweep like a cyclone-wave over the lower districts on its way to the sea.

We notice, also, that when Major Chesney speaks of the staple food of Bengal being gathered at one season, he forgets that there are two rice crops, the "amon" and "aous." Moreover, in 1774-76, there was a famine in some districts, caused, not by drought, but by excess of rain and prolonged inundation.

In his chapter on Taxation, after giving an account of the successive revisions of the Tariff, Major Chesney calls attention to the comparatively small income derived from customs. When noticing the alterations made in 1862, he repeats, though certainly without any expression of opinion, Mr. Laing's clap-trap statement, that the duty on British manufactures is really a transit duty. Considering the difficulty of levying new taxes in India, it might be as well to bear in mind that Canada, which is quite as much a portion of the empire as India, is allowed to levy an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent. on these very articles ; and the Australian colonies impose, as we believe, duties not very much lower.

Of the existing high rates of stamp duty on legal proceedings, we shall say nothing. That they have caused an enormous falling off in the number of suits instituted, is certain ; and we believe that reports have been called for, from the various Civil Courts, as to the working of the Act, and whether the decrease is of *bona fide* suits or otherwise.

While we find him admitting that the Income and Licence taxes, as hitherto imposed, have not answered the expectations

formed in a financial point of view, we are somewhat surprised that Major Chesney has made no mention of the substitute frequently proposed, in the shape of a succession duty. The real reason, we believe, why this has not been more considered, is a fear lest the incidence of such a tax should turn out to be solely on the zemindars, and a doubt whether an heir succeeding to a zemindari held under the Permanent Settlement can fairly be held liable to such a payment.

The charge of unfairness on this score brought against the Income tax has been over and over refuted. The settlement guaranteed the zemindars against all further taxation *quâ* zemindars, but did not guarantee them against future taxation equally imposed on all classes. Still, the main object of a succession duty is not, or must not be, the imposing of any future tax on the zemindars. Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the benefits conferred by British rule on the very highest and the very lowest classes, it has never been doubted that the trading classes, or bourgeoisie, have benefited very largely indeed. Of the masses of wealth in the hands of this class, we shall have occasion to speak further on. At present it is only necessary to observe, that from their frugal mode of life, these men pay just as much towards the State, man for man, as the poorest ryots. They pay on their salt, and they pay a very little on their clothes; but nothing further. No Income tax can be made fairly to reach them. The first thing a native trader does when any such tax is in contemplation, is to prepare a second set of books; and no number of really experienced assessors who may be employed, can so check the various entries of hundreds of dealers, as to feel certain that they have got the right books before them.

This class comprizes, as we think, the fittest subjects for a succession duty. No doubt the tax will be largely, very largely, evaded, both by concealment of property, the creation of "benami" trusts, and by donation *inter vivos*. Still, we think a well matured scheme for this kind of taxation affords one of the most promising prospects of recruiting the finances.

Any Licence or Income tax which has been imposed or even proposed, bears with enormously greater proportionate weight on small artisans and shop-keepers than on the rice and salt levithans of Balliaghatta and Naraingunj, or the bankers and opium speculators of the Burra Bazar; whereas a succession duty, when levied at all, can have its weight accurately adjust-

ed to the means of the payer. That the tax is in itself a fair one, and not economically injurious to a progressive country, is maintained by so high an authority as Mr. Mill. It is, moreover, from its nature cheaply collected, and does not require the maintenance of a large fiscal staff, with all its concomitant annoyances. Wills, originally unknown to Hindoo law, are daily coming into more extensive use, and an effective sanction might be supplied by an enactment ruling that no claims in respect of any property on which succession duty was payable and had not been paid should be entertained by the Courts.

In his review of the financial position of the Indian Government, Major Chesney has omitted to point to a burden lying on the revenues of India altogether peculiar to that country, at least on so extensive a scale. There is, it is true, a very small civil list; but the allowances secured by treaty, and amounting to nearly two crores of rupees, constitute a heavier burden than the civil list of any country. These allowances have, of late years, borne a smaller proportion to the gross revenue than in the anti-mutiny period: and it should be remembered, when considering the merits of the much abused financiers of that day, that out of a small and, at the time, inelastic revenue, they had this heavy charge to provide for, a charge not admitting of economical reduction, before they could spare anything for works of public improvement.

Major Chesney's arguments against Mr. Wilson's objections to the introduction of a gold currency seem to us, to speak plainly, hardly honest. He infers that because the value of Government securities is liable to be depreciated in consequence of political measures, therefore it is no breach of faith towards the public creditor to adopt a measure knowingly, which is certain to inflict pecuniary loss on him. Whether that loss be great or small, does not affect the principle. A farmer might as well argue that because he cannot help some thistle-down being blown from his own fields to those of his neighbours, he is therefore justified in surrounding his farm by a thick thistle-hedge. The system of receiving sovereigns at the Indian treasuries as the equivalent of Rs. 10 each has turned out, as might have been expected, totally nugatory; nor is the proposal to coin a new Indian sovereign of the exact value of Rs. 10, though open to fewer objections than any other scheme proposed, likely to lead to greater practical results.



Another proposal is to modify the value of the rupee so as to bring it into harmony with a standard intended to be common to England, France, Belgium, Italy, and possibly the United States also. Could this be effected without a serious disturbance of commercial relations in India itself, the plan would have much to commend it. But Major Chesney himself admits that the change would involve the maintenance, for a considerable time, of a double standard, and in other respects involve very considerable trouble. We think this hardly expresses, adequately, the inconveniences certain to result. Looking to the ignorance of the great bulk of the population, and the vast number of dealings not exceeding a rupee in amount, an enormous field appears opened for chicanery and cheating of all sorts, on the part of mahajuns and others. No peasant would for a long time know whether he was getting a fair price for his produce, or what proportion the price of his produce bore towards his rent. The substitution of the present rupee for sicca rupees as imperial money of account is by no means a parallel case. In that instance, the change was much simpler, and more easily understood; and besides, although only sicca rupees were used as money of account, there was current, alongside of the sicca rupee, a coin known as the Murshedabad rupee, the intrinsic value of a hundred of which corresponded, to an almost imperceptible fraction, with the value of a hundred of the new Company's rupees.

Among the minor inconveniences may be mentioned the necessity of larger establishments, which would be imposed alike on Government and merchants, for the keeping of accounts under two denominations, and probably, for some time at least, the looking up of great masses of the old coin, under the apprehension that the currency had been, or would be, tampered with. We have seen it stated, whether truly or not, that no less a person than the Governor of Pondichery, on the first issue of the new rupees now current, refused to take in that coin the payment yearly made by the Madras Government in consideration of the abstinence of the French authorities in the colony from the manufacture of salt; and yet these rupees professed to contain exactly as much silver as those they superseded.

It is indeed very questionable, as Major Chesney admits, whether a gold currency is really needed in India at all, and whether the admitted inconvenience of meeting heavy payments or forwarding large remittances in silver, might not better be got

over, in places such as Calcutta or Bombay, by an extension of book credits and similar banking facilities ; and in the Mofussil, partly by the establishment of branch banks, and partly by the introduction of an appropriate paper currency.

The amount of currency notes actually in circulation throughout the whole interior of India is estimated by Major Chesney, apparently on fair data, at no more than seventy-five lakhs of rupees,—an amount, as he states, manifestly insignificant with the mass of coin in the country, which, giving, as we think, rather too low an estimate, he sets down at one hundred and fifty crores of rupees. There can be no doubt that if notes are intended to form any considerable portion of the real circulating medium of the country, the present lowest denomination of Rs. 5 is too high. The ground of objection to the issue of notes under £5 in England, which led to their withdrawal, would not here apply ; namely, that being issued in great part by private bankers, the working classes would, in case of failure, be the chief sufferers ; and it may be added that in Scotland and Ireland, where one and two-pound notes continue to be issued, they have almost entirely superseded sovereigns in every-day transactions. Conceding, however, that the same result would take place in England were small notes now re-issued, and that the one-pound note would be fairly represented in India by the proposed one-rupee note, we still think that there are such differences in the circumstances of the two countries, that one-rupee notes would have, for two or three generations at least, a very limited and practically insignificant circulation.

In the first place, when a ryot, small talookdar, or shopkeeper, manages to collect a few rupees, he lays them aside for a rainy day,—not in a bank, but in the thatch of his house, or underneath his hearth, or bed-place. Now, in Bengal, what with mat-houses, and their liability to be burnt down once or twice in every man's life, insects, and damp, a hoard of this kind could not be safely kept in notes. So long as natives persist in being their own bankers, they must have the precious metals to hoard ; and when they give up the practice, they will be so far advanced in Political Economy, that the adjustment of the currency to their wants will be as simple a matter as it is now in England.

This system of hiding away money leads to half the gang robberies and burglaries committed in Bengal ; and not long

since an attempt was made to set up savings' banks, offering an interest of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., in connexion with the district treasuries. Of course, the scheme fell through; for if the proprietors of the petty hoards, who are expected to come forward as depositors, chose to trust their money out of their own hands, they could get from 12 to 24 per cent. interest in the bazar on very fair security. But this is not the only class to be considered. Major Chesney seems to think that the great bulk of hoarded coin is in the hands of the agricultural population,—a proposition from which we venture to dissent. To say nothing of the smaller talookdars, putneedars, and so forth, who, when in tolerable circumstances, have generally a family hoard, this leaves out of consideration the larger dealers in rice, jute, and other country produce. These men are their own bankers just as the ryots are; as Macaulay informs us English tradesmen were, till about the time of the Restoration; and as French tradesmen have continued to be, down to a comparatively very recent date. Of the gross amount of the coin held by them, it is impossible to form an idea; but it must be very large indeed. We have heard in a single mart—and that by no means one of the greatest, trade-centres of Bengal—of the distribution between partners, on the breaking up of a family firm, of some thirty lakhs of rupees; and of another firm popularly supposed to have in deposit sixty lakhs, both being exclusive of the capital actually engaged in trade, which might amount in each case to from ten to twenty lakhs more. With all allowances for exaggeration, this points to the existence of even a larger quantity of buried treasure in the hands of the trading than of the agricultural class. The trading class in Bengal does not, as a rule, invest its gains in land; and it must never be expected that these reserves will be entrusted to any but a Government bank, or to any bank at all which will not pay at least as much interest as public securities yield. Whether banking on these terms would be profitable, is a question that must not be discussed here.

That the currency notes will always be looked on with more or less suspicion until they are not only freely cashed, but freely issued in exchange for silver at every Mofussil treasury, and until the same note is made current throughout all India, seems not to admit of a doubt. At present, at no very great distance from Calcutta, the money changer's charges for supplying notes for silver, or silver for notes, vary from 1 to 2 per cent., which, though no heavy charge, is quite sufficient to prevent papers

passing freely from hand to hand. Of course, if it be impossible to arrange for the cashing and issue of notes at all treasuries, we must be content with the present contracted circulation ; and, indeed, we think that Major Chesney under-rates the difficulty, and the magnitude of trade operations in the chief producing districts.

Many of the treasuries in those districts are now cleared about the time that advances have to be made, or that the staple crops come to maturity, by bills drawn upon them by the Accountant-General at Calcutta, generally at a certain premium. We have known between five and six lakhs paid out in acquittance of these bills at a single treasury within a week. It will thus be seen that the pressure liable to be exerted on treasuries empowered freely to cash notes may be at times exceedingly severe, seeing that a long time must elapse before petty purchases and advances can be made by one-rupee notes, if indeed they ever can be. For these purposes the larger notes at present issued, are, and must remain, useless.

Even the gradual introduction of the free cashing system into the Bengal treasuries would be attended with much risk. Inability, even for a few days, and on the part of one treasury, to cash notes presented, would suffice for long to discredit notes over the whole country. It may be urged that the bills now drawn are never dishonored ; but in this case the Calcutta remitting firms can, and we believe do, easily ascertain through their agents from the various khazanchees the amount of cash available, and draw accordingly, to say nothing of the information given by the Accountant-General's advertisements. But it clearly would never do to make the convertibility of the note dependent on one source of information or the other. We are, for all these reasons, much less sanguine than Major Chesney as to the amount of notes that can, even after a considerable interval, be brought into circulation. The brilliant prospect to which he points, reminds us of General Cotton's work on Irrigation, to a degree that we should not have anticipated from the general sobriety of the book. With careful management, a considerable sum may, no doubt, be ultimately derivable from the issue of currency notes ; but as yet it is, we fear, as little to be calculated as the chance of opium selling at Rs. 1,400 or 1,500 per chest.

We observe that Major Chesney has passed over the opium revenue with but short allusions. The monopoly system has

been attacked on two grounds,—philanthropy and free-trade. The philanthropists of Exeter Hall we may of course pass over at once, if for no other reason, that it has by no means been proved that opium is at all worse than gin : but an answer to the free-trader is of more importance,

The monopoly has been called the confiscation of a certain crop at an arbitrary price. But, in the first place, the growth of the crop is not compulsory, and the price not arbitrary, but adjusted from time to time according to the production ; and the free-traders either forget that the growth of tobacco in the United Kingdom is altogether prohibited, or fail to perceive that the difference between the absolute prohibition of a crop and its permissive cultivation on certain conditions, makes all in favor of the Bengal Government system when compared with the English.

The truth is, the cry has been raised from no real love of, or belief in, free-trade, by a class who only took up indigo-planting, tea-planting, steam, and railways, when the previous costly experiments of Government had proved that they were possible, and might be remunerative. It is not generally known that the Bengal indigo manufacture was nursed to maturity by the policy of the Court of Directors, who caused shipments of Bengal indigo to be made, year after year, to London, with the knowledge that they would be sold at a loss, until, in process of time, the manufacturers acquired the experience which ultimately gave them the command of the market. There has been no "development of the resources of India" in any direction where the State did not act as pioneer.

We have now noticed at greater or less length the various topics discussed by Major Chesney, excepting those relating to military organization ; and have also noticed one or two subjects upon which he had hardly touched, but which seemed deserving of discussion.

Indeed, the chief fault we have to find with the book is, that it leaves undiscussed many points on which it would have been desirable to read Major Chesney's opinions. When we have felt bound to differ from him, it has been with regret ; and on many of the most important points, such as uniformity of legislation and taxation, we have been glad to see the opinions we have long entertained, expressed better than we could ourselves have expressed them. His own proposals too, even when we think them needless or erroneous, are framed in a practical spirit.

We have no plan for building a *Nephelococcygia* overhanging the Dhoon, or turning Bengali zemindars into English gentlemen by teaching them to shoot snipe and play cricket: and we trust we have not heard from him for the last time. We should be glad to know his opinion of Municipalities, in which the European members are too busy with their own affairs to be of use, and in which the natives seem not to have found out the golden mean between "*jo hukum*" and opposition for the sake of opposing; of a school-system which neither conciliates the gentry nor elevates the masses; of a Police which is either dangerous, or ridiculous, or both. And finally, seeing that the disturbances of 1857-58 continued as a popular insurrection after the suppression of military resistance, only in the districts of Oudh and Shahabad, where the tall poppies had been left standing, we should be glad to know whether a word might not be put in for the now discredited system of the dead-level.

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## ART. II.—ABERCROMBIE AS A TEXT-BOOK IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

**I**N the recent discussions regarding the study of Mental and Moral Science by undergraduates of the Calcutta University, two distinct questions have been raised :—*first*, whether the subjects themselves are adapted for First Arts students ; and *secondly*, whether, supposing them to be adapted, the text-book at present in use is a suitable one ?

The discussion has been hitherto narrowed to the case of candidates for the First Examination in Arts, but we are of opinion that the same arguments which have been applied in support of the withdrawal of Mental and Moral Science from the preliminary Examination, apply with equal force to the complete withdrawal of these subjects from the pre-honor course of University studies.\*

It would have been better, it seems to us, if the question regarding the fitness of the subjects had not been mixed up with the merits of any particular book ; as, if a majority had concurred in condemning the subjects, it would have been unnecessary to consider the somewhat irritating topics involved in a special criticism of the text-book now in use.† But in con-

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\* On this point we are in accord with the Rev. Mr. Don, who says—"Mr. Croft uses arguments against the study of Psychology, &c., by First Arts students, which may be urged with almost equal force against the study of the same subjects by those preparing for the B. A. degree. I fail to see why, holding the views he has expressed, he should not advocate the exclusion of Psychology and Ethics from the one course as well as from the other. If Mr. Croft himself pauses, others are likely to carry out his argument consistently to its proper result. If valid against the one, it is valid against the other." (*See Rev. Mr. Don's Reply to the Circular issued by the Registrar to the Heads of affiliated Colleges.*)

† Dr. Abercrombie's work, entitled,—"Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth, with the Philosophy of the Moral Feelings,"—was introduced, as a University text-book, under the following circumstances. When Licentiate degrees were established in 1860, the First Arts Examination was introduced as the Arts qualification for these degrees in Law and Engineering. Mr. Ritchie was then Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Duff sat with him on the Syndicate. The latter argued that it would never do to

sequence of the course which has been actually adopted by the opponents of the present system, it will be necessary for us, in the following pages, to enunciate our views upon both these questions.

In order to elucidate points which might perhaps appear obscure to the uninitiated, we shall preface our remarks with a brief historical sketch.

The attack upon the existing system was commenced, in December 1866, by Mr. William Jardine, the Officiating Principal of the Lahore Government College. In the minutes of the Calcutta University for 1866-67, there is recorded a letter addressed by Mr. Jardine to the Syndicate, in which he proposes to substitute Logic for Mental and Moral Science in the First Arts Examination. He objects to Abercrombie's Treatise as a text-book : (1), because it is not a standard work ; (2), because it was intended for the instruction of *medical* and not of *ordinary* students ; (3), because one-half of the work is composed of matter foreign to the general subject of which it treats ; (4), because it contains statements which are erroneous ; and (5), because the use of it is a breach of the neutrality professed by Government in religious matters.

On February 24th, 1868, there was read before the Syndicate a memorandum by Mr. A. W. Croft, on "Mental and Moral Science, as subjects for the First Arts Course." In this memorandum objections are urged against Abercrombie's Manual ; (1), on account of its unscientific statements, and (2), on account of the prominence which it assigns to the theological element. Mr Croft in the same memorandum proposes to substitute Logic for Mental and Moral Science at the First Arts Examination. "Psychology and Ethics," he observes, "are in the highest degree abstract sciences;" and not only are

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allow students to enter upon a study like law without some previous course of philosophy, and through his influence Abercrombie was introduced.

Even admitting that Dr. Duff was right, the arguments which were applicable in 1860 do not hold good now. The *degree* of Licentiate has been abolished, and a simple *license* is conferred in all the Faculties. Moreover, it will be found, on referring to the list of candidates who pass in law, that the license has become discredited. Indeed, the High Court Examination for Pleaders confers the same privileges as the University license, for which, consequently, candidates no longer apply. A few who fail to pass for B. L. are annually declared qualified for the license which otherwise would probably disappear altogether. In Engineering, the Entrance Examination is now accepted as the Arts qualification for a license : the same in Medicine.



they eminently abstract, but also "in the highest degree uncertain." "Formal Logic," on the contrary, "is precise and definite," and highly valuable as a preparatory study. After Mr. Croft's memorandum had been read, Mr. Sutcliffe made the following proposal:—"That a short course of Logic (as contained in any ordinary compendium) be substituted for Abercrombie's Treatises on Mental and Moral Science, in the Course for the First Examination in Arts." It was resolved that Mr. Sutcliffe's proposal be laid before the Faculty of Arts for consideration. On 10th March 1868, the resolution of the Syndicate was brought before the Faculty of Arts. The Faculty having declined to give their final determination for three months, the following resolution was carried:—"That the Syndicate be requested to ascertain, for the information of the Faculty, the opinions of the Heads of affiliated Colleges, and of those who have been engaged in teaching Abercrombie's Treatises, and also of those who have been appointed Examiners on the subject." In accordance with this resolution a Circular (dated March 18th, 1868) was addressed by Mr. Sutcliffe, the Registrar of the Calcutta University, to the Heads of affiliated Colleges and others, asking for their opinion as to the advisability of requiring students to take up a short course of Logic at the First Examination, in lieu of Abercrombie's Treatises. Twenty-five answers were received, which may be classified as follows:—(a), those which advocate entirely the present system; seven belong to this class: (b), those favorable to the subjects, but adverse to the text-book; two belong to this class: (c), those in which both the subjects and the text-book are con-

- (a)—(1), Charles Ellard Vines, *Principal, St. John's College, Agra*; (2), A. Henry, *Superintendent, Lahore Mission Schools*; (3), Alfred Smith, *Principal, Kishnaghur College*; (4), J. H. Anderson, *Principal, Serampore College*; (5), Bancroft Boake, *Principal, Queen's College, Colombo*; (6), John D. Don, *Late of the Free Church Institution, Calcutta*; (7), the Bishop of Colombo.

(b)—(1), Lalbehari Dey, *Head Master, Berhampore College*; (2), S. Slater, *Head Master, Bishop Cotton's School*.

- (c)—(1), S. Lobb, *Officiating Principal, Hooghly College*; (2), R. Parry, *Professor, Hooghly College*; (3), J. R. Griffith, *Principal, Queen's College*; (4), G. B. Watts, *Principal, Victoria College, Agra*; (5), W. N. Lees, *Principal, Calcutta Madrasah* (including answer of Professor Blochmann); (6), David Garodust, *Professor, Berhampore College*; (7), H. D. Hubbard, *Principal, Jangama's College, Benares*; (8), H. Depelchin, *Rector, St. Xavier's College, Patna*; (9), C. B. Cooke, *Principal, Delhi College*; (10), J. W. McOrindle, *at Patna College*; (11), Chundy Churn Banerjee, *Head Master, Cut-*

demned, and in which it is proposed to substitute a course of Logic for Mental and Moral Science; *fifteen* belong to this class. In *one* of the answers it is proposed to exclude Logic as well as Mental and Moral Science from the First Examination in Arts.

When the Faculty of Arts again met in order "to re-consider the resolution of the Syndicate," a long and interesting discussion took place, and the opponents of the present system would doubtless have triumphed if they had *unanimously* consented to keep in the back ground the theological bearings of the question. As it was, the clerical members of the Faculty were placed in an awkward position; their hostility was necessarily awakened, and they were induced, as champions of the cross, to defend a position which many of them regarded, on purely secular grounds, as quite untenable. So even was the contest, that the motion was lost only by the President's casting vote, which was given, we believe, on the unobjectionable principle, that where opinions are equally divided, preference should be awarded to the advocates of the *status quo*—the question being thus left open for renewed discussion.\*

*tack School*; (12), R. Boycott, *Principal, Canning College*; (13), M. J. White, M. A. *Edinburgh University*; (14), James Kibble, M. A., Oxon., *Head Master, Saugor School*; (15), A. W. Croft.

Mr. Robert Hand, *Principal of the Berhampore College*, would "restrict the First Arts Examination to the prescribed Course in Languages, Mathematics, and History, leaving Mental Science, Metaphysics, Ethics, Logic, to the B. A. and Honor Examinations."

\* A different motive has been assigned by the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, who says:—"The President is a member of the Syndicate, and in that capacity had the suggestion of the Professor of Moral Philosophy (Mr. Croft) twice before him. On one occasion, we believe, he occupied the chair of the Syndicate, and on both occasions he voted in favour of the change. When the subject came before the Faculty, he seemed well disposed to adopt it, and opened the debate by a long speech on the propriety of discussing the merits of books without reference to their religious tendencies. When the time for voting came, he is said to have stated, in justification of his casting vote, that he had always voted against the books; but since exception had been taken against their religious bias, his Christian feeling and sympathies had been roused, and he was obliged to vote for them." (*Hindoo Patriot*, July 27, 1868.) Our own version rests upon good authority; but allowing what the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* says to be correct, it is not difficult to reconcile the two accounts: we have simply to assume that the feelings of the Christian gentleman were in accordance with the recognised duty of the President of a deliberative assembly.

We now propose to consider, from our own point of view, the controversy to which the recent proposal of the Syndicate has given rise :—

I. We shall commence by discussing the propriety of retaining Mental and Moral Science as a part of the First Arts Course.

Our objections to the employment of these complex and unsettled subjects, as instruments of elementary education, have been elsewhere embodied in the following terms :—

(A).—That second year students, as a rule, are utterly unable to comprehend the scope and meaning of even the most elementary Psychological inquiries, owing to the immaturity of their intellects, and a complete want of that preliminary mental training which is required before entering upon such a study.

(B).—That it is not advisable to perplex the mind of a beginner with a subject like Ethics, upon which there is so little agreement among rival schools. As the teaching can only be of the most partial, one-sided nature, it had better be altogether abandoned.

*Objection (A).*—The age of First Arts students, it must be remembered, ranges from 17 to about 20 years ; while their strictly scientific attainments are confined to Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, and Statics. Such being the case, we confidently affirm that it is impossible for them to appreciate the different methods which the mind adopts in the pursuit of truth. Deduction is not the only instrument of discovery, but it is the only one which First Arts students are at all capable of comprehending.\*

\* We cannot agree with the Rev. Mr. Don, that *maturity of thought* is to be reached by forcing upon the inexperienced, knowledge which is far in advance of their mental attainments. Let a discipline fitted to develop the immature powers of our students be provided by all means ; but such a discipline must be provided by furnishing knowledge which can be legitimately developed from the stores of thought already laid up in the understanding. Of course, we do not pretend to call in question the results of Mr. Don's own experience ; all we can say is, that our experience has led us to a different conclusion.

Much stress is laid by Mr. Don and others on the value of Mental Science as a gymnastic for the mind. Mr. Don would encourage among First Arts students "self-introspection and analysis." He affirms with Professor Jardine the necessity of "inviting the mind" at an early stage "to attend to her own operations, and to record the objects of her consciousness." Now, it appears to us that Mr. Don and his school do not sufficiently dis-

At the very commencement of Abercrombie's Treatise on "The Intellectual Powers," the reader is introduced (1) to an elaborate discussion on the relation subsisting between *cause* and *effect* ; and (2), to a consideration of the several degrees of perfection which belong to the different sciences. The right estimation of such difficult subjects as these requires a careful and prolonged training, yet the Calcutta University hesitates not to impose upon those who are stumbling upon the very threshold of the temple of science, a task whose accomplishment should be regarded as the crowning effort of the most mature and accomplished intellects among its alumni.

The following extracts, from the preliminary observations prefixed to Dr. Abercrombie's Treatise, will show, more clearly than any description we could give, the abstruse nature of the investigations with which young men of 18 are now presumed to be familiar :—

"When we speak of physical causes in regard to any of the phenomena of nature, we mean nothing more than the fact of a certain uniform connexion which has been observed between events. Of efficient causes, or the manner in which the result takes place, we know nothing. In this sense, indeed, we may be said not to know the cause of any thing, even of events which at first sight appear the most simple and obvious. Thus, the communication of motion from one body to another by impulse appears a very simple phenomenon ; but how little idea have we of the cause of it. We say the bodies touch each other, and so the motion is communicated. But, in the first place, we cannot say why a body in motion, coming in contact with one at rest, should put the latter in motion ; and further, we know that they do not come in contact. We may consider it, indeed, as ascertained, that there is no such thing as the actual contact of the bodies under these circumstances ; and, therefore, the fact which appears so simple comes to be as unaccountable as any phenomenon in nature. What, again, appears more intelligible than an unsupported body falling to the ground ? Yet what is more inexplicable than that one mass of matter should thus act upon another, at any distance,

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tinguish between the art of thinking and the science of thought. Although men generally allow that an art must be practised in order that it may be learnt, yet there are certain teachers who would persuade us that the young can be taught to reason by reasoning about reasoning, or, in other words, to think systematically by thinking about thought.

and even though a vacuum be interposed between them? The same observation will be seen to apply to all the facts which are most familiar to us. Why, for example, one medicine acts upon the stomach, another on the bowels, a third on the kidneys, a fourth on the skin, we have not the smallest conception: we know only the uniformity of the facts.\*

"The term final cause, again, has been applied to a subject entirely different, namely, to the appearances of unity of design in the phenomena of nature, and the manner in which means are adapted to particular ends. The subject is one of great and extensive importance. \* \* \* It leads us chiefly to the inductions of natural religion respecting a great and intelligent first cause; but it may also be directed to truth in regard to the phenomena of nature. One of the most remarkable examples of this last application of it is to be found in the manner in which Harvey was led to the discovery of the circulation of the blood, by observing the valves in the veins, and contemplating the uses to which that peculiar structure might be adapted.

"The object of all *science* is to ascertain these established relations of things, or the tendency of certain events to be followed by certain other events; in other words, the aptitude of certain bodies to produce, or to be followed by, certain changes in other bodies in particular circumstances.

"In the physical sciences we investigate the relations of material substances, their action upon each other, either of a mechanical or chemical nature. \* \* \* Sciences are distinguished into those which are certain and those which are, in a greater or less degree, uncertain. The certainty of a science depends upon the facility and correctness with which we ascertain the true relations of things, or trace effects to their true causes, and causes to their true effects, and calculate upon the actions which arise out of these relations taking place with perfect uniformity. This certainty we easily attain in the purely physical sciences, or those in which we have to deal only with inanimate matter. For, in our investigation of the relations of material bodies, whether mechanical or chemical, we contrive experiments,† in which, by placing the bodies in a variety of

\* To us it appears impossible that minds untrained in any of the sciences, except Algebra, Geometry, and Statics, should be able to grasp the meaning of the above assertions. Trifling instances and illustrations are not enough to confer upon the learner any fruitful knowledge.

† One who is not tolerably well acquainted with Physics can form no proper idea of an *experiment*.

circumstances towards each other, and excluding all extraneous influence, we come to determine their tendencies with perfect certainty. With these characters of certainty in the purely physical sciences, two sources of uncertainty are contrasted in those branches of science in which we have to deal with mental operations, or with the powers of living bodies. The first of these depends upon the circumstance that, in investigating the relations and tendencies in these cases, we are generally obliged to trust to observation alone, as the phenomena happen to be presented to us, and cannot confirm or correct these observations by direct experiment. \* \* \*

The second source of uncertainty in this class of sciences consists in the fact that, even after we have ascertained the true relations of things, we may be disappointed of the results which we wish to produce, when we bring their tendencies into operation."\*

Such discussions as these, are, we maintain, totally beyond the comprehension of the mere tyro, whose scientific faculties are in the first stage of their development. But when he advances from preliminary remarks upon science in general to the special domain of mental science, the prospect before him is as dark as ever: for he is now expected to detect the nature of the most complicated *mental processes*, before he has been introduced to any worthy subject-matter where these processes are practically applied. Abstraction, Generalisation, Classification, Experiment, Observation, Hypothesis, Deduction, Induction, and Analogy, are all brought before his untutored and bewildered mind. The result is worse than chaos. But those alone who have had experience in teaching or examining University students,† can form an adequate conception of the hopeless confusion that results from the vain attempt to digest knowledge which cannot be assimilated,—an attempt rendered necessary, however, so long as the University will persist in forcing strong meat upon those who require only the simplest intellectual diet.

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\* The conception formed by First Arts students concerning the relative perfection of the sciences is, as we can testify, of the very vaguest description. Could it, from the circumstances of the case, be otherwise?

† We here allude not to the select few, but to the majority. Those whom nature has endowed with her choicest intellectual gifts can flourish under conditions even the most unfavourable: it is to the mass that we ought to adapt our teaching.

Taking the paper of an *average* student, it will be found that the most

Then, again, is it advisable to introduce the student, at so early a period of his career, to the metaphysical subtleties which are continually cropping up in the generally received systems of Psychology and Ethics? Can any thing but perplexity and doubt result from prematurely agitating such problems as those of Causation, Materialism, Idealism, Necessity, Free-will, &c.? We are well aware that these discussions have a peculiar fascination for the Hindoo, whose mind is more prone to meditate upon itself and its own subjective fictions, than to look abroad upon the vast and pregnant realities of the external world. This introspective tendency is so fixed and general that it needs, as we think, no direct stimulus; and it would be far better for the future of India to discourage such a tendency by every legitimate means, than to foster it, as at present, by mixing up so much enervating speculation and hazardous hypothesis with the masculine precepts and splendid truths of Positive Science.

*Objection (B).*—The same objections which apply to Mental Science do not apply so strongly to Ethics; but there are other objections,\* which may be urged against the latter subject, quite as serious, it appears to us, as those which may be urged against the former one. All our teaching up to the B. A. Examination should be as definite as possible. The undeveloped mind requires certainty, not doubt; any subject, therefore, which still affords a battle-ground for conflicting opinions, had better be dismissed till the judgment is ripe, and the imagination under the control of the intellect. Ethics is one of those subjects which should be avoided by the mere tyro: as yet there is not a sufficient agreement on fundamental points to warrant us in regarding it as a definitely constituted science for dogma-

credible of the answers are given, almost word for word, in the language of the text-book: any question which requires some independent thought is either not answered at all, or is answered in the most superficial and unsatisfactory manner. Whenever an *average* examinee travels beyond the text-book, he betrays at once his real ignorance. Fully one quarter of the papers given in are simply worthless, and hence require no analysis.

\* These objections are directed, not against the practical and undisputed portions of Ethics, but against the metaphysical theories and discussions regarding abstract principles, which enter so largely into our present ethical teaching. Dr. Abercrombie's Treatise possesses considerable merits as a practical exposition of morality; and it is to the presence of this practical element that it owes its chief influence upon the mind of the young.

tic purposes. The two great and hostile schools of thought, which have so long contended for the victory, still flourish, and still claim our impartial consideration, though one only may secure our undivided allegiance. The student, if he is to enter upon such questions at all, should not confine his attention to one only of the great Ethical systems: materials should be supplied which may enable him to form a correct estimate of both; and in arriving at his conclusions, he should carefully consider all the arguments, whether favorable or adverse, which may be brought to bear upon them. The result, however, of such a course would be, to produce a most undesirable perplexity and confusion in minds which had not previously undergone a systematic and special discipline. To avoid this perplexity, the subject must necessarily be treated in the most partial manner; and the effect of our one-sided teaching is, either to induce the learner to believe that certainty and unanimity prevail in a region where doubt and discord have not ceased to reign; or to make him an obstinate convert to the most superficial kind of utilitarianism when he quits the beaten track of independent and immutable morality; his conversion arising sometimes from a mere love of novelty, but oftener from that feeling of rebellion against conventional dogmas which is peculiar to many minds, and which operates with more than ordinary force upon the young.

But, while deeming it advisable, in the present state of opinion, that no one *theory* should be taught dogmatically to the exclusion of others, we are not unwilling to admit that a useful systematisation of practical moral principles might be effected by a judicious selection from the works of the most conspicuous ethical writers. Mr. Kibble, in his reply to the Circular before alluded to, has suggested the propriety of combining the Ethics of Christianity with the Ethics of Aristotle; and some such plan appears to us not undeserving of consideration. Morality, it must be remembered, is a subject in which we start with a very large body of empirical truths, so that, although in some respects it is the most difficult of sciences, in other respects it is the simplest. There is much in Morals which is perfectly intelligible to all minds without any previous scientific training; much that is common to all ethical systems. Hence we think it might be possible to organise a body of universally acknowledged moral truths, the inculcation of which could certainly produce no injurious result, but might *in time* be instrumental



in exercising a salutary influence upon the hearts as well as upon the minds of those whom we educate.\*

The points of difference among ethical writers are important, doubtless, to the student of history; but the points of agreement have a higher value, for they are permanent and universal, while the former are transitory and accidental; they influence our actions, while theoretical differences can do no more than modify our opinions. The grand and fundamental truths of Morality are the same everywhere; they are stamped upon the codes of nations and the creeds of races; they dwell in the burning language of the poet and the orator; they may be traced upon the painter's canvas and the sculptor's marble; they are written upon the consciences of each individual man, and though often-times neglected or forgotten, yet they never fail to win the homage of a respectful admiration even from those whom they have apparently ceased to control.

II. As regards Dr. Abercrombie's book, we imagine there are but few educationists who will deny that, whatever may be its merits, it is not a suitable work for the use of Hindoo and Mahomedan students, even if it be granted that the subjects treated of should be allowed to form a portion of the University curriculum.

The Chapters on Dreaming, Somnambulism, and Insanity, are those which, to our mind, possess the greatest scientific value; the information which they contain being especially interesting and instructive to all who deem it necessary that mental science should be founded upon a sufficiently wide objective basis. These chapters, however, our students are compelled to omit, it being evident that here at least they are trespassing upon ground with which their previous education has not rendered them familiar; and from this enforced omission we may glean an argument against the worth of our present semi-metaphysical system of instruction: for, surely, if that system were trustworthy, we should welcome, and not scornfully thrust aside, the very facts which were necessary to throw a perfectly clear light upon the healthy and normal state of our

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\* This end is already gained, to some extent, in our Colleges, by the *purely practical* lessons which Dr. Abercrombie inculcates. Still, the effect of these lessons is in a great measure neutralised by the discussion of puzzling and antagonistic Ethical theories, and by the enforcement of dogmas which are received only by a fraction of the civilised world.

Of course, where moral influences are concerned, we must not leave out

mental operations. But, though fully admitting the value of Dr. Abercrombie's Physiological and Pathological researches, we are still of opinion that the results are not presented in a form quite suitable for an elementary text-book.\*

It has been unhesitatingly alleged by some critics that Dr. Abercrombie's Treatises abound in unscientific and inaccurate statements. This allegation, we are confident, would be quite as unhesitatingly denied by the majority of those who advocate the Philosophy of Reid and Stewart. Whatever Dr. Abercrombie's short-comings as a philosopher may be, they are only such as he shares in common with the most illustrious members of the Scotch School. In some respects he certainly appears to have formed a juster appreciation than either Reid or Stewart, of the principles upon which the investigation of man's mental faculties should ultimately depend. Thus, he observes "that the chief hindrance to the cultivation of mental science, on inductive principles, arises from the difficulty of procuring facts. For, the only field in which the mental philosopher can pursue his researches with perfect confidence is his own mind. In his observations on the minds of other men, he is obliged to judge of the internal operations by external phenomena; and in this manner a degree of uncertainty attends his investigations which does not occur in physical science. From this source, also, has probably arisen much of that difference of opinion which we meet with in regard to the mental powers. For each inquirer having drawn his observations chiefly from one mind, namely, his own, it was scarcely to be expected that there should not be some diversity, or that facts derived in this manner should possess the character of being universal. The means by which this difficulty can be removed, must consist in an extensive collection of facts, illustrating the phenomena of mind in various individuals, and under a variety of circumstances; and there are several points of view in which the subject is peculiarly adapted to the medical observer. Mental manifestations are greatly modified by the condition of those bodily organs by which the mind holds intercourse with external things, especially the brain. It becomes therefore a matter of the greatest interest, to ascertain the manner in which the manifestations of mind are affected by diseases of these organs,

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of view the beneficial effects of a literature rich in every thought that can purify or ennoble the heart of man.

\* Mr. Bain's recent work on 'Mental and Moral Science' we regard as a model *text-book*.

as well as to observe their condition in that remarkable class of affections, commonly called diseases of the mind. Besides, in the affections which are referable to both these classes, we often meet with manifestations of the most interesting kind, and such as are calculated to illustrate, in a very striking manner, important points in the philosophy of the mental powers. It is thus in the power of the observing physician to contribute valuable facts to the science of mind ; and it is almost unnecessary to add that the study may be turned to purposes of immediate importance to his own inquiries." In these remarks we have distinctly fore-shadowed the application of that positive method of inquiry which is now so successfully employed, and which, as we think, is destined, ere long, to be universally accepted. The purely metaphysical doctrines have already been nearly swept away by the advancing tide of human progress : the contest, in future, lies between the partisans of Individual Consciousness on the one side, and the advocates of an extended Biological experience on the other. This is not the place to examine the nature of such a contest, nor do we deem ourselves at all qualified to undertake so delicate a task : to those of our readers who may wish to become acquainted with the charges brought by the Biological School against those who pretend to construct Mental Science upon the data of Consciousness, we can confidently recommend the perusal of Dr. Maudsley's excellent work on "*The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind.*"

The chief objections, as we think, to the use of Abercrombie as a text-book, are : (1), its diffuse style ; (2), its frequent repetitions ; and (3), its theological tone. The last of these objections applies, especially, to its use among Hindoos and Mahometans in the Government Colleges of India.

The books studied in a University belong to two classes : (1), those which are intrinsically valuable in relation to the history of Human Thought ; (2), those which merely state results in a convenient and elementary form. If we grant that Dr. Abercrombie's Treatises belong to the first class, it must be allowed that the importance of their subject-matter amply atones for any trifling blemishes of style ;\* but if they are simply adopted as text-books, then we cannot fail to regard *diffuseness* and *repetition* as very serious defects.

\* Dr. Abercrombie's style no doubt possesses considerable merits for the general reader : we censure it only as the style of an elementary scientific text-book.

As the chief object of a text-book is to secure agreement in the reading of a large number of students who are ultimately to undergo the same examination, all that is really needed is a full and accurate syllabus of the subject treated of. Several advantages might be secured by the adoption of such a syllabus. In the first place, the Professor would be furnished with sufficient materials, which he could expand and illustrate for the benefit of his pupils, thus imparting an interest to the subject which the perusal of a formal treatise cannot confer. Secondly, the student would not succeed by merely committing to memory page after page of an authorized manual, but would have to exercise his reflective faculties. Thirdly, the requisite convergence for the purposes of a general examination would still be secured, and the Examiners would have ample scope afforded them for testing the higher capabilities of the candidates.

But the really fatal objection to the adoption of Dr. Abercrombie's book in *Government Colleges*, arises from the preponderance which it assigns to the religious element. Abercrombie does not, it is true, like Paley, regard the Bible as the indispensable basis of Morality,\* for he distinctly maintains that our moral intuitions are instinctive, and that virtue is independent of the Will of God; but he does mix up Secular and Christian Ethics in such a way as to render his book thoroughly suitable only for those who are willing to accept the dogmatic basis of Christianity. We cannot but think that Abercrombie is somewhat inconsistent when he supplements the light of conscience by the light of Divine revelation; for to those who possess

\* Mr. Parry (in his reply to the Circular) has well indicated Dr. Abercrombie's view. "It has been said," he observes, "that Dr. Abercrombie bases his philosophy on the Bible. This I conceive to be a mistake. He belongs to a school of independent thought; if he bases his system on the Bible, then Reid and Stewart, whom he follows, must be held to do the same. His references to it are brought in, rather in the shape of personal conclusions or reflections. He deemed it important to shew that the philosophy he advocated, harmonized with Scripture. That it clearly points to the need of such a system as Christianity, for remedying the defects of human nature, was to him a strong confirmation of its truth; and that is what he wishes to impress upon his readers. The strength of these allusions lay in the fact that they were entirely independent of Christianity, and to a Christian, of course, such evidence might appear cogent enough. Still, they are mere matters of personal opinion, and could easily be omitted without doing any substantial injury to his system."

the latter *infallible guide*,\* the former is surely quite superfluous. No ethical writers, whether they advocate a *dependent* or an *independent* scheme of morality, deny that the conscience requires to be trained. The real point at issue is, whether conscience is to be trained by means of human or theological sanctions. Those who regard virtue as independent of the Deity, should, if they are consistent, avoid the introduction of a theological element which cannot fail to vitiate the universality of their conclusions. Abercrombie, in providing conscience with a Divine instructor, was actuated, most probably, by his firm belief in the doctrines, and his profound veneration for the ethical precepts, of the Gospel,—motives which all must respect; but he was too accomplished a man of science not to be aware that the course he adopted was open to serious criticism. "I am aware," he says, "that some will consider an appeal to the sacred writings as a departure from the strict course of philosophical inquiry." His defence is, that "in every moral investigation, if we take the inductions of sound philosophy along with the dictates of conscience and the light of revealed truth, we shall find them to constitute one uniform and harmonious whole, the various parts of which tend, in a remarkable manner, to establish and illustrate each other."

Some of our fellow-educationists appear to consider the study of Abercrombie's book as necessary, in order that the youth of this country may not grow up wholly unacquainted with the Christian ethics: they seem to imagine that when Abercrombie falls, then all knowledge of Christianity must perish from the land.† We do not share these gloomy anticipations: for, does

\* "But in this great inquiry," says Dr. Abercrombie, "we have two sources of knowledge, to which nothing analogous is to be found in the history of physical science, and which will prove infallible guides, if we resign ourselves to their direction with sincere desire to discover the truth. These are the light of conscience, and the light of Divine revelation."

† According to Mr. Boake, if Abercrombie "be removed from the Course, it will be quite possible for a student to have passed the Entrance Examination and the first Examination in Arts (and comparatively few proceed any further in their University career), without having any opportunity of becoming acquainted with even an outline of the doctrines of the Christian religion." Mr. Boake is certainly the boldest among the partisans of the present state of things, for he explicitly declares that the especial value of Dr. Abercrombie's Treatises "consists in the view which they give of the great plan of salvation as revealed in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and of the evidence on which that Gospel rests."

not the spirit of Christianity permeate the whole body of English literature? Are not some of our greatest authors pre-eminent Christian? And are they not all, believers and unbelievers alike, dominated by the supreme influence of that Gospel which was preached of old upon the hills of Galilee, and proclaimed to mankind at large by the heroic apostle of the Gentiles?

The Rev. Mr. Don, in his able reply to the Circular issued by the Faculty of Arts, has advocated the retention of Abercrombie as the exponent of a particular and influential school of thought. Whether the connexion between Philosophy and Theology be necessary or not, there are, as Mr. Don observes, certain topics common to both. "Abercrombie," he says, "views some of those common topics as presented both in Natural and Christian Theology. Such developments of thought are worth looking at. They may be considered from a purely philosophical point of view; therefore no reason exists for excluding them from the studies of the University." Such arguments as these may be very well in the abstract, but they assume a much more advanced state of intellectual development than really exists among either First Arts or Bachelor of Arts students of the Calcutta University, while they totally ignore the peculiar relation subsisting between the Government and the natives of India. Surely, too, the non-theological school is as much entitled as the theological one, to insist upon the paramount importance of its own point of view, and also upon the practical enforcement of its claims. The University, harassed by the importunities of these blue and green factions of the educational amphitheatre, will be forced at length either to sacrifice the subject itself, or to allow the simultaneous inculcation of two rival and heterogeneous systems.

For ourselves, we belong to a school which conceives "that the Science of Ethics ought to be constructed on broad human grounds, such as are acknowledged by men of every variety of religious opinion;"\* but we are anxious, nevertheless, that

\* Mr. Alexander Bain, in his work on the Emotions and the Will, says: "I am aware that some have endeavoured to make the two fields of Ethics and Theology coincident. Thus Dr. Wardlaw, in his *Lectures on Christian Ethics*, censures the whole series of ethical writers without exception, including men (such as Butler) no less attached to Christianity than himself, for not making the doctrine of the corruption of human nature the cornerstone of their respective systems. But I have already had occasion to ad-

all modes of thought should be fairly tested, and that conviction should follow a comparison of their respective merits. We only doubt whether the *ordinary* under-graduates of a University (for whom we must chiefly legislate) are able or inclined to undergo a process which requires judicial impartiality and philosophic breadth of intellect. Hasty dogmatism and devoted partisanship are, and ever must remain, the essential characteristics of the youthful mind. A healthy method of instruction would not altogether discourage these characteristics, but at the same time would not unduly foster them.

Our objections to the religious element, as introduced by Abercrombie, are based upon practical experience as well as upon theoretical considerations.

(1).—As regards the *learner*.—We have found that in many cases a captious criticism is provoked by the enunciation of certain Christian doctrines, a criticism which can only be avoided by a stern refusal to dilate upon all religious topics. We have also found that, in their examination papers, certain students have been in the habit of indulging in considerable dishonesty of expression from the somewhat venial desire of gratifying their Examiners, and thus securing an additional chance of success. The general effect of the religious teaching of Abercrombie on the minds of his Hindoo and Mussulman readers, is probably quite inconsiderable: this teaching awakens, it may be, no positive hostility; it may even create among a few thoughtful minds a vague admiration for the Christian ethics; but we have never yet heard that it has induced any one to believe that the lessons of the Bible are absolutely necessary to supplement the dictates of Conscience and Reason. Apart from any positive harm that may be effected, the prominence of the religious element in Abercrombie's ethics leads to incongruous results. As all questions involving a direct and definite expression

duce the reasoning of Stewart and Cudworth to show that a vicious circle is formed, the moment that morality is deprived of its independent foundation, and made to repose on religion. The same view has been forcibly urged by Sir James Mackintosh. The Science of Ethics ought, I conceive, to be constructed on broad human grounds, such as are acknowledged by men of every variety of religious opinion, and with reference to what one man can exact from another as fellow beings. Now, man must work by praise and blame, reward and punishment. When he works by punishment or blame, it is duty; when by praise or reward, it is merit: such are the very meanings of the words. So if praise and reward are proper instruments, there must be such a thing as merit in a human point of view.

of religious opinion must be carefully excluded from the University Examination papers, a large portion of Abercrombie's work is ultimately useless. The rule of exclusion now adverted to, acts thus: the student reads through long disquisitions on various religious topics in private, and is afterwards informed by his teacher that these disquisitions, however interesting in themselves, will be of no manner of service to him in the final contest upon which all his hopes and fears are centred. Must not the University be lowered in the estimation of the native community by allowing such a state of things to exist? Is it so very difficult to found mental and moral science on a basis which *all* can accept, that we must perforce be reduced to the strange expedient of employing a manual, the most characteristic lessons of which are to be tolerated in the study and the class-room, but utterly ignored in the examination-hall? We deem it advisable upon *general* grounds that Psychology and Ethics should be rejected from the curriculum of elementary studies; but there is no reason why the theological element should prove a difficulty in the way of their acceptance. A text-book might be easily framed which should give the results arrived at by the greatest thinkers, without in any way trenching upon the peculiar province of revealed religion.

(2).—The present system has its disadvantages for the *teacher* as well as the *disciple*. The latter has a difficulty in realising that many of the apparently positive statements which he meets with in his text-book, are matters of opinion, and not of fact: he demands a categorical interpretation, and is not satisfied with an acknowledgment of ignorance on the part of his teacher. The sceptical and unbiassed expositor, being confronted with hearers who are naturally dogmatic and one-sided, is at a loss how to act. Finding that his neutrality is misunderstood, he probably deems it best, in the end, to sink his own individuality and become a mere conduit-pipe for the transmission of another man's thoughts.\* The constant treatment of ethical subjects

\* The Rev. Mr. Don is of opinion that this difficulty is an imaginary one. He says: "Be his own opinions or those taught in the text-book what they may, the teacher's part is not, primarily, to indoctrinate them (his pupils) with either, but to train them to examine and think for themselves. If he (the professor) must teach only within the limits of the text-book, without stating his own opinions and those of other men, so far as he knows them, I fail to see why we should be there. This conception of a professor's duty is surely something new." Our own experience in teach-



from a Biblical point of view is very perplexing to some teachers when they are dealing with non-Christian students. Mr. Parry, in his reply to the Circular, has clearly pointed out the usual course adopted in Government Colleges, the motives of the teacher in adopting it, and its probable results. "In Government Colleges," he observes, "the more general practice is, to slip over these passages, or to neglect them altogether; and this may be accounted for, without supposing any direct hostility, or even indifference to the subject itself on the part of the teacher. It may, and no doubt commonly does, arise from the feeling that since the subject of Theology has no direct bearing on the study itself, and does not come up at the Annual Examination, it would be a needless expenditure of time and labor to dwell upon it; or that, in the absence of a special prior training on the part of the students for the due appreciation of such subjects, he had rather not enter upon them; that as Theology forms no part of the curriculum, it is better to leave it untouched altogether, than to dole it out in scraps and fragments to those to whom the subject is foreign and the terminology strange; that it would require more time than, under the circumstances, he would be justified in devoting to it in order to make it intelligible, and that if he did dwell upon it at any length, it might be construed into a desire to proselytise. The consequence probably is, that the students, not rightly understanding his motives, put his conduct down either to personal contempt of religion or cowardice, either of which conclusions might of course exercise an influence on their minds unfavorable to Christianity." We should be disposed ourselves to describe in stronger terms than Mr. Parry has employed, the disadvantages under which the teacher labours; but we consider the above language sufficiently strong to justify our condemnation of the present system. Mr. Parry's opinion is valuable as coming from one who belongs to the metaphysical school, and who seeks rather to renovate, if that be possible, than to destroy the old foundations.

(3).—Finally, the policy of the Government is liable to be misunderstood, owing to the discrepancy that exists between

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ing has led us to a different conclusion. The pupils with whom we have had to deal, have been too inexperienced, and the time at our disposal consequently too short, to allow us, even if we had been model professors, to follow Mr. Don's advice. An examination of the papers hitherto set by the University will make it tolerably clear, to the student at least, that a faithful adherence to Abercrombie is the best guarantee for success.

our theoretical professions of neutrality and our practical abandonment of those professions. Where, it may be asked, is the essential difference between the teaching of a religious creed by a missionary in the disguise of a professor, and the inculcation of that same creed by a manual of Theology in the disguise of an Essay on the Intellectual and Active Powers? It is not, however, necessary for us to dwell at any length upon this head. The discrepancy, though it exists, is quite harmless in its effects, being thoroughly neutralized by the splendid toleration of a Government which extends its law-protecting ægis over all creeds and all classes. In describing the British rule in India, the historian of the future may exclaim with Gibbon:—"The firm edifice of power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces were united by laws and adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honors and advantages they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their conquerors."

In advocating the substitution of Logic for Dr. Abercrombie's two Treatises, we are influenced by different considerations from those stated in most of the replies which are favorable to the proposal of the Syndicate.

"The only way to learn the art of reasoning," it has been well said, "is to reason with certainty and precision on clear and definite matter." As no one can become an orator by reading treatises on Rhetoric, nor a fluent writer by studying the rules of Grammar, so no one can acquire the art of deductive reasoning by the simple aid of Formal Logic. Some appropriate, and not wholly trifling, matter is required, in which deduction may be applied. Such matter is furnished by Mathematics.

Formal Logic, then, as we think, is of little value *per se*, but is useful for exhibiting clearly the nature of mathematical reasoning. The problems of Arithmetic and Geometry are too often taught as a series of mysterious artifices, and the pupil is hurried along through complicated processes which he often manipulates cleverly, but which he seldom regards as resting upon a simple logical basis. It would be out of place here to enter into any technical details; all who are acquainted with Mr. De Morgan's writings will not fail to appreciate our meaning, and to recognise the transcendent import-

ance of teaching Mathematics for the sake of its Logic even more than for the sake of the subject matter of which it treats.

Logic, according to the view that we adopt, is more of an Art than a Science. It is not confined, as in Mathematics, to simple Deduction, but includes, moreover, Observation, Experiment, Comparison, and Historical Filiation. Each branch can be properly studied only in that department of Science where it is found developed in perfection. The logic of Deduction must be studied in Mathematics; that of Experiment, in Terrestrial Physics; that of Comparison, in Biology; and that of Historical Filiation, in Sociology. In Sociology, Logic becomes complete; for in this Science we can employ not only its own peculiar organum, Historical Filiation, but also each of the subordinate organa, Comparison, Experiment, Observation, and Deduction.

In conclusion, we cannot refrain from entering our earnest protest against any increase of the metaphysical element in our University teaching. The subtleties of the schoolmen and the hazardous speculations of German ontologists are not calculated to strengthen or expand an undeveloped mind. They may be useful to the *advanced* student, as representing one of the most important phases in the intellectual history of man. In the *earlier stages*, however, of mental growth, they are not merely useless, but positively mischievous, inasmuch as they retard progress by encouraging a vicious subjectivity, as well as by withdrawing the attention from the momentous and invigorating truths of Positive Science.

Dr. Abercrombie, who ought to be regarded as an authority by our adversaries, is at one with us with reference to the inutility of all metaphysical speculations; though we must admit that he was somewhat inconsistent in not always strictly adhering to his purely scientific conception. In describing the importance of psychological inquiry, he says: "During the prevalence of that system which has been called the Metaphysics of the Schools, this important inquiry was obscured by speculations of the most frivolous nature. It is in modern times only that it has assumed a real value and a practical importance, under the researches of those eminent men who have cultivated the philosophy of mind on the principles which are acted upon in physical science, namely, a careful observation of facts and conclusions drawn from these by the most cautious induction." Again, he tells us that "of efficient causes \* \* \* we know nothing. \* \* \* Physical causes only are the proper object of philosophical inquiry." Again: "When we attempt to spe-

culate upon the nature and cause of the connection between mind and matter, we wander at once from the path of philosophical inquiry into conjectures which are as far beyond the proper sphere as they are beyond the reach of the human faculties. The object of true science on such a subject is simply to investigate the facts, or the relations of phenomena, respecting the operations of mind itself, and the intercourse which it carries on with the things of the external world."

### ART. III.—HINDOO FEMALE CELEBRITIES.

1. *The Nobonari, or Nine Females.*
2. *Wheeler's "Mahaburat."*
3. *Tod's "Rajasthan."*
4. *Malcolm's "Central India."*

**F**EW subjects engage so much of the public attention at the present time as the condition of Hindoo females. It is discussed in the legislature, in public assemblies, and in domestic circles. It is the fertile theme of philanthropists, reformers, and public lecturers. Affecting, as it does, the great question of the regeneration of India, it has well-nigh become the absorbing topic of the day. In proportion to its vital interest, do innumerable speeches, tracts, and pamphlets, abound upon the subject. But it is, in truth, far from having been exhausted. The opinions generally expressed, are too often the offspring of limited knowledge and superficial enquiry. Foreigners, judging only from what they see and hear, conclude that the women of this country are immeasurably inferior, both intellectually and socially, to the women of other civilized lands, and, indeed, that they are scarcely less degraded than women among savages. These inferences are confirmed by various texts and expressions abounding in the Hindoo shastras, which are believed to afford plausible data for concluding that Hindoo women are looked upon as wretches of the most base and vicious inclinations, and are held in that habitual contempt which makes their condition little better than slavery. The Institutes of Menu are quoted to show that woman is "ever ready to corrupt men, whether wise or foolish," and that to her are imputed "impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief, and bad conduct." The Hitopodesa is cited to show that the most brutal invectives may be used against the fair sex. And the Code of Gentoo laws is referred to in proof of the fact that woman is regarded as an embodiment of all that is weak and immoral in human nature.

In evidence of the state of slavery in which she is declared to be perpetually held, the following passage from Menu has been adduced:—"Day and night must women be held by their

protectors in a state of dependence. Their fathers protect them in childhood ; their husbands protect them in youth ; their sons protect them in age : a woman is never fit for independence." In truth, all that this passage indicates is the natural guardianship exercised by man over woman ; but it has betrayed Mill, the historian, into the egregious conclusion that Hindoo women are held in a strict and humiliating dependence tantamount almost to slavery.

Another text sometimes cited, in proof of the statement that Hindoo women are debarred from the amenities of literature, is that in which Menu observes that " women have no business with the Vedas."

But old Menu is very much wronged by those who think him to be sternly opposed to the acquirement of knowledge by the other sex. Learning is greatly honored throughout his code, and recommended to all classes. Women are forbidden only the study of the Vedas ; not absolutely the use of all letters. Those sacred books form a repository of the most varied knowledge. They treat of theology, logic, ethics, astronomy, and other physical sciences, many of which are to the female understanding as abstruse as the *Novum Organum* and *Principia*.

The most indubitable proof of the cultivation of learning by the Hindoo women of antiquity is furnished by the recorded fact that Vyasa undertook the composition of the *Mahabharat* with a view to place knowledge within the reach of women, as well as all those who may not have access to the Vedas and other higher works.

But whatever may have been the spirit in which Menu legislated, admitting, for the sake of argument, that his enactments with respect to women are severe and barbarous, it must be borne in mind that the age in which he lived was one in which physical force seemed a far mightier means of persuasion than moral influences. The state of Hindoo society is not the same now that it was then : the people have advanced in the arts of civilization ; social feeling has been gradually assuming a purer and higher form ; and, although there undoubtedly is still much to be done in respect of the elevation of the women in India, we must not overlook the progress that has already been made, or fall into the egregious mistake of supposing that because Menu (as is believed) sought to reduce woman to the condition of a slave, she is therefore in this condition at the present day, nursed in no kinder

atmosphere than that of fear, and guarded by no higher sentiment than jealous suspicion.

From the negative, let us now turn to the positive side of the picture. Those who tax Menu with want of justice and charity towards the gentler sex, must allow him kinder feelings and susceptibilities when he ordains that "the names of women should be agreeable, soft, clear, and captivating the fancy." There is a great deal that enhances the idea of female beauty and delicacy in a choice female name, and the rule laid down for such nomenclature is an evidence of the kindly spirit of the Hindoo lawgiver towards the female sex. Similar evidence is furnished also by the passage wherein it is enjoined to address "the wife of another, and any woman not related by blood," with the words "*bhavati* and amiable sister." The same respect that is enjoined to be paid to parents and age, to learning and moral conduct, to wealth and rank, is ordained to be paid also to woman; and it is mentioned that "way must be made for a man in a wheeled carriage, or above ninety years old, or afflicted with disease, or carrying a burthen, for a woman, for a priest, for a prince, and for a bridegroom." Like the virgin of Tom Moore, a Hindoo lady of old could have travelled throughout the empire, "with no protection but what she found in her smile and the honor of her countrymen." Ideas of the condition of Hindoo women may be gathered from the laws relating to marriage, and "these laws," says Elphinstone, "though in some parts they bear strong traces of a rude age, are not, on the whole, unfavourable to the weaker party." It is stated by Menu that a father should regard his daughter "as the highest object of tenderness." He states, also, that "reprehensible is the father who gives not his daughter in marriage at the proper time, and the husband who approaches not his wife in due season: reprehensible, also, is the son who protects not his mother after the death of her lord." There is a strict prohibition which declares that "no father, who knows the law, should receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage; since the man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity for that purpose, is a seller of offspring." In the opinion of Menu, "a husband is one person with his wife, for all domestic and religious, not for all civil purposes," which is as much as to say, in the emphatic language borrowed by Milton from the Bible, that she is "the flesh of his flesh, and the bone of his bone." Those

“male relations who, through delusion of mind, shall take possession of a woman’s property, be it only her carriages or clothes, will for such offence sink to a region of torment.” True that, day and night, must a woman be held in a state of dependence; but “in lawful and innocent recreations, a husband should leave her at her own disposal.” It is stated, moreover, that “no man can wholly restrain woman by violent measures, but by expedients. Let the husband, therefore, keep his wife employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, in purification and female duty, in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils.” The following texts furnish the most unimpeachable testimony to the due esteem and regard in which women were, and are still, held by the Hindoos:—

“Married women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands, and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity.”

“Wherever females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but where they are dishonoured, there all religious acts become fruitless.”

“Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so, very soon wholly perishes; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increases.”

“Let those women, therefore, be continually supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals and jubilees, by men desirous of wealth.”

“In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.”

“Certainly, if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate her husband; and if her lord want hilarity, offspring will not be produced.”

“A wife being gaily adorned, her whole house is embellished; but, if she be destitute of ornament, all will be deprived of decoration.”

The above extracts form a valuable record of that Hindoo opinion which has prevailed from the earliest formation of Hindoo society. They breathe the chivalrous sentiments of Tasso’s and Ariosto’s knights, and have enlarged and softened the hearts of more than a hundred generations of Hindoos.

It must be sufficiently obvious from what has been quoted, that women amongst the Hindoos are not such degraded and



wretched galley-slaves as many suppose them to be. Looked upon by the father as the highest object of tenderness, and named with a sweet-sounding name, to enhance the idea of her beauty; addressed in ordinary conversation with polite and endearing terms, and respected with the respect that is paid to age, wealth, and learning; married to an excellent and handsome youth, without any pecuniary consideration, and left at her own disposal in all lawful and innocent recreations; regarded by the husband as one person with himself, and constantly supplied by him with fine ornaments and apparel; employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, and entrusted with the entire control of the household; honoured and treated with affection, confided in by the husband, consulted with on his affairs, permitted to exercise an ascendancy over him, allowed to acquire property as *stridhun*, which is protected by strict injunctions from spoliation by her relatives; woman is the same dear and beloved creature amongst the Hindoos, as amongst other nations, as she was amongst the civilized Greeks and Romans of antiquity, or as she is amongst the Europeans of the present day. The true state of Hindoo feeling towards woman may well be judged of from the high-strained feelings and elevated sentiments entertained towards her by the Rajpoot,—the true heir of the ancient Hindoo. The steed, the sword, and the fair, are the three great idols of his heart. He treats woman with a respect unusual in the East, and his devotion to her is so enthusiastic, that “a glance from the eyes of his lady-love weighs with the gilded pomp of a sceptre.”

There is a broad distinction between the ancient and modern Hindoo women, which is not often borne in mind in a consideration of the subject under review. Much that now aggravates the condition of females in Bengal,—early marriage, polygamy, widow-hood, sutteeism, ignorance, and seclusion, is foreign to genuine Hindooism. These things were not only unknown to the ancient Hindoo, but are still not observed in many parts of India. In early days, Hindoo women went abroad, and appeared in public; they were allowed to be present at feasts, and entertainments, and public spectacles. The truth of this is confirmed by several instances in history, and is strongly borne out by the custom that is prevalent in Western India, where no seclusion of females is observed. “The Peishwa’s consort,” says Elphinstone, “used to walk to temples, and ride or go in an open palankcen through the streets with perfect publicity, and

with a retinue becoming her rank." Scott Waring, in his History of the Mahrattas, mentions having seen the wife of Bajee Row "lungeing her horse before a crowd of spectators." To speak from personal experience, we have seen many Guzeratee and Mahratta ladies drive every evening in broughams and phaetons at Bombay. There are properly no zenanas in the dwelling-houses of the Mahrattas; the apartments of the women immediately adjoin those of the men, and are generally separated by a single wall. The institutions of *Johar* and the *Zenana* arose from the necessity of preserving Hindoo women from Mahomedan violence and insult. Many instances of clever ladies, such as those to whom we shall have occasion to refer, attest the high culture of the female mind in ancient India. Under the auspices of the ancient Hindoo, a damsel waited three years after she had become marriageable, and then exercised the right of electing for herself a husband. Women were also permitted to choose husbands for themselves from a crowd of candidates for their hands. The *Ramayana* preserves a graphic account of the *Swayambara* of Sita. The account of the *Swayambara* of Draupadi forms an interesting episode in the *Mahabharat*. The choice of Aja by Indumati is another well-known instance upon record in *Kalidas' Raghu*. It was not unfrequently that a parent or guardian allowed the daughter to indicate the husband of her choice. According to Arrian, the practice of giving daughters to the victor in prescribed trials of force and skill, was common in ancient Hindoo life. Early marriage seems to be the rule among a people whose susceptibilities are early called forth by the climate in which they live. But seldom were any infant-marriages contracted by the ancestors of those who, in Bengal, now marry their girls scarcely weaned from their dolls. The damsels must have been adults who made choice of husbands for themselves. Devyani must have been of age to appreciate the instincts of love, when she sang verses to Kanju, and heard Kanju sing to her and relate to her famous stories of ancient times. Both Sita and Draupadi were in the prime of beauty when Rama and Arjoona won those famous princesses. Rukmini communicated her love to Krishna by means of a *billet-doux*. Damayunti was grown of age when her father resolved to celebrate her *Swayambara*. Bikyn was a blooming daughter, and stood before her father covered with blushes to communicate her anxiety for marriage. Nor was polygamy ever known to the ancient Hindoos in the form of modern Koolinism. Mutual fidelity is strictly enjoined on

a married pair; and from the few cases in which the husband may take a second wife, it may be inferred that, with those exceptions, he was not to have more than one wife. The only circumstance from which Hindoo women may justly be concluded to be miserable, is their being doomed to that dull, dreary, and life-long widowhood to which death is almost preferable. The marriage of widows seems to be discouraged, and not absolutely prohibited by Menu. He quotes the instance of a Rajah Vena, who authorized the practice during his administration. If there is no text to lend positive countenance to the question of the re-marriage of Hindoo widows, there is at the same time not the least mention of *suttees* in the code. Nothing was farther from the intention of Menu than that his rules for the guidance of widows should, in the lapse of time, have the operative effect of tending to the introduction of a most diabolical custom. It is difficult now to ascertain the period at which the barbarous rite of *suttee* first came into practice, or the circumstances in which it originated. The earliest instance of *suttee* on record, is that mentioned by Aristobulus, who speaks of it as "an extraordinary local peculiarity in the kingdom of Taxila." Diodorus also describes an instance which occurred in the army of Eumenes, upwards of 300 years before Christ. The practice is ascribed by Diodorus to the degraded condition to which a woman who outlived her husband was condemned. Indeed, to quote a writer of our day, "*suttee* appears to have sprung from some of the vilest feelings of our human nature. It began in selfishness; it was supported by falsehood; and it ended in cruelty, such as might give delight to fiends."

Having prepared our way by the foregoing observations, let us now proceed to confirm their truth by an appeal to history: and history is the proper arbiter to decide the question which is involved in so much dispute. Nobody has yet attempted to illustrate the subject by a reference to the many Hindoo female celebrities that adorn the annals of the Hindoo nation: and in proposing to make such an attempt, we propose to travel over untrodden ground. It is man that monopolizes the records of the past to perpetuate the glory of his deeds. To woman is scarcely allowed an opportunity to cut a figure, or establish her claim to distinction and fame. The consequence of this has been an utter blank in the history of the female sex. Undoubtedly, many great women have lived in their day, over whose names, however, oblivion spreads a pall never to be lifted by the hand of time.

In the whole history of the Greeks, no more names of celebrated women have been preserved than those of Sappho, Aspasia, Lais, Phryne, and Timoxena. The Romans have only the names of Lucretia, Virginia, Cornelia, Portia, and Helena, in a long history extending over a period of fourteen hundred years. The Italians have their Corinna; and the French, their Madame Roland and Madame de Stael. The names of celebrated English women may also be counted upon the fingers, and bear no comparison to the hosts of celebrated men. The Hindoos have taken little care to preserve the memory of their famous women by transmitting their names to posterity. The female names that are held in the highest esteem and popularity are those of Ahulya, Tara, Mandadari, Sita, Kunti, and Draupadi. These six women are regarded as the most illustrious in the history of the Hindoo female sex. But there are many others equally entitled to have their names registered on the rolls of fame. As yet no Hindoo writer has undertaken the pleasing task of doing justice to the eminent females of his nation. Biography is a species of writing of which no specimen is extant in the Hindoo literature. The author of the little book mentioned first in the list that heads this article, is the only man who has made any attempt of the kind. In his *Nobonari*, or the Nine Women, he has added three more names to those commonly remembered by the nation. He has strictly confined his account to the females of classic repute, and has entirely omitted to mention those distinguished in modern Rajpoot and Mahratta history. The author has not been at all pains-taking to make any research, or point out the salient features in the lives of his celebrities. He simply narrates old incidents and adventures in a plain, easy style, without any attempt to eliminate truth from fiction. This takes away a great deal from the value of his book, as the matter is felt to be very common, and is void of that weight of authenticity which can make it acceptable in this enlightened age. To make the book serve the purpose of edifying females, it should have been purged of all senseless myths and fables grafted upon the original narratives in a later Pouranic age. Such a book has yet to be written, and would find many readers who have not the time or patience to collect the information scattered over many volumes, mixed up with much irrelevant matter. It would ill suit the limits of a review to attempt any thing beyond a mere outline of the several female characters deserving of

notice, with a reference to those interesting particulars in their histories which serve to throw light upon the ways and manners of the Hindoos. But we hope that our hint will be taken up by some one of the many who are now so earnest in the cause of female education, and zealous in the formation of a body of Bengali literature.

The earliest Hindoo female of celebrity is *Ahulya*. Little more has been recorded of her than that she was a Brahmince by birth, who had become the wife of Gotama, a Rishi of great learning and sanctity. The name of Ahulya recalls to mind the highest female graces and loveliness of person. Her beauty was of that description which could

"Raise a mortal to the skies,  
Or bring an angel down."

It is said to have tempted Indra to quit his heaven, and become a guest at her abode in the guise of her husband during his absence. On discovery of her slip, Gotama cursed her into becoming a rock until Rama should restore her to her natural form. Indra was punished for his *liaison*, by having his whole body covered with disgusting marks which afterwards turned into eyes. The reader may trace in this account the Greek myth of Argus, adopted by the Brahmins with a modification. He may receive it as based upon an authentic tradition now lost to the world. The story has a lesson and a warning against infidelity to a husband. Though Ahulya may have belonged to those olden heroic times in which Jupiter is represented to have played pranks with a Leda and Europa, still society appears to have become sufficiently refined in feeling not to tolerate a scandal, and allow a woman to go unpunished for the loss of her honour.

The next woman on the list is *Maitreyi*, the wife of Yajnyawalka. The *Vrihad Aranyaca Upanishad* relates an anecdote of that philosopher, wherein it is stated that he made up his mind to retire from the civil world, but hesitated to take the step without consulting his wife. Accordingly, he announced his intention to her, requested her consent, and proposed to divide his effects between her and his second wife, Katyayani. But Maitreyi, unwilling to part with her husband, asked, "Should I become immortal, if this whole earth, full of riches, were mine?" "No," replied Yajnyawalka; "riches serve for the means of living, but not for the attainment of immortality." Maitreyi then declared that she had no need of wealth, and solicited from her husband the communi-

cation of the knowledge which he possessed respecting the means of attaining beatitude. It very much surprised the philosopher to find a female heart despise gold, and he exclaimed—"Dear wert thou to me, and a pleasing sentiment dost thou make known: come, sit down; I will expound the doctrine; do thou endeavour to comprehend it." There then followed a discourse in which Yajnyawalca elucidated the notion, "that abstraction procures immortality; because, affections are relative to the soul, which should, therefore, be contemplated and considered in all objects, since everything is soul; for all general and particular notions are ultimately resolvable into one, whence all proceed, and in which all merge; and that is identified with the supreme soul, through the knowledge of which beatitude may be attained." Here is an instance of a high-minded Hindoo lady,—the worthy partner of a great philosopher,—which shows how Hindoo husbands in the ancient times treated their wives with regard, sought their consent in important matters, and strove as much for their worldly as for their spiritual welfare.

Then follows *Gargi*, the daughter of Vachacru, a female of great learning and natural endowments. There is on record, in the fifth and sixth lectures of the *Vrihad Aranyaca Upanishad*, an account of a celebrated controversy held by her with Yajnyawalca. It happened on the occasion of a solemn sacrifice, celebrated at great expense in the court of Janaca, king of the Videhas. To partake in the benefits of that sacrifice, there had repaired thither many Brahmins of distinction from Kuru and Panchala, and with them had come Gargi to dispute for the palm with the highest pundits and sages of her day. The assembly was most numerous and learned; and the king, being desirous of ascertaining which of the priests was the most profound and eloquent theologian, ordered a thousand cows to be made fast in his stables, and their horns to be gilt with a prescribed quantity of gold. He then addressed the assembly thus: "Whoever among you, O venerable Brahmins, is most skilled in theology, may take the cows." There came forward none to touch the cattle, except Yajnyawalca, who bade his pupil Samasravas drive them to his home. He did so, and the rest of the Brahmins were indignant that he should thus arrogate to himself superiority. The king's officiating priest asked Yajnyawalca how he could presume to appropriate the prize to himself in the midst of so much competition, without any proof or

test of his learning. Making a bow to the most learned, Yajnyawalca replied that he was very desirous of possessing the cattle. Six of the assembly then threw down the gauntlet to take part against him in a disputation. Among their number was Gargi. The five Brahmin challengers were refuted and silenced before long, but Gargi proved to be a tough antagonist, and maintained the contest with such spirit and energy, such learning and skill, as to call forth the admiration of all men present; though, in the end, she failed to establish her supremacy over the greatest Brahmin of the age. Her dialogues and discussions fill two whole chapters. This account of Gargi's controversy is suggestive of many points in the manners of the ancient Hindoo, which are worthy of consideration. It establishes the fact, beyond a doubt, of the culture of female minds in that remote period of Hindoo history when the principal wealth of the nation consisted in cattle. It refutes the notion respecting the seclusion of women in those ancient times, when, far from being immured within the walls of the zenana, they were admitted to be present at public sacrifices, and to take part in public disputations. In those early ages, men did not speak through the press, or from the platform of a senate-house. It was in public synods and disputations that they often uttered the opinions which they wanted to propagate to the world. The assembly held on the occasion of a religious festival was the arena in which they held their literary jousts and tournaments. There did they signalize themselves, and obtain the due meed of praise for their learning and genius. Traces of this custom are to be recognized in Herodotus's reading his histories at the Olympic games, and in Admirable Crichton's controversies at the several continental universities. To this day, it is customary amongst the Brahmins to establish their superiority at public assemblies held on the occasion of a great *shraud* or religious ceremony, and so win for themselves the highest gift.

*Tara, Mundadari, and Sita*, were contemporaries, and they form the three great female characters of the *Ramayana*. They were all of high birth and station in life, but Tara may be considered to have the precedence in point of time. This princess had a name, which is a great favourite with modern Hindoo ladies. Her parentage is unknown, but she seems to have been a Tamulian princess who had offered her hand to Rajah Balli, of Mahabillipoor in the Carnatic. The Ra-

mayana bears ample testimony to her beauty, qualifications, and accomplishments. Rajah Balli fell in contest with Rama. It does not appear that he had a seraglio of women to mourn his death and untimely end. The single Rani in his royal household was Tara, who came accompanied by her maidens to the field of battle, to weep over his fall, and perform the last obsequies. On the death of Balli, his younger brother Sugriva was made Rajah by the victor, in fulfilment of a vow of friendship made to that Tamulian prince. Sugriva did not only succeed to the throne of his brother, but also to the hand of the beautiful Tara, whom he married in accordance with a custom which yet prevails in Orissa, which requires a man to marry the wife of his deceased elder brother. He had always cherished in secret a great passion for that lady, and, having now gained possession of her, he made her happy by every proof of devotion. This succinct and meagre account is all that we have of Tara.

Mundadari was another Tamulian princess, the consort of Ravana, the famous king of Lunka, or Ceylon. The poet represents her to have been a woman of great personal charms; but she possessed in a high degree those qualities and virtues which are prized by men of sense and sobriety in a female companion, and which exercised considerable influence over the proudest and most powerful of the Indian monarchs of that day. The large seraglio of many thousand females which that prince is represented to have possessed, is purely an interpolation of a later age, introduced to magnify the greatness with which oriental potentates invested a sensualist who indulged in a plurality of wives. But, admitting the seraglio to have been a fact, Mundadari held in it the rank of first and most favoured Rani, who had borne to her husband many noble and heroic sons. The mighty Ravana having snatched away Sita by stratagem and force, had placed her in strict confinement at Asokabun. Often did Mundadari plead the cause of the unhappy Sita before her husband, and appeal to his sentiments of compassion to induce him to relent. A woman is moved to pity by the misery of a woman; and to take an interest in her behalf is a humanity which she owes to her sex. But in vain were her expostulations with the inexorable Ravana, who could not be dissuaded from persecuting Sita into yielding to his unlawful passion.

It is to the genius of Mundadari that the world owes the invention of the celebrated game of chess, which has amused generation after generation, and spread to every civil-



ized part of the globe. The story is, that her husband being very much addicted to war, she taxed her ingenuity to devise the game, and beguiled her lord with manoeuvres and tactics in a mock-battle upon the chess-board. The invention is claimed by many nations, but Sir William Jones ascribes it to the Hindoos, and the Hindoos ascribe it to Mundaḍari. In Sanscrit the game is called *Chaturanga*, of which the present name *Shatranj* is evidently a corruption. There are references to the game of chess in the Bhavishya-Pooran, and in Raghu Nandan's Institutes of the Hindoo Religion. The word *Chaturanga* signifies the four divisions of an army,—the chariots, the elephants, the cavalry, and the infantry,—in the skilful march of which on the wooden battle-field, consists the interest of this royal game. It has undergone slight alterations by the substitution of the boat\* for the chariot. Sir William Jones taxes "the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants, and infantry, on a plain, as an absurdity not to be defended." But the boat certainly refers to the *navy* which constituted, in a later age, a principal element in the defence of the country. The game, in its original state represented the mode of warfare that prevailed amongst the ancient Hindoos. It may not be out of place to mention here, that the game of *Mongol-Patan* is another military pastime, which has been invented by the women of Bengal to kill their *ennui*, and which originated at the time when the Moguls undertook the conquest of their country from the Patans.

Mundaḍari survived the death of her husband and sons, and lived as a Dowager-Rani under the protection of Bibishun, on whom Rama conferred the throne of Ceylon for the assistance rendered to him in the conquest of that island.

No Hindoo female is held in such high celebrity as *Sita*, the wife of Rama, and the heroine of Valmiki. Her high birth and position, her extraordinary beauty and amiable qualities, her romantic adventures and numerous misfortunes, have endeared her memory to Hindoos of all classes and sects. By the Ramaites, or those who worship the incarnation of Rama, she is revered as much as is the Virgin Mary by the Catholics. The father of Sita was Janaka, Rajah of ancient Mithila, or modern Tirhoot. The princess was the only child that adorned his royal household, and was nurtured with more than the usual care and fondness of a parent. In

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\* Among Hindoo chess-players the Castle or Rook is termed the Boat.

grace and loveliness of form, the young Sita was without an equal in her age. Her external charms were further recommended by an affable disposition, polite manners, and a dignified character. None but the brave deserve the fair; and her father bound himself by a solemn vow to bestow her in marriage upon the man who succeeded in bending a certain ponderous bow. This was nothing extraordinary or singular in an age when valour was esteemed the highest of qualifications, and when the Kshatrya Chieftains and Rajahs of ancient India disposed of their daughters as prizes to those who were pre-eminently distinguished by that qualification. The bow, also, was not a supernatural bow, but a common instrument employed in the warfare of that age. There is some truth in the account of the enormous size of Janaka's bow. The large Indian bow of those days, which was drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shot an arrow six feet long, has been particularly described by Arrian. One may see the counterpart of that bow, now in use amongst some of the hill-tribes of India. The reputation of Sita's beauty, coupled with the report of her father's vow, spread through all ancient Aryavata. To win the hand of the sole daughter and heir of Janaka's rich house, there came many princes from far and near; but, failing to bend the bow, they all went away, covered with shame. The venture was at last made by Rama, who was then in the vigour of his youth, and an adept in archery. He not only lifted and bent the bow of Ulysses, but broke it in twain to the admiration of all the spectators. The vow had been more than fulfilled; and the reward of Rama's extraordinary valour and skill was the hand of the extraordinary beauty of the age. On the nuptials being over, Sita proceeded with her husband to Ayoodhya, the capital of Rajah Dasaratha. In a little time, the insinuation of a favourite wife prevailed upon that monarch to doom Rama to banishment for fifteen years. The young prince set forth for the forests, accompanied by Sita and his step-brother Luchmun. They departed from Ayoodhya to Allahabad, and crossing the Jumna at the Duria-ghaut, proceeded towards the Vyndhian Mountains. Wandering hither and thither for several months, they at length retired to the forest of Panchobuttee, near the source of the Godavery, and there took up their abode to work out the term of their exile. In the meantime, the grief and anguish of Dasaratha, on discovery of his error, brought down his gray hairs to the grave. To fill

the vacant throne, Bharata waited upon his exiled brother with a deputation. But Rama steadily refused to accept the invitation till the expiration of the period of his banishment. In the wild mountain scenery and romantic forests of Puncobuttee, of which an idea may now be formed by the traveller who scales the heights of the Thull Ghaut Pass across which he is carried by the rail to Bombay, did Rama, with his wife and brother, continue to perform the penances imposed upon them by their father. They lived by the chase, and upon the herbs and fruits of the forest. The care, vigilance, and tenderness, with which Rama and Luchmun tended the lovely Sita and consoled her under the privations of exile, afford a remarkable proof of the affection with which the Hindoos treat their females. They never left her alone to go forth to the chase, but hunted upon alternate days, one of them always keeping watch at their abode for the protection of Sita. It happened one day that certain cries of distress, proceeding from the quarter in which Rama had gone out to hunt, drew away Luchmun from his accustomed guard, when Ravana, taking advantage of their absence, carried off Sita by force to Ceylon. There he kept her in strict seclusion, and constantly plied her with importunities in the hope of prevailing upon her to yield to his desires; but they all proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. Missing her on his return home, Rama became disconsolate at the loss of his beloved spouse, and wandered in distress to discover her whereabouts. He then became aware of her having been carried off by the king of Ceylon. To attempt her rescue, he formed an alliance with Sugriva, the brother of Rajah Balli, and the king of the ancient Carnatic. The two monarchs prepared for war with the ravisher. Hanuman, chief minister of Sugriva, and generalissimo of the Tamulian forces, went as ambassador to Ceylon to demand the stolen beauty. But the proud monarch of that island paid no heed to his mission. Delivering a consoling message from her husband to Sita, Hanuman hastened back to Rama to prepare for crossing the Setbunder with an army to Ceylon. The fearful battles described by the poet to have been fought on the occasion, certainly eclipse those of Homer's heroes. Ravana at length encountered Rama in fierce single combat, and was slain. The latter made his triumphant entry into Lanka, and recovering his beloved Sita, retraced his way from that island. But to prove her untainted innocence during her sojourn there, Sita had to submit to an ordeal of fire. This

was in accordance with the practice of those primitive times when a high value was set upon the chastity of women, and its violation was punished by the accused having to walk barefoot over glowing coals or over red-hot plates of iron. On Sita coming out unscathed and unhurt by the fire, the whole party returned to Ayoodhya, where Rama assumed the reins of government, and commenced his beneficent rule. He now lived in great felicity with his consort, who was endeared to him as much by the grace and beauty of her person, as by her meek disposition and amiable accomplishments. The picture of each heart being filled with boundless affection, drawn both by Valmiki and Bhavavuti, has certainly a foundation in truth, and it is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it affords a striking illustration of Hindoo delicacy towards females. To crown the joy of Rama, Sita soon proved herself to be in an interesting condition. The woman who is about to be a mother, meets with great care and attention in a Hindoo household. The Dowager Rani of Dasaratha, and the brothers and sisters of Rama, all now expressed their tender solicitude for Sita. The royal Purohita, or chaplain, uttered many prayers for her welfare. Rama often retired to the apartments of his queen to cheer her with his endearments and caresses; the finest paintings were encouraged to please her fancy. The sweetest music was procured to charm her ears. There was an invitation to witness the performance of a great religious ceremony at the hermitage of Risyasingha Muni upon the Curruckpoor Hills. The male and female inmates of the palace all went at that invitation, excepting Rama, who was forbidden to quit the side of his Rani in her present condition. But the pledge of affection with which they hoped to complete their happiness, soon proved to be its canker. The circumstance at which every body rejoiced in the royal household, was viewed in a different light altogether by the outside public. The current of popular opinion ran very much against Sita, who was gravely suspected of having succumbed to the violence of Ravana. Her conduct at Lanka became the general topic of conversation in the community; it was discussed by all classes of people, and decided by a shrug of the shoulders. They particularly feared the consequence of a general corruption and infidelity of their wives from the bad precedent of Sita. The slander and defamation of his beloved Rani cut to the quick the feelings of Rama. But he

was obliged to send her into banishment in deference to public opinion, and in the interests of public morality. In "helpless, hopeless, brokenness of heart," the gentle Sita meekly resigned herself to the hardness of her destiny. Under the escort of Luchmun, she proceeded to the woods in which Valmiki had fixed his hermitage. This was neither on the banks of the Nerbudda in the Dhar country, nor at Bithoor upon the Ganges, but near Chitrakote, on the river Paisuni, fifty miles south-east of Banda. The spot is described by Tieffenthaler to be crowded with many temples and shrines in honour of Rama and Sita, and to be the resort of thousands of pilgrims. The banished Sita made her way to the hermitage, and found an asylum under its roof. There, in due course of time, she brought forth twin boys, Lava and Kusha, and, tended by the poet's wife, passed a period of twelve years in sorrow and separation. On the occasion of Rama's Aswamedha, her sons accompanied Valmiki to Ayoodhya. Though clad in the humble guise of Brahmin boys, their noble demeanor soon revealed them to be princes of royal blood and descent. Their parentage established, the question of Sita's restoration was brought on the tapis. A royal escort was despatched to bring her to the assembly. Valmiki rose to plead her cause, and vindicate her from the unjust aspersions cast upon her honour and virtue. The assembled Rajahs unanimously gave their assent to her restoration. The principal citizens echoed the same opinion; but the rest of the assembly indicated their dissent by remaining silent with downcast eyes. Rama hesitated to take back his wife without the unanimous consent of his subjects. Valmiki then proposed a second trial of her innocence by fire. The cruel verdict of the populace had given a sufficient shock to the weak nerves and wasted form of Sita. The proposal of a second fiery ordeal, filled her mind with a prospect which she contemplated with dismay. All this while she had been standing on the right of Valmiki; but unable any longer to control her feelings of shame and indignation, she changed color, and fell to the ground in a swoon. Many efforts were made to rally her, but without success. She did not recover her senses, and became a corpse in a few hours. Rama was inconsolable at her loss, and drowned himself in a fit of melancholy in the Surjoo, or modern Ghogra. It has been justly remarked by Pundit Iswara Chunder Bidyasagur, in his *Sitar Durbodh*, or the Exile of Sita, that another instance of a woman so highly born, so highly bred, and so eminent for

virtues as Sita, and who at the same time bore her cruel reverses and misfortunes with such unbounded devotion, resignation, and love, is not to be found in the history of the female sex.

The next woman is *Sacuntola*, whose adventures form the theme of the exquisite drama of Kalidasa, or the Indian Shakespeare. *Sacuntola* was the daughter of a pious Rishi, named Kanwa, who lived in a sequestered spot upon the banks of the Mallini, a little stream near Hurdwar. His hermitage was situated in the very region of romance, amidst groves of pine and cedar, fir and cypress, with a profusion of cowslips, dandelions, and wild roses, that burst from the green carpet of nature. The spot has been visited by General Cunningham in the course of his archæological surveys, and has called forth similar sentiments to those of the poet:—"While the lotus floats on its waters, and while the *chakwa* calls its mate on its bank, so long will the Mallini live in the verse of Kalidasa." Kanwa had no other offspring, and brought up his only daughter with great care and affection. He gave her learning, and took pains to educate her in all that helps to form a female mind to delicacy and virtue. In time *Sacuntola* grew to be a blooming damsel, who spent much of her time in tending domestic animals, and rearing flowers and plants, occupations and amusement usual with a person of her sex and station in life. One day Rajah Dushyanta, on a hunting excursion, arrived by accident at the hermitage. Kanwa was absent from home on the occasion, and his daughter came to receive the stranger as a guest. The youthful maiden at once captivated his heart by her beauty and amiability. *Sacuntola* was likewise inflamed with a secret passion. The Rajah announced himself to be the sovereign of the country, and prevailed upon the damsel to accept him as her husband by a Gandharva marriage. This Gandharva marriage was simply a union prompted by mutual desire, and consummated without any form or ceremony. It prevailed amongst the ancient Gandharvas, a tribe of mountaineers living near the Himalayahs, and was legalized by the Hindoo legislator to cover the scandal of the lawless amours of the ancient Kshatriyas. The king remained a few days with *Sacuntola* and then set out for his capital, leaving with her a ring as the pledge of his troth, and promising to send for her without delay. In a little time, *Sacuntola* found herself to be with child, and accordingly proceeded to the court of her

lord to demand the fulfilment of his promise. Her route lay along the course of the Mallini to Hastinapoor. Happening to bathe in a pool of that stream, she lost the ring of Dushyanta. In the absence of this evidence, the king pretended to forget his tender interview and engagement with Sacuntola. There was a time in the history of the Hindoos, when *Maharishis*, or chieftains, united the priest and the warrior in one and the same individual. Then came a time when the fighters and conquerors did not care to act also as worshippers, and made over the duties of the latter to the Brahmins. The haughty Kshatriyas now looked down with disdain upon the mendicant Brahmins who lived upon their bounty. It was during such a time that Dushyanta flourished, and thought it an ignoble match to choose the daughter of an humble Brahminee for his consort. Upon being disowned by the king, the mother of Sacuntola came and carried her away to a jungle, where she brought forth a son, who was named Bharata. So extraordinary were the feats of this child, that, when a boy, he used to play with the whelps of lions, and set at nought the lioness that gave them suck. Meanwhile, the lost ring had been found by Dushyanta, and he heard of the exploits of Bharata. To satisfy his curiosity he came to the jungle, and acknowledging the young hero to be his son, made the mother his chief Rani. It is from Sacuntola's son, who became a mighty warrior, and conquered many regions of Hindoostan, that the Indian peninsula is called by the Hindoos Bharatversh.

The name of *Kunti* is as illustrious in Hindoo history as that of Cornelia in Roman history. The mother of the Pandavas yields not the palm to the mother of the Gracchi. There is some doubt as to the parentage of Kunti. According to the Mahabharat, she was the daughter of Rajah Sura who ruled over the Sursenii in ancient Muttra. Her brother was Vasudeb, the father of Krishna. It is added that Raja Sura and Kuntibhoja, a chieftain in the Vindhya Mountains, were great friends, and that the latter having been childless, Sura presented him with Kunti, whilst still an infant, to bring her up as his own daughter. This seems to be a myth, introduced to compliment the Raja of a later date, ruling in Malwa with glorious antecedents. The adoption of a girl instead of a boy is suspicious, and the name of the Bhojas does not occur in the genealogies of early Hindoo royalty.

On the other hand, Muttra is spoken of by Menu as one of the six great kingdoms in the Gangetic valley, and the daughter of its king was certainly a preferable match for Rajah Pandoo, who swayed the sceptre of the illustrious Lunar Princes of Hastinapoor. Kunti bore to Pandoo three sons,—Yudishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna. By another wife (Madri) he had Nakula and Sahadeva,—in all five sons, who are famous in Indian history under the memorable name of the Pandavas. Pandoo was a warlike prince, who subjugated many provinces, and ruled for several years with great repute. He is said to have at last retired from secular life to the Himalayas, to pass the remainder of his days with his wives and sons in solitude, amidst charming mountain scenery. On the death of Pandoo, Kunti came down from the hills with the five boys to Hastinapoor. She was received with great affection by Rajah Drihtarashtra, and took up her abode at his palace along with Gandhari. The education of her sons and step-sons was all that now engaged her care, and they were brought up together with the Kauravas under Drona. In no small degree did her own maternal training also help to form the characters of those princes. On the first exile of the Pandavas, Kunti became a wanderer with them in jungles and forests. They reached the city Varnavata, identified by Mr. Wheeler as the modern Allahabad, where Kunti and her sons narrowly escaped from being burnt to death. Next they proceeded to the city of Ekachakra, or Arrah, according to the same authority, where they found lodgment in the house of a Brahmin, and resided there for some time.

One day the Pandavas and their mother heard a great noise of weeping and wailing in the house in which they were dwelling, and Kunti and her sons entered the apartments of the Brahmin, and found their host and his wife, together with their son and daughter, in an agony of grief. On enquiring the cause, they were told, that it was the turn of the Brahmin, on that day, to supply a man, with other provisions, for the meal of a great Asura, named Vaka, who lived in the neighbourhood. Kunti bade the family dry their tears, for that she would send one of her sons to destroy the cannibal. The task was given to Bhima, who came to the banian tree under which Vaka was accustomed to eat his meals. The cannibal came, as usual, to appease his hunger, and, having had a fierce combat with Bhima, was slain. This mythical story seems to have had an authentic basis, and bears a strong



resemblance to the account left by the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang, who visited India about the middle of the seventh century, and saw at Allahabad "a large tree, before a temple, with wide-spreading branches, which was said to be the dwelling of an anthropophagous demon. The tree was surrounded with human bones, the remains of pilgrims who had sacrificed their lives before the temple,—a custom which had been observed from time immemorial." Departing from Ekachukra, the Pandavas wended their way towards Kainpilya, the capital of Panchala, to compete for the hand of Draupadi, and left their mother at a house, under the charge of their family priest, Dhaumya. Having won the princess, the five brothers with their mother dwelt at Kainpilya, till a deputation arrived from Raja Dritarashtra to carry them back to Hastinapoor. Kunti had become old and unfitted to travel when her sons were doomed to exile for a second time, so they left her behind at Hastinapoor under the care of Vidura. The Pandavas having fulfilled the terms of their exile, sent Krishna to the Kauravas to demand the restoration of their Raj. Krishna went upon the mission to the court of Dritarashtra, and took the opportunity to call upon his father's sister, Kunti. The old lady extremely bewailed her hard fate and wretchedness, but Krishna comforted her with the near prospect of the recovery of their Raj by the Pandavas. No circumstance in the life of Kunti speaks so highly in her favour, and presents so redeeming a feature in the character of Hindoo women as the spirited message that Krishna bore from her to the Pandavas on their preparation for the great war of the Mahabharat:—"As opportunity is to be seized upon as a prey, so you must not be slack now in fighting for the inheritance of your father: Take no heed of the rank of your enemy, nor of the number of his forces, but at once seize your Raj: Remember that you are Kshatriyas; that you were not born to cultivate the soil, or to engage in trade, or to beg for bread, but to handle your sword and bow, to slay or to be slain; and that it is a thousand times better to be slain with honor, than to live in disgrace: The time has come when you must show yourselves to be the sons of Pandoo, and prove to the world that Kunti is the mother of a noble race, and get me a good name amongst mankind. But I am nothing, and your misfortunes are nothing, when compared with the insults which were shown to your wife Draupadi when she was dragged to the as-

sembly by her hair: If you do not revenge yourselves upon the Kauravas for the affronts they offered to your wife, it is useless for you to live: You ought to have avenged the wrong on the day it occurred, or to have died upon the spot; but since you did not do it then, there is the more cause why you should do it now."\* This calls to mind the famous Spartan saying:—"Come with the shield, or upon the shield," and speaks of the spirit common among Aryan women in antiquity. The Pandavas triumphed in the great war, and Kunti saw her sons established in the Raj of Bharata. It gave her great pleasure to see them perform the great royal ceremony of the Aswamedha, that spread abroad the fame of their power and sovereignty. Her utmost wishes fulfilled, Kunti at length departed from Hastinapoor with Dritarashtra and Gandhari, to live in a retired spot on the banks of the Ganges. There, in a few years, she met with a melancholy end by being burnt to death, with all the household of Dritarashtra, in a jungle-fire that spread its flames over a great part of the country. The Romans erected a statue to "Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi;" the Hindoos have transmitted the memory of "Kunti, the mother of the Pandavas."

*Draupadi* holds the second rank amongst Hindoo female celebrities, and is the heroine of the second great national Epic of the Hindoos. Her father, Drupada, was Raja of Panchala—the Kanouj of subsequent ages. The legend of Draupadi's Swayamvara, forms an interesting episode in the Mahabharat, of which a graphic narration has been given in the excellent history compiled from that poem by Mr. Wheeler. To win the hand of the loveliest princess of her age, there assembled in the city of Kampilya a large number of Rajas and Chieftains from different parts of India. But the hand of the damsel was pledged to the individual who should prove himself to be the most skillful archer of the day. The following is an account of a Hindoo Swayamvara in verse:—

1.

"My mother bids me seek a spouse,  
To whom to give my maiden vows;  
Rajas and Thakoors, waiting near,  
Abide my choice 'twixt hope and fear.

2.

Within my heart a gem lies hid,  
For him 'twill glow who lifts the lid;

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\* Wheeler's History of India.

Within my breast a fountain sleeps,  
For him 'twill gush who opes its deeps.

3.

Within my soul I feel a power,  
To love through every changeful hour;  
But none has waked that slumbering might,  
Or kindled that still sleeping light.

4.

A vision visits oft my dreams,  
A bright and manly form it seems;  
But when the expectant crowd draw near,  
Will such a form mid them appear?

5.

Then, who shall wear the nuptial wreath,  
If none can wake affections breath?  
No, rather let me still abide  
A Maiden by my mother's side."\*

The vow was fulfilled by Arjuna, one of the Pandava brothers, who pierced an arrow through the eyes of the golden fish that had been placed overhead beneath the canopy, by looking at its reflected image in a piece of water below. The Swayamvara of the Sita and the Swayamvara of Draupadi, belong to that ancient period of Hindoo history, when damsels were nominally permitted to choose their husbands for themselves from the crowd of candidates for their hands, but were actually given away as prizes to the most successful of archers and prize fighters: in other words, their parents married them to men who had the highest skill, valour, and physical strength; just as in our age, parents marry their daughters to men who possess the highest wealth, rank and intelligence. But in the Swayamvaras of a later age, the fate of maidens did not depend upon vows and chance-shots; rather, they exercised their own free choice, and moved round a circle of young men, accompanied by a nurse, or a father, or a brother, to assist them in the delicate task. The hero who had entitled himself to the hand of Draupadi was a youth of handsome appearance, round whose neck she gladly threw the garland to mark her choice. But she did not become the wife exclusively of the man who had fairly won her hand in public competition. In those early ages, polyandry was as much the disgrace of human society, either from a want of delicacy or penurious circumstances, as polygamy is now from a moral laxity and want of justice to the female

sex. To this day does a trace of that abominable custom survive, in the hill-states of Bussahir and Koonawar, where "three or four or more brothers," says Fraser, "marry and cohabit with one woman, who is the wife of them all. They are unable to raise the requisite sum individually, and thus club their store and buy this one common spouse." According to the practice of that age, Draupadi became the joint wife of all the brothers. They carried her first to Hastinapoor, and then to Indraprasthe, where Yudishthira performed the great royal ceremony of the Rajshuye, and was inaugurated as an independent and sovereign Raja. Then followed the famous gambling match, in which Yudishthira lost his Raj, and was reduced, with all his brothers, to the condition of a slave. Finally, he staked Draupadi upon the throw of the dice, and lost her too in the game. It greatly shocked the feelings of that amiable princess to hear that she had been gambled away and won by the enemy. Notwithstanding her protest against unfair play and the illegal procedure of her husband, she was dragged by the hair from her lodgings to the gambling pavilion, and was subjected to many affronts. The scene became most sensational, and swords would have been drawn on both sides, had not Dritarashtra made his appearance at the critical moment, and, interposing his paramount influence, quieted the tumult, mollified Draupadi with many soothing words, and given permission to the Pandavas to depart for their own city. To stake one's wife in a game, certainly points to a low stage of civilization, and little regard for woman. But European traditions of gambling, are by no means free from scandals of a similar character, although they were invariably regarded as secret. There is a horrible story of a gambler playing away his wife, in Mr. Ainsworth's romance of "Old St. Paul's," which is, apparently, based upon some tradition of the seventeenth century.

There was again a final game, which doomed the Pandavas to a second exile in which they were accompanied by their wife Draupadi. On one occasion, she had been left alone in the retreat, whilst the Pandavas had gone out to bag game. Jayadratha, Raja of Sindh, and brother-in-law to Duryodhana, taking advantage of the opportunity, came to the place in the disguise of a friend, and seizing Draupadi and lifting her up into his chariot, drove the car towards his kingdom. The shrieks of the princess rent the air. The Pandavas became apprized of her calamity. They

started in hot pursuit of the enemy, and, having overtaken him, rescued Draupadi, and made Jayadratha a prisoner. He had infringed the law of the Kshatriyas, by carrying off a woman without first vanquishing her husband, and had forfeited his life for the offence. But he was married to the cousin-sister of the Pandavas, the consideration of whose widowhood made them hesitate to inflict upon him the punishment of death. Though Jayadratha's life was spared, he was not let off without being subjected to many kicks and cuffs and other ignominious treatment. This was followed in a few years by the breaking out of the famous war for the sovereignty of the Raj of Bharata, in which the Pandavas out-fought the Kauravas on the plains of Kurukshetra, which is identified with Panipat, and where many a time the fate of India has been decided. From the field of battle the victorious Pandavas marched in procession to the city of Hastinapoor. There, their triumph was closed by the installation of Yudishthira in the Raj of his ancestors. So far from Hindoo ladies having been held in contempt and treated as slaves, we see Draupadi associated with Yudishthira in the solemn rites of inauguration. They sat together upon a seat spread before the sacrificial fire, and the purifying articles were brought up by Krishna and Dritarashtra and the four brothers of Yudishthira, and poured by them over the heads of Yudishthira and Draupadi. In like manner, they also brought up the pots of sacred water, and poured the contents over the heads of the new Raja and his wife. Again in the performance of the Aswamedha, "Raja Yudishthira and Draupadi bathed themselves; and the space of ground required for the sacrifice was duly measured out, and a golden plough was brought, and two bullocks were harnessed to the plough. Then Raja Yudishthira rose up, and with his own hand drove the bullocks and ploughed that space; and Draupadi followed the Raja, and carried a parcel of all the different grains that grew in the Raj, and scattered the grain as fast as the Raja ploughed." It needs to be pointed out to those who believe in the seclusion of the ancient Hindoo females, that both on the occasion of the installation and of the Aswamedha, the ladies came to the open assembly to witness the ceremonies. Kunti observed the inauguration of her son from a throne of ivory, with Nakula and Sahadeva on each side of her. Gandhari sat near Dritarashtra upon a rich carpet. In the Aswamedha, thrones had been arranged

for the various Rajas and Chieftains, on which they sat with their ladies. There were Brahmins who sat along with their wives, and the latter joined with their husbands in offering up prayers in behalf of the Raja. It was customary in that ceremony, "that sixty-four of the principal Rajas and Rishis in the assembly, should go with their wives to the bank of the Ganges; and that both they and their wives should each fill a pitcher with the Ganges water, and bring it to the place of sacrifice. And Krishna and Arjuna and Bhima, with a great party of Rajas and Rishis, each one accompanied by his wife, proceeded to the bank of the Ganges, all with pitchers on their heads; and along with them went a company of musicians with drums and trumpets, and other musical instruments, and many dancing-girls likewise danced before them. And, when those who had gone to the bank of the Ganges for water, had filled all their pitchers, they took the pitchers on their heads, and returned to the place of sacrifice, preceded by the musicians, and the singers, and the dancing-girls."\*

The Mahabharat does not record any more striking incidents in the life of Draupadi. It closes with the account of Yudisthira's abdication of the throne, and his leaving the Raj of Hastinapoor to Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, and the Raj of Indraprastha to Yuyutsu, the only surviving son of Dritarashtra. He then proceeded to the Himalayas, accompanied by his brethren and Draupadi, where they all perished among the snows.

*Gandhari* is another celebrated Hindoo female, of whom an account has been preserved in the Mahabharat. Her native country was Gandhar, or modern Candahar, whence her surname of Gandhari. The ancient Gandharians were a cognate race with the Kshatriyas, and were those Indians who are said by Herodotus to have paid tribute to Darius Hystaspes, and fought in the army of Xerxes. They formed a common nation on both sides of the Indus. Having succeeded to the throne on the retirement of Pandoo, Dhritarashtra sent messengers for a wife from the country of his ancestors. The Raja of Gandhar betrothed his daughter to Dritarashtra, and the princess was conducted to the city of Hastinapoor by her brother Sakuni. No Hindoo prince would now think of a matrimonial connection with a princess of Cabul, a country alienated for centuries by a different language and reli-

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\* Wheeler's History of India.

gion, by different laws and manners. Gandhari was a woman of great understanding and distinguished virtue. Though married to a man incapacitated by blindness, she never failed in due respect to her husband, and had by him two sons, Duryodhana and Dushasana, and a daughter called Dushilla. The Rani was greatly respected for her high character and principles. To this day do people allude to her pure morals and stainless chastity. So high was the esteem in which she was held, that she was summoned to the public Council of the Maharaja, to persuade Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pandavas. But her maternal counsels were as little heeded as had been those of the other superiors and elders. Disregarding all remonstrances, the Kaurava princes plunged into war, and fell at Kurukshetra. The mournful tidings of their death threw Dritarashtra and Gandhari into the greatest affliction. It was thought necessary by the generous Pandavas, to send somebody to console them in their distress; and Krishna was despatched upon the delicate mission. Having first waited upon, and solaced the blind old Maharaja, he was preparing to go to the Rani, when Gandhari herself entered the room like "Niobe all tears," and seeing Krishna, fell down in a swoon. Krishna's heart burnt within him, and he burst into tears, fearing that Gandhari was really dead. He called for some perfumed water and sprinkled it plentifully upon her face. Dritarashtra also came and lifted her head upon his knees, and after a considerable time the queen came to herself, when Krishna comforted her with many kind and affectionate words. Her anguish for the loss of her children was as great as was her anxiety for her aged, blind, grief-stricken, and broken-hearted husband. She had been a woman of great sense, and bore her misfortunes with the most exemplary patience and resignation. There are few passages in the Mahabharat which so much affect the reader with their deep pathos, as the account of the sad procession of the women to the scene of battle, to behold the dead bodies of their husbands and fathers, sons and brothers, and perform the last offices for them. The last fact in the life of Gandhari, is that which relates to her having departed with her husband to live in retirement upon the banks of the Ganges, and her having perished there with Kunti and others in a jungle fire.

The story of *Uttara*, the daughter of the Raja of Virata, or *Mateya*, in modern Guzerat, contains proofs of a refinement and civilization that most probably belonged to a later period of Hin-

doo history. There are features in that story which demand consideration, on account of the light they throw upon the question we have undertaken to establish. There is no one but must acknowledge that the fact of Arjuna's spending the thirteenth year of his exile incognito as an eunuch, and teaching music and dancing to the princess of Virat and other damsels, proves a state of things once existing in India, whether in the age of the Mahabharat or at a later period, when Hindoo Rajas brought up their daughters in a manner becoming their rank, and when eunuchs taught music and dancing to young damsels in the Hindoo zenanas. That Hindoo ladies in the olden time were also accustomed to indulge in occasional drink, may be inferred from the circumstance of the Rani of Virata having sent her waiting-maid for a cup of wine from the house of her brother, Kichaka. In like manner, the procession of beautiful damsels sent by Raja Virat to welcome the victorious Uttar, the brother of Uttara, indicates the reception which Hindoo ladies of old accorded to famous warriors and heroes. The *Virat-purva* of the Mahabharat presents the vivid picture of, an India that has long passed away. It depicts the state of Hindoo households prior to the Moslem conquest, in which maidens were trained up in accomplishments and refinements that now distinguish the ladies of Europe.

Though no incident in the life of *Jushoda* has any important significance to recommend her to notice, yet, it would be unjust to pass in silence over a name so familiar to all Hindoos. Unlike Kunti, Draupadi, and Gandari, who were her contemporaries, *Jushoda* was a woman of a humble station, having been born and bred amongst the cowherds and cowherdresses of ancient pastoral Vrij. Her husband, Nanda, was a patriarch or chieftain, who possessed a large number of kine, and resided at Gokul, near Muttra, on the left bank of the Jumna. Here *Jushoda* gave birth to a daughter, on the same night that Krishna was born at Muttra. But Vasudeva came and changed the infants without the knowledge of *Jushoda*, and thus was Krishna saved from the hands of Kansa, and brought up in the house of Nanda. Subsequently to this, Nanda and *Jushoda* emigrated with their cattle and waggons to Brindaban, and fixed their abode in that village. In her station of life, *Jushoda* milked the cows, and worked in the dairy. The circumstance which has preserved her name from oblivion, is her having been the foster-mother of Krishna, and her having brought him up with a maternal ten-



derness which surpasses all instances upon record among the Hindoos.

In like manner, *Radha*, the heroine of the Bhagbut, has acquired a celebrity which entitles her to a place in our review. Her father was, likewise, a patriarch in a pastoral country, where wealth consisted in cows and buffaloes, sheep and goats. His name was Brishobhano, generally transmitted, out of courtesy, with the adjunct of Raja. The vestiges of his fortress are yet pointed out to the pilgrim, upon the cliff of Burshana, in the district of Muttra. Radha had been married to a man under the name of Ayan Ghose, with whom she resided at Brindabun. But the charms of the young lady exposed her virtue to the attack of Krishna, who succeeded in obtaining tender interviews, and she numbers among the victims of his profligacy, along with other Gopinees or milkmaids. Power and glory at last enticed away Krishna from the obscurity in which he was rusticated, and he broke the troth under which he had obtained the last proof of female affection from Radha. Left in shame and disgrace, the injured lady retired to the house of her father, and there passed the remaining portion of her life in repentance for her errors. It is strange that her scandals should be turned into glories, that her romances and secret favors bestowed upon Krishna, should possess a religious merit in the eyes of the professors of Vishnuvism, and that, far from being branded with infamy, she should be held in veneration by large numbers of her nation.

Far different is the story of *Rukmini*, which possesses a historical significance, and furnishes evidence of the Hindoo princesses of yore having been able to read and write, and carry on correspondence like modern European ladies. Rukmini was the daughter of Richamaka, Raja of Viderbha, or modern Berar. She had been betrothed to Sisupala, Raja of Chedi, or the modern Rewah and Mundlah. But against this union Rukmini was prejudiced with all the obstinate unwillingness of a female mind. She had heard of the great comeliness and heroic adventures of Krishna, and her heart had been filled with a secret passion for that prince. To save herself from the hands of the man whom she loathed, Rukmini made a romantic appeal to Krishna as her guardian angel, by privately addressing to him an impassioned letter representing her condition, and praying to him to come to her rescue from a lifelong wretchedness. Krishna set out upon

the errand from Dwarka. In the meantime, the nuptial day had been fixed, and Rukmini had gone with all her companions and maidens to worship in the temple of the household goddess. There, according to appointment, Krishna arrived, and took her by the hand and carried her away in his chariot. Rukmini, the brother of the damsel, and Sisupala, to whom she had been betrothed, followed in pursuit of Krishna, but he defeated them both, and brought away Rukmini to the city of Dwarka, and made her his principal Rani. Rukmini bore a son to Krishna, who was called Pradyumna.

It is difficult to ascertain the age of *Prem Devi*, who sat on the throne of Delhi, and swayed her sceptre over a great portion of north-western India. Nothing more is known of her than her bare name, and her having been an empress. But this is enough to serve the purpose of contradicting the erroneous opinion, that the Hindoo woman was held in slavish dependence, and excluded from all kinds of inheritance, much more from royalty. Here is an instance in which a Hindoo lady exercised the powers of sovereignty. In three different epochs, have three women of three different nations, ruled over the destinies of India: the first was Prem Devi, the second, Sultana Rizia, and the third, Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

There is no Hindoo who has not heard of the names of *Nala* and *Damayanti*, and shed tears at the tale of their sad reverses and misfortunes, the rehearsal of which is the grand source of delight to all Hindoos, and of comfort to their princes in adversity. Feizi has made these names familiar to Mahomedans by his translation of the exquisite tale. To Europeans they have become familiar by means of Dr. Milman's and other translations. Judging from internal evidence, the episode of Nala and Damayanti seems to have been grafted on the original Mahabharat by a later compiler. In the opinion of Col. Tod, Nala, Raja of Nishida, flourished and founded that capital about the year 295 A. D. Damayanti was the daughter of Raja Bhima of Viderbha, in ancient Deccan. The princess was the loveliest and most accomplished of maidens, and chose at her Swayamvara, Raja Nala, the handsomest and most heroic of princes, for her husband. They formed a happy couple, living in great felicity for twelve years. Damayanti had two children, a boy, called Indrasen, and a daughter, named Indrasena. The story of the gambling match, in which Nala, like Yudishthira, lost his kingdom and

all, seems to be a myth, introduced to mystify the real cause of his misfortunes. Probably, the treachery of his brother Pushkara, to whom, like Shakespeare's Prospero, he had entrusted the administration of the state, deprived him of his kingdom and power. To save her children from falling into the hands of the usurper, and to provide for their welfare, Damayanti sent them off, under the care of a trusty charioteer, to her father's court at Viderbha, and then followed her husband into exile. The utmost privations were now suffered by Nala and Damayanti as they journeyed on through lonely woods and jungles, and were wearied with toil, and faint with thirst and hunger. But, still they were a comfort to one another under their misfortunes. From this only means of solace left to them they were also cut off by a cruel fate. In a fit of that deep dejection in which a man is not conscious of what he does, Nala abandoned his wife and penetrated into the depths of the jungles, while she lay asleep in a hut wearied with her journey. On waking from her slumber and finding herself deserted by her husband, Damayanti began to cry aloud and went wailing through the forest, till she met a caravan of merchants, with elephants and camels, proceeding to the city of Chedi. There she arrived famished and distressed, and broken down with sorrow. But the mother of the Raja of that city, happening to see her from the roof of the palace, sent her waiting-maids to bring the unhappy woman in; and hearing her tale, and pitying her condition, she bade Damayanti take up her abode in the palace, and remain as a friend with her daughter Sunanda. In the meantime, Raja Bhima sent messengers to all quarters, in quest of his daughter Damayanti. She was discovered at Chedi, and carried to Viderbha, where her children much assuaged her grief. But ever and anon she sorrowed for Nala, and prevailed upon her father to make a search for that prince. Nala, after having abandoned his wife in the wilderness, had journeyed on to Ayoodhya, and was engaged there in the stables of Raja Ritupurna as a tamer of horses. He lived in the guise of a charioteer, and under the name of Vahuka. In a similar manner did Cheyte Sing, in the last century, take service in the army of Madajee Scindia, on his being dispossessed of his kingdom by Warren Hastings. The couriers searched everywhere, in crowded cities and quiet villages and lonely hermitages, but nowhere could a trace of Nala be found. He was at last discovered at Ayoodhya, and

was brought from thence to Viderbha, where he once more regained his beloved Damayanti and the children, from whom he had been so long separated. Finally, Nala recovered his Raj from his brother, and reigned with great reputation at Nishida. The present Jeypoor Rajas trace their descent to him.

The story of *Chandrahasa* and *Bikya* is, also, the production of a later era of Sanscrit literature. It gives an account of a Hindoo female called Bikya, who was the daughter of the Minister of the Raja of Kutuwal, in South Deccan. Her father had a son whom he very much wished to see married to the only daughter of his master, the Raja, and succeed to the Raj. He, therefore, bore great enmity to Chandrahasa, who, it had been foretold by the astrologers, would become one day the ruler of his country, and was always plotting his destruction. Having failed in the divers attempts, he at length despatched Chandrahasa upon a certain occasion, with a letter to his son, strongly urging the latter to remove his rival by means of poison. The unsuspecting Chandrahasa arrived at the suburbs of the city, and having become weary, he entered a beautiful garden where he tied his horse to a tree, and, laying himself down in the shade, fell asleep. "Now it so happened, that this pleasant garden belonged to the Minister, and that very morning, his daughter Bikya and the daughter of the Raja had come there with all their maids and companions to take their pleasure ; and they all sported about in the garden, and did not fail to joke with each other about being married. Bikya remaining with her companions for a time, at length wandered away from them, until she came to a tank, on the bank of which she saw asleep, a young man with such a charming countenance, that her heart burned towards him. Presently she saw a letter half-falling from his bosom, and, to her great surprise, she perceived that this letter was addressed to her own brother, and was in the hand-writing of her father. She drew the letter from the bosom of the young man, opened it, and read it through. And she had compassion upon him, and thought to alter the writing in the letter, and she read again the words :—' Chandrahasa is my enemy ; give him poison.' Now the word signifying ' enemy ' was such, that by taking away a single letter she could turn it into a word signifying ' friend ' ; and she did so. And the word signifying poison was *bika* ; and seeing that the young man was very handsome, she altered the word *bika* into her

own name of Bikya ; and she re-sealed the letter with a copy of her father's seal, and placed it back in the bosom of the "young man." Chandrahassa rose from his sleep, and going to the Minister's house delivered the letter to his son, who read it with great surprise. But the orders were positive, and to be executed without delay, so that Chandrahassa and Bikya became husband and wife by sunset that same evening. Perhaps European etiquette and taste may condemn Bikya as having been guilty of espionage and indelicacy ; but still her proceedings are not altogether unfeminine, nor unprecedented in the history of the female sex. The most salient point for consideration in the story of Bikya, is the letter which a young lady could not only read, but was able to alter with her own hand,—circumstances which plainly indicate the education of the ancient Hindoo females.

The next character is *Bidhyatoma*, the wife of the celebrated Indian poet Kalidasa. From an inscription on a temple at Boodh Gya, the date of Amar Sinha, the author of the *Amarkosh*, has been found to correspond with the year 500 A. D. ; and as Kalidasa was contemporary with that Hindoo lexicographer, the age of Bidhyatoma must be referred to the same period. There is nothing on record about Bidhyatoma in any Hindoo book. Though associated with a great name, little more is known of her than what is current in a tradition which states her to have been the daughter of a Brahmin Rajah, called Sharodanundana, who had brought her up in all the learning and refinements of that age. To the endowment of beauty—the natural dowry of her sex—she added rank, wealth, and knowledge, that made her the ornament of her sex and country. Proud of her attractions and accomplishments, she resolved to offer her hand to the man who would surpass her in learning and scholastic disputation. This points to the more refined Swayamvaras of later Hindooism, in which the physical qualifications of a man had ceased to be preferred to his intellectual qualifications, and in which damsels did not wed themselves like Sita or Draupadi to heroes and warriors, but to scholars and accomplished men. The hope of fulfilling Bidhyatoma's vow allured many a Pundit to the court of Sharodanundana. But none proved himself qualified to obtain possession of her hand. Frustrated in their expectations, the humbled Pundits felt their mortification heightened the more by the reflection that they had been beaten by a girl of youthful years. Under the stings of

shame and disappointment, they united in a plan to revenge themselves upon the princess: it was to inveigle her into marriage with a simpleton,—a measure best calculated to afford them satisfaction, as well as to hurt the arrogance of the princess. In search of a man to answer their purpose, they happened to find Kalidasa sitting upon a tree, and cutting the very branch on which he sat. The man who was thus unconsciously employed in the work of his own destruction, was pitched upon as the fittest person to accomplish their object. Kalidasa was advised to come down from the tree, and to assume the character of a *mouna*, or silent philosopher, who should answer only by means of signs and symbols. There was a time when India abounded with such taciturn Yogees and Sunnyasees. Glad at the prospect of getting a wife, Kalidasa promised to play the part taught him. The Pundits then divided themselves into two parties—one composed of the elders, and the other of the juniors. The elder sages went before, and took their seats at the court of Sharodanundana. The younger party followed after a short interval, with Kalidasa at their head; and the Brahmins, who had preceded, all rose from their seats to welcome his arrival. They offered him the most prominent seat in the assembly, and honored him with professions of deep respect. The most select epithets of praise were lavished to extol his merits, and every man present affected a great reverence for his character. He was introduced to Biddyatoma as their great preceptor, who had secluded himself from the world to pursue his studies in solitude, who had taken a vow of taciturnity, and who answered to all questions by means of signs and symbols. To try the depth of her new suitor's learning, Biddyatoma held out one of her fingers towards him, by which she implied that the world was created by one First Cause. The illiterate Kalidasa construed this into a threat to put out one of his eyes, and in answer extended two of his fingers, meaning thereby that he would return the compliment by inflicting on the princess complete blindness. The whole assembly of the Pundits burst, on this, into loud acclamations. They remarked that the reply of Kalidasa was a most decisive proof of his superiority over Biddyatoma. The princess, by stretching out one of her fingers, gave but an imperfect account of the creation by attributing it to one First Cause; whereas their learned preceptor was right in signifying it to be the result of the joint operation of *Prakriti* or nature, and *Purush* or

the Supreme Spirit. Borne down by the unanimous opinion of the Pundits, the bewildered Biddyatoma was obliged to acknowledge her error, and confess herself to be beaten; and agreeably to the condition of her vow, she accepted Kalidasa for her husband. Such is the puerile story of the manner in which the unlettered Kalidasa became the husband of Biddyatoma by a dodge of the Brahmins. It is scarcely to be believed that a clever woman, who was prepared to contend for the palm of victory with the wits and literati of her age, could have been so easily over-reached and victimized by a deception. There is, however, a basis of truth in the tradition, which has been repeated from age to age; and we doubt not that Biddyatoma was a learned female, who chose Kalidasa for her husband, very probably from an admiration of that genius which has enriched the Sanscrit literature with dramas and poems of uncommon merit.

*Lilavati* comes next in the order of time. She was the daughter of the celebrated Hindoo astronomer Bhascara Acharya, about whose age there exists a diversity of opinion. From a determination of the moon's apogee recorded in the *Surya Siddhanta*, Mr. Bentley supposes it to have been taken in the year 1194 A. D. This was the year in which Benares, where Bhascara lived, was taken and sacked by Mahomed Ghori; and it is very unlikely that an astronomer would have quietly pursued his calculations in the midst of war, instead of flying for his life from the hands of an implacable enemy. In the absence of more light than has yet been obtained, it is difficult to ascertain the exact period at which Bhascara flourished, but we are inclined to allow him a greater antiquity than only 674 years ago. *Lilavati* is said to have been born under evil stars, that destined her to pass her life in virginity. Bhascara was very much distressed at this unhappy circumstance, and tried to avert the hardness of her fate by ascertaining a lucky hour for her marriage contract; that being wedded under favourable auspices she might have progeny. On the approach of the auspicious hour, the father called his daughter and intended son to him. He left the hour-cup on the vessel of water, and kept in attendance a time-knowing astrologer, in order that when the cup should subside in the water, those two precious jewels might be united. But, as the intended marriage was not according to destiny, it happened that the girl, from a curiosity natural to children, looked into the cup to observe the water coming in at the hole,

when by chance a pearl, separated from her bridal dress, fell into the cup, and, rolling down into the hole, stopped the influx of the fluid. The astrologer still waited in anxious expectation of the promised hour; but when the operation of the cup had been delayed beyond all reasonable time, the father was in consternation, and, examining the vessel, found that a small pearl had closed the hole, and that the long-expected hour for espousal was passed. Bhascara, thus greatly disappointed, said to his unfortunate daughter, "I will write a book in your name, which shall remain to the latest times;—for a good name is a second life, and the ground-work of eternal existence." The father fulfilled his promise, wrote a work on arithmetic and practical geometry, and called it *Lilavati*, to perpetuate the name of his daughter. Though there is a great deal of romance in the above story, it is not wholly undeserving of consideration. It has in it a germ of truth, which attests the powerful influence which astrology once exercised upon the Hindoo mind. Deluded parents have, in many instances, sent their daughters to a nunnery to spend their lives there in prayer and abstinence; and a deluded parent may have doomed his daughter to perpetual celibacy from his tenacious faith in planetary influences. The story is eminently illustrative of the tender solicitude of a Hindoo parent for the welfare of his daughter. The unhappy *Lilavati*, for whom there was no connubial felicity or domestic affection in store, was carefully brought up in learning by her father, that it might help to chase away the dreariness of her lifelong maidenhood. It is said that she was so skilful an adept in the science of calculation, that she could tell at sight the exact number of leaves and fruits upon a tree. *Rajah Ritupurna*, in the tale of *Naladaya*, is said to have been a similarly skilful calculator. "Mark now," said he to *Nala*, "my skill in numbers, for I know the secrets of dice and the rules of calculation. On those two branches hang fifty millions of leaves, and two thousand and ninety-five berries. And *Nala* descended the chariot to count the leaves and berries, and found that the numbering of the *Rajah* was true to a single leaf." The passage as translated by Dr. Yates, is as follows:—

"He afterwards resolved to show his skill  
And to astonish and delight the mind  
Of his expert and pious charioteer  
With calculations of immense extent.



Such knowledge had he gained by means of dice,  
 That when a tree was full of leaves and fruit,  
 He could, at sight, of each the number tell.  
 Descending from the car, he marked a tree  
 And told in sums exact its whole contents.  
 When Nala counted all the leaves and fruit,  
 And found the sum of both and each agree  
 With what had been declared, he was surprised,  
 And wished to understand the wondrous art  
 By which such calculations could be made.

*Naladoya, Book IV.*

To the unmathematical portion of the community this may appear wholly incredulous, but to the initiated it is known very well to depend upon the solution of equations often given in school exercises. The *Lilavati* has been written throughout in the form of questions addressed by the author to his daughter. It is the best and most popular of all Hindoo works on arithmetic. The learned Dr. Hutton got hold of a few fragments of an English version, and was forcibly struck with its excellence. The *Lilavati* has been translated into Persian by Feizi. In English it has been translated by Dr. Taylor and Mr. H. T. Colebrooke.

There were two females of the name of *Khona*. One of them was the wife of Varahamira, the famous astronomer, one of the Nine Gems in the court of Vicramaditya. Of this *Khona* are those well-known *buchuns*, or sayings, which are generally quoted in the native almanac, and are familiar almost to every Hindoo. They have passed into proverbs, most of which have a reference to both astronomy and astrology, from which it appears that the woman must have been well versed in those sciences, and have been taught them by her learned husband. The other *Khona* was the wife of Luchmun Sena, the son of the famous king Bullala Sena, of Gour. Little is known of this princess, excepting what is extant in one or two traditions. It is said that once when prince Luchmun was long absent from home, *Khona* brought the circumstance to the notice of Bullala, by writing the following *sloka* on the wall before the place where he used to dine:—"The clouds are pouring without intermission, and the peacocks are dancing with joy; on such a day, death or my darling can alone remove my suffering." Touched by the pathetic appeal, Bullala likewise addressed a conundrum to convey the delicate matter to his son, and invited him back home. The *sloka* is undoubtedly a tangible proof of the learning cultivated by a Hindoo lady of the tenth century.

To defend their city in the last extremity, the Carthaginian women parted with their ornaments, and cut off their hair to be converted into bow-strings. In like manner did Hindoo ladies display their magnanimity by selling their jewels, melting down their golden ornaments, and sending their contributions from distant parts of Hindoostan, to furnish resources for the Holy War in defence of their nation's religion and independence, when they were threatened by Mahmood of Ghizni, in 1008 A. D.

We have now brought our sketch of Hindoo female celebrities down to the borders of legitimate history. We reserve, for a future paper, our account of the women that belong to times nearer our own.

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#### ART. IV.—THE BHOOTAN DWARS.

1. *Political Missions to Bhootan, comprising the Reports of the Hon. Ashley Eden, 1864: Capt. R. B. Pemberton, 1837-1838; with Dr. W. Griffith's Journal, and the Account by Baboo Kishen Kant Bose.*
2. *Hodgson's Aborigines of India,—on the Kooch and Bodo Tribes.*

THE Dwars of Bhootan having been ceded to the British Government by the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, a treaty of peace, consisting of ten articles, was ratified by the Governor-General of India, on the 16th of January 1866; and from that time perfect tranquillity has prevailed between the contracting parties, and security to both life and property has been ensured over a large tract of country, where tyranny and oppression had long previously held sway.

It is not intended in this article to touch upon the history of the war with Bhootan, and the events which preceded the cession of the country to the British Government: its object is to describe the state of the country as it was, when it fell into the hands of the British authorities; its capabilities; and what has been done to improve its condition.

Before, however, entering upon a general description of the country, and its condition when it came under British rule, it may be as well to state, that the Bengal Dwars of Bhootan extend from the river Teesta on the west, to the Monass on the east, which divides them from Assam; that they are bounded on the north by the lower range of the Himalayas, and on the south by Cooch Behar and the districts of Rungpoor and Gwalpara. The Bengal Dwars are sub-divided into the Western and Eastern Dwars, the boundary between them being the Sunkos or Guddadhur river, which rises far north in Bhootan, and falls into the Brahmaputra near Dhoobry. In extent, the Western Dwars rather exceed the Eastern, the former being about 80 miles from west to east, and the latter only 60 miles in length, each having an average breadth of about 25 miles; so that the two combined have an area of not less than 3,500 square miles.

According to the returns made by the Revenue Survey Department, which commenced its operations almost immediately

after the Dwar became British territory, the area of the Western Dwar, to which alone allusion will hereafter be made, is set down at 1,870 square miles, and the population at only 54,000 souls, or about 29 to the square mile. Here, then, is proof in itself of the desolation and depopulation which had been caused by Bhooteah misrule and oppression; for, as the country directly to the south is fairly, and in places even thickly, peopled, there is no other way of accounting for the extreme sparseness of the population in the Dwar, but by attributing it to the tyranny and oppression of Bhooteah rule, which drove the people out of the Dwar into the districts to the south of them. At the time the country came into the possession of the British Government, it had, in fact, become almost depopulated, although there can be no doubt, but that at no very distant period it had been fairly peopled; for the traces of cultivation are to be found all over the country, and beautiful clumps of trees are still extant where the people had their homesteads, but from which they were driven by Bhooteah violence and the cruel exactions of their officials.

The state of anarchy and confusion which reigned triumphant during the Bhooteah occupation of the country, was, in a great measure, caused by the constant changes that were being made amongst the local officers, in whose hands the whole of the real power rested; for the Dhurm or Deb Rajahs never visited the plains, and maintained no sort of check over their subordinates, and, apparently, took no part in the government of the country, further than receiving their share of the revenues, which was remitted to them by these local authorities. Now, these local officers consisted of the Soobahs, of whom one was appointed to each of the five Dwar, which altogether make up what is now called the Western Dwar. The Soobah resided in the hills, generally near the passes leading down to the Dwar he had charge of; and under these Soobahs were Kathams or deputies, who were sometimes Bhooteahs, but more commonly people of the country, and these for the most part lived altogether in the plains; though if the Katham was a Bhooteah, he only remained in the Dwar during the cold weather, and left some person of the country to represent him and perform his duties during the remainder of the year. Subordinate to the Kathams were Mullick Ameen and Bosoneahs, or, as they would now be styled, Tahseeldars, and these again had Prudhans and Sians, or sub-tahseeldars, under them; whilst the Tarooes and Paiks or messengers, were employed in summoning those required, and in the execution of such duties as are now performed by peons, peadahs, or chupprasees.

As the Soobahs and Kathams were changed very frequently, each had to feather his nest in any way he could, and in the shortest time possible. It does not appear that there was much to choose between the Bhooteah officials and those people of the country who were employed by them ; the one was equally as rapacious as the other ; and though not perhaps much given to commit acts of wanton cruelty, neither would hesitate to enrich himself by plunder whenever an opportunity offered, knowing full well that he might soon be ousted from office by a successor, who, by the payment of a bribe or a successful intrigue, had succeeded in securing for himself the coveted appointment. In consequence therefore of this state of affairs, cesses called bhanguns were constantly being levied, and in amount, far exceeded the regular dam or rent which the people had to pay. It was also the Bhooteah custom, that if a ryot absconded or died, his quota of rent had to be made good rateably by those that remained, but, besides the rent and cesses collected from the cultivators of the soil, the Bhooteahs levied taxes at all the hauths or markets, on all those who took any articles there for sale, and also at what were called sookhan or dry ghats, that is, on all the roads leading to the markets. A tax was also levied on cotton and gonbind, from which weavers' brushes are made. It must not, however, be supposed, when all these devices for raising money had been satisfied, the people were left in peace and quietness to enjoy what they had managed to save ; for on the slightest pretence, and often with no pretext at all, the wealthy were mercilessly plundered of all they possessed. It was a common Bhooteah trick for extorting money, to make a man a present of a pony worth perhaps 30 or 40 Rupees, and demand ten times its value in return, and then plunder the whole of the unfortunate donee's property, if he did not pay up. Heavy fines were levied for daring to wear white clothes, or for riding on a pony, if not an official ; and not long before the Bhooteah rule came to an end, a substantial farmer was robbed of the whole of his property, merely because he gave a musical entertainment to his neighbours without first having obtained the Soobah's permission.

The system of compulsory labor or begar, was also a source of great oppression, for the Bhooteah officials, when travelling, never paid for the carriage of their baggage, or for any work that had to be done, such as building stockades, houses for themselves, or bridges whereby to cross the rivers ; all these had to be provided for by the Mullick Ameens, or Bosoneahs, who also collected the revenue, and these officers had to supply whatever

number of coolies might be demanded of them, and woe betide them if they could not obey the order. Their only safety was in flight, leaving their houses and lands to go to ruin, and waiting patiently in exile until they could purchase his forgiveness. For ordinary offences, on the contrary, it does not seem that the Bhooteahs inflicted severe punishments: their object was to get money, not repress crime. Every kind of offence, therefore, from murder downwards, was atonable by the payment of a fine; and no decision in a case brought before a Bhooteah official could ever be obtained, without the payment of a bribe. Those who paid highest carried the day; but the whole of these officers appear to have been so corrupt, that although a man might, by paying for it, get any order passed that he wished for, it not unfrequently happened that his opponent outbid him, and that an order given one day, was reversed the next. As these unrighteous judges had not the slightest objection to reverse any order they had given, on being duly paid for the same, it frequently happens that of litigants before the Courts now established, each comes with a bundle of decisions in his favor which had been obtained from the Bhooteah officials, and urges his claim on the strength of orders all of which had been obtained by bribery and corruption.

It is, therefore, not surprising that when the British Government took possession of the Bhootan Dwar, they were found to be an almost uninhabited tract of desolate wilderness, and that the few people who were found in them, had been reduced to the greatest depth of poverty and distress.

Taking the population of the Western Dwar at the time of their annexation to have been 54,000, the number of Hindoos may be put down as 46,800, the Mahomedans as 7,200, and the Meches at 5,000 souls; and of these three classes, it is now proposed to give some slight description.

The Hindoos, who all belong to the Koch tribe, now call themselves Rajbungsis. They are doubtless one of the aboriginal tribes of the north-east frontier of Bengal, and closely allied to the Kacharees, Hafings, and Khyens, who inhabit the country further eastward. The Rajbungsis are now divided into four classes, called Rajbungsis proper, Dahooahs, Baboo Koches, and Bhujonahs. They all freely associate with each other, and intermarry, and eat pigs, fowls, ducks, goats, and every kind of bird; and have no objection to fermented and spirituous liquors. They have also four kinds of marriage, the superior form being called *Joragathe*, or literally knot-tying. This is the form usually

adopted by the more respectable and wealthy families, and in some cases money is paid to the bride's parents for their daughter ; but not in all. The second form is termed *Ghurjumai* or son-in-law, when the husband has to live in the house and serve his father-in-law for a certain number of years, before he can take his wife away to his own house : this way of obtaining a wife is adopted by the poorer classes, who, in lieu of money, give their services to the bride's parents ; but, unlike the old Jewish custom, the marriage takes place immediately, and is not deferred until the period of service is completed. The third form is called *Nikah*, which, although a purely Mahomedan institution, has been adopted by the Rajbungsis and some of the other tribes on the frontier, and is one of the forms of widow marriage, and is not resorted to unless the woman has previously been married. When the form of widow marriage is by *nikah*, the man takes his wife home to his own house ; but in the second form of widow marriage, which is called *Dangooah*, the husband lives with his wife in her house, or that of her late husband : in both cases the consent of the widow to her re-marriage is necessary. The Rajbungsis all perform the ceremony of the shraad, and both burn and bury the dead. Regarding their personal appearance, Mr. B. H. Dodgson says—"The physical type of the Koch (Rajbungsis) as contrasted with that of the Hindoo, is palpable, but not so as compared with that of the Bodo (Mech) or Dhimal. In the Asian form (Hindoo) there is height, symmetry, lightness and flexibility ; in the Asian face, an oval contour with ample forehead, and moderate jaws and mouth ; a round chin, perpendicular forehead, a regular set of distinct and fine features ; a well raised and unexpanded nose with elliptic nares ; a well sized and finely opened eye, running directly across the face ; no want of eye-brow, eyelash, or beard ; and lastly, a clear brunette complexion, often not darker than that of the most southern Europeans. In the Tamulian form, on the contrary, there is less height, less symmetry, more dumpiness and flesh ; in the Tamulian face, a somewhat lozenge contour, caused by the large cheek-bones ; less perpendicularity in the features to the front, occasioned not so much by defect of forehead or chin, as by excess of jaws and mouth ; a large proportion of face to head, and less roundness in the latter ; a broader, flatter face, with features less symmetrical, but, perhaps, more expressive, at least of individuality ; a shorter, wider nose, often clubbed at the end, and furnished with round nostrils ; eyes less and less fully opened, and less evenly crossing the face by their

line of aperture; ears larger; lips thicker; beard deficient; color brunette as in the last, but darker on the whole, and as in it, very various.

"Such is the general description of the Indian Asians and Tâmulians."

The Meches inhabit the country lying close under the foot of the hills, and have hitherto kept as much as possible to the belts of forest that are to be found in their vicinity. They are, however, now spreading further south, and becoming more settled in their habits; they are not sub-divided into several classes like the Rajbungsis, but are a homogeneous race; their customs and habits are very simple: they eat and drink anything that is good, except cow-beef, but make no use of milk; and as the cognate tribes further to the east give it as their reason for not doing so, that they could not use the milk and eat the animal that supplies it too, it is probable that the Meches formerly were a cow-beef eating people, and that their abstaining from this article of food now proceeds from their being affected with Hindoo ideas, as might have been supposed would be the case from their living in such close proximity to their Hindoo neighbours. Though living in the forests at the foot of the hills, they are a remarkably healthy race, sleek, and generally in good condition, and show no signs of being subject to fevers, which so commonly is the case with the people living further south in Bengal. In color, they are lighter than the other tribes in the Dwarfs, and although their features partake somewhat of the Mongolian type, some of them, if not handsome, are certainly of a very pleasing appearance; good temper beams in their countenances; they are light-hearted, and of a much more jovial temperament than their Hindoo or Mahomedan neighbours. The Meches have a language of their own, but it is fast dying out and being substituted by Bengali, the nomenclature of which is largely mixed up with their primitive tongue. In religion, the Meches are Pantheists, and have an innumerable host of household and river gods whom they worship; besides which, they also sacrifice goats, pigs, fowls, &c., to the Hindoo gods Sib and Kali; and they firmly believe in witchcraft. They have only two forms of marriage, one of which, however, is of a most extraordinary character, though not exclusively peculiar to this race, as it is also practised by the Kacharies of Kamroop and Durrung in Assam, to whom the Meches are undoubtedly very nearly allied. The peculiarity in the rite consists in this, that with or without any notice or warning to the parents, the bride is suddenly carried off by main force from her father's



house; and, strange as it may appear, this is a thoroughly recognized form of marriage amongst these people; and after a few days have elapsed, the girl's parents and relatives proceed to the bridegroom's house when a feast takes place, and an arrangement is come to between the parties, as to the sum the man is to pay for his bride. In these marriages, a previous understanding has of course been arrived at between the lover and his intended; for although courtship is not regularly allowed, as the seclusion of females is not the custom, and all the people of the village, including of course the young men and women, are constantly meeting each other, ample opportunities offer themselves for flirtations and love-making. Amongst so simple a people, separation after marriage is not common; but in case the parties cannot agree, or the man finds his wife a useless encumbrance, he can return her to her parents, and claim back the price he had paid for her. Infidelity is almost unknown, and polygamy also. There is also another form of marriage current amongst these people, very similar in its terms to the *ghurjamai* of the *Rajbungsis*, and goes by the same name. If, however, before the period of service for which the man has to labor for her has been completed, he wishes to take his wife away to his own house, he can always do so by paying up the difference. The *Meche*s have also adopted the *nikah* as the form of widow marriage.

Speaking of the condition of the *Bodo* or *Mech*, Mr. Hodgson says, their *status* "is that of erratic cultivators of the wilds. For ages transcending memory or tradition, they have passed beyond the savage or hunter state, and the nomadic or herdsman's estate, and have advanced to the third or agriculturist grade of social progress, but so as to indicate a not entirely broken connection with the precedent condition of things; for, although cultivators, all and exclusively, they are nomadic cultivators, so little connected with any one spot, that neither the *Bodo* or *Dhimal* language possesses a name for village! Though dwelling in these wilds wherein the people of the plains (*Ashirs* and *Gwaleas*) periodically graze immense herds of buffaloes and cows, they have no large herds or flocks of their own to induce them to wander, but as agriculturists, little versed in the artificial renovative processes, they find in the exhaustion of the worked soil a necessity, or in the high productiveness of the new, a temptation to perpetual movement. They never cultivate the same fields beyond the second year, or remain in the same village beyond the fourth or sixth years. After the lapse of four or five years, they frequently return to their old fields, and re-

sume their cultivation, if in the interim the jungle has grown well, and they have not been anticipated by others; for there is no pretence of appropriation other than possessory, and if, therefore, another party have preceded them, or if the slow growth of the jungle give no sufficient promise of a good stratum of ashes for the land when cleared by fire, they move on to another site, new or old. If old, they resume the identical fields they tilled before, but never the old houses or sites of an old village,—that being deemed unlucky. In general, however, they prefer new land to old, and having still abundance of unbroken forest around them, they are in continual movement, more especially us, should they find a new spot prove unfertile, they decamp after the first harvest is got in.”

This was undoubtedly true of the Meches at the time it was written; but, as before observed, now that they live under a well-ordered government, which protects the rights and liberties of all its subjects, they are fast changing from the state of nomadic cultivators into settled tillers of the soil, and before many years are over, will all have become permanently located in villages, and possessed of cultivated lands representing the value of the labor that has been bestowed upon them. In the Hon'ble Ashley Eden's report on the state of Bhootan in 1863-1864, it is stated: “The Meches are a quiet, inoffensive, weak race; they are precisely the same class as the men inhabiting our own Terai: like them they appear to enjoy perfect immunity from the ill effects of malaria. They are, however, a finer and less sickly and sallow-looking set than the Meches of the Darjeeling Terai; probably because the Bhootan Terai is more healthy and drier than ours. They welcomed us to their villages with unmistakeable delight, and seemed to take it for granted, that having once heard their grievances, we should immediately take them under our protection. They appeared to be good cultivators; cotton was one of their principal crops, but the description of cotton was the poorest I ever saw: it has scarcely any staple, and it is difficult to understand how they can separate the fibre from the seed. I imagine that finer soil for the production of cotton does not exist in India. The Meches seem to change their cultivation constantly, as would naturally be the case with so much virgin land at their disposal. They do not cultivate more than is necessary to supply their own wants, and to enable them to comply with the demands of their rulers; for any surplus which they produced, would merely form an additional temptation to plunder, on the part of their Bhooteah

task-masters. They know they can never be rich, nor ever improve their position, and they therefore do not attempt it. With magnificent timber all around them, with rivers running down to the plains, with a full knowledge that a certain market for their timber is to be found where these rivers join the Teesta and Berhampooter on our frontier, they dare not even cut a single tree for sale. It is therefore not surprising, that the change of government has proved a real blessing to these people."

Besides the Meches, there are also a few villages of Garrows, who have probably emigrated from the hills to the east of the Brahmaputra or from the country on its north-west. According to Mr. Hodgson, they are "closely affined to the Bodo" or Mech, and resemble them almost identically in creed, customs, and language. It seems, however, that they differ somewhat from the Meches, in having but one form of marriage, and that the husband always goes to live with his wife in her father's house, leaving his own parents to shift for themselves as best they may. Amongst the Garrows, moreover, no payment is ever made for the girl to be espoused. Widow marriage is common with the other Garrows, as with the aboriginal tribes, and is, in fact, only disallowed by Hindoo tenets. Unlike the Rajbungsis and Meches, the Garrows do not burn the dead, but keep the corpse of the deceased until it is quite decomposed, when the widow with the invited guests dances round the body; and after a plentiful consumption of fermented liquor, the ceremony of burning the body is completed, as at an Irish wake, by the whole party getting over their grief by getting drunk.

In addition to the other tribes in the Dwar, there are also two or three villages of people who call themselves Totos. The account these give of themselves, is that they originally emigrated from the Koch Behar Rajah's territories, and having settled close to the Bhootan frontier, have entirely adopted Bhooteah habits, customs, and dress. In fact, in appearance they are hardly distinguishable from Bhooteahs themselves, only that their features are of a less strongly Mongolian or Tamulian type, though having probably intermarried with them, this difference even is not always very perceptible. Like the Meches and Garrows, they cultivate entirely with the hoe, and prefer felling the forest and clearing new ground, to settling down to cultivate permanently in any one fixed spot.

Having now noticed the Hindooised and aboriginal tribes to be found in the Western Dwar, it only remains to refer to

those who have adopted the Mahomedan faith. These people are all known by the name of Nasheo, and are never styled Mahomedan or Musselman. Before the Mahomedan conquest of Bengal, there were, of course, no people of that creed in the country; and all those in the Dwarfs who now call themselves Nasheo, are undoubtedly descendants, not of Mahomedan, but of Hindoo or Koch ancestors. The word Nasheo itself appears to be derived from Nas, meaning destruction, or that they are a people whose caste had been destroyed. This, however, is a mere conjecture, and must be taken just for what it is worth; for the people themselves know nothing of how they came by the name, and can give no explanation of its etymology. In appearance, they resemble the Hindoos so closely, that it is frequently very difficult to distinguish one from the other; and as a corroboration of their common origin, it is remarkable what great respect and fear these people retain for many of the Hindoo Deities, which is shown by their joining in several of the purely Hindoo rites and observances; all of which point to the fact, that the conversion or forced separation of the Nasheo from Hindooism, did not take place at any very remote period of time. It may in fact be said, that the Hindoos of the Dwarfs are half Mahomedan, and the Mahomedans half Hindoos; both are alike uneducated, and know little or nothing of the tenets of their own religions; they of course do not inter-marry, or eat out of the same platter, but still they are known to associate freely together, and to frequent each other's feasts and festivals, and are often found to join together to commit a robbery; it not being at all uncommon for half the gang in a dacoity case to be Mahomedans, and the other half Hindoos.

Having premised thus much of the people of the country, it may now be time to speak somewhat at length of the country in which they dwell. It has previously been shewn, what are the boundaries and extent of the Bhootan Dwarfs; and it now remains to describe the general features of the country, its soil, climate, and natural productions.

It has commonly been supposed, that the country acquired from Bhootan is a hilly tract of land, covered by dense, impenetrable forests, and inhabited chiefly by Bhoteahs; that the climate is pestiferous and deadly, and that it was a worthless acquisition with which little could be done, and not much could be hoped for: how far, however, these surmises are true, will appear from the sequel.

The Dwarfs of Bhootan, then, may best be described, by stating

that they are nothing more than an extension of the plains of Bengal, which run up with no visible mark of their commencement right to the very foot of the northern hills. The change from the Rungpoor district, or Kooch Behar territory, cannot be distinguished by the eyes, the soil, vegetation, crops and population being alike in all : proceeding northward, however, it soon becomes evident, that cultivation and population are being left behind, and that the jungle and nature have it all their own way. In some parts, the country is open and nearly free from jungle. Indeed, one-half of the country may be said to be occupied by high grassy prairies, on which the jungle never grows very luxuriantly in consequence of the soil being sandy and, in places, extremely poor. These plains are, however, interspersed with lower lands of better quality, well fitted for the production of all the ordinary crops of the country. In other parts, the soil is a rich clay covered with vegetable mould, formed from the decayed deposits which for years have enriched it. The land in general is considered to be superior to that further south, and is eagerly sought after by the cultivators who are flocking into the Dwar from Koch Behar and Bengal. Near the foot of the hills, long flat spurs run out into the plain, covered by thick tree forests and dense underwood, a sure sign that the soil is fertile and well adapted for all products requiring a stiff nutritious soil. These spurs from their elevation above the plain, being well drained, are most favorably placed for the cultivation of all the more valuable commodities.

In some localities there is a decided want of trees. This is particularly the case in the central portion of the district, to the north of Talacota, where wood is so scarce that the people are obliged to use grass with which to cook their food. It is not, perhaps, that trees will not grow, but as it is the custom to set fire to the grass jungle when dry, to clear the country, and induce the growth of fresh grass for the cattle, these fires when once lighted, spread for miles over the country, and burn up all the young saplings that have appeared above the ground : hence the growth of trees in some localities is greatly checked. Where, however, the trees have once succeeded in fairly establishing themselves, forests of considerable extent are met with. No doubt, much depends on the nature of the soil, for sal timber for instance, the most valuable natural product of the Dwar, will only grow on stiff clay soils ; whilst the Sissoo tree is only seen in and near the beds of the larger rivers, where sand and gravel is the peculiar characteristic of the land. It is very

remarkable, how strictly these trees adhere to the soils that suit them, and how capricious are the limits to which they extend; it frequently happening, that a river or water-course marks the boundary of a sâl forest, across which not a tree is to be seen of that kind, though on the other side it grows with the utmost luxuriance, and can scarcely be eradicated, whilst on an uncongenial soil it can hardly be made to grow at all. Of sâl forests there may be said to be three in number, that on the west extending from the Teesta to the Barohatti river; the central, which is situated in that part of the country known as Moraghat, lying between the Juldhaka and Rehti rivers, where some fine timber exists; and the great Buxa forest, which commences a short distance east of the most easternmost branch of the Torsa river, and continuing somewhat irregularly, spreads as far as the Sunkos, which is the eastern limit of the Western Dwarfs. There are also other detached patches of sâl forest scattered over the country, but these are of minor importance, being of small extent, and contain very little fine timber. It is not known exactly what area of land the sâl forests cover, but it is probably not less than 150,000 or 200,000 acres, which, if properly tended and conserved, are capable of yielding a constant supply of very valuable timber. Where sâl prevails, few trees of any other kind take root: occasionally, however, a huge peepul or bur tree is seen, but these are not numerous, and are few and far between. As the sâl trees grow very thickly, they naturally run up very straight, each striving to out-top its neighbour in order to get its share of air and sunshine; but in consequence of this struggle for existence, the trees grow tall, but are mostly deficient in girth, and no doubt much improvement in their size might be effected by a judicious thinning of the forests.

Next to the sâl (*shorea robusta*) the Sissoo (*Dalbergia Sissoo*) is perhaps the most useful timber produced in the Bhootan Dwarfs. It, however, does not grow to any great size, and is mostly crooked and somewhat stunted, but would doubtless be found very well adapted for cart wheels, and for manufacture into articles of furniture. The other kinds of wood procurable are, Urjun (*Terminallia* sp.), Sitsal (*Dalbergia latifolia*), Chullani (*Gordonia Wallichii*), Ditto (*Gordonia* sp.), Acacia Elata, Ditto Catechu, Ditto Stipulata, Ditto Furnesiana, and Seet, Khair, Am-luki, Semul, Gumber and Bamboos; all of which are chiefly met with near the base of the hills on the low flat spurs of hill soil before alluded to, which form so peculiar a feature of the country in that part of the district.

As might naturally be supposed from its proximity to the hills, the country is far better drained than Bengal in general; for, as we approach the hills, the natural fall of the land increases, so that water cannot lodge, and such a thing as a jheel or swamp is scarcely to be found throughout the whole length and breadth of the Dwar. But, although swamps are wanting, the rivers and smaller streams that intersect the country are very numerous, the principal being the Teesta, Jaldhaka, Torsa, Rydak, and Sunkos. All of these may be said to be first-class rivers, and take their rise far in the interior of the Himalaya Mountains, at the foot of the snowy ranges; and after traversing Bhootan and the Dwar, pass through Koch Behar and the Rungpoor district, and eventually find their way into the Brahmaputra River. But besides these large rivers, there are also many others of less size, the chief of which are, the Doodoah, Mujnaie, and Koljani, all of which, together with the larger rivers, are navigable to some distance within the southern limits of the Dwar; but above this point, and when within 10 or 15 miles of the base of the hills, they become so full of rapids and stony beds, that navigation, except by the small canoes of the country, is impracticable. During the rainy season, the whole of the rivers, both great and small, have abundance of water in them, and would be passable for boats of the largest size, and some even for steamers venturing within the boundary of the Dwar; but in the cold weather, some of the smaller streams almost dry up, and it is a curious fact, that many of the streams which in the hills, even during the dry season, have a considerable body of water in them, entirely disappear after entering the plains, but make their appearance again above ground, some 5 or 10 miles from the foot of the hills. This is accounted for by the sub-soil near the hills being a mass of loose pebbles and boulders, through which the water finds a passage under the surface, and from which it does not again make its exit until it meets with some clayey strata, which force it again above ground. In such localities, it has been found impossible to sink wells; and consequently in some places during the cold weather, the people of the villages are obliged to fetch water from a long distance, often 5 or 6 miles, which adds very much to their labor, and occupies a large portion of the time of the women. It would, however, be quite practicable to lead water down from the streams just before they disappear underground, by means of canals, such as have been found to answer so admirably in the country lying at the foot of the Kumaon and Gurhwal Hills, where the whole country is irrigated and supplied

with water by artificial canals, and has by this means been reclaimed from being an unprofitable waste, and now supports a very large population: and such could also be done wherever required in the Western Dwar.

The water of all the rivers that have their rise in the hills, is of excellent quality for drinking purposes; but many of the smaller streams merely have their source in the forests, and receive the drainage of the country. The water in these is, therefore, strongly impregnated with decayed vegetable matter, and especially during the rains is decidedly unwholesome, and should never be drunk; but the well water is always good, and as a well can be dug and cased with pottery rings for 5 Rupees, there is no necessity for drinking bad water. It was, however, from the use of impure water that the troops during the Bhootan Campaign suffered so severely, which, added to other causes quite independent of the climate, caused such a lamentable mortality amongst them.

When, however, a country has got a repute for unhealthiness, it is a difficult matter to make any one believe the contrary; but in all such questions, the matter is not one of absolute, but of comparative merit. Now, no one would of course contend, that the climate of the Bhootan Dwar was as healthy as that of Europe, or of many other places of known salubrity; but compared with Bengal in general, or the districts of Rungpoor, Dinajpoor, or Purneah, there can be little doubt but that the Bhootan Dwar are far healthier. The standing bugbear of the deadly climate of the so-called Terai is fast disappearing before the stern testimony of facts. Who, for instance, some years ago would have believed that the country at the foot of the hills below Darjeeling would have been eagerly sought after by Europeans, wherein to establish tea plantations? Yet such is the case; and the question of its healthiness is proved by the fact that those who live there enjoy a fair amount of health. Now, proceeding eastward, the nature of the country is precisely similar to that which underlies the Darjeeling Hills; and when cleared and cultivated, the Bhootan Dwar will doubtless be found to be by no means so inimical to health as they have been represented to be. The people of the country look remarkably healthy, and do not complain of much sickness; instead, therefore, of asserting, which some authorities have done, that the people who have been born and bred in the country have become habituated to a pestiferous climate, and actually thrive in malaria, may it not with more show of reason be concluded that the good health of



the people in general is the result of their living in a salubrious climate? Such appears the better reasoning of the two; and as it seems that the climate is by no means prejudicial to either Europeans or the Natives of the country, all that can be said is, that if the converse is true, it must be granted that malaria is not such a bad thing after all, and that paradoxical as it may appear, that which kills elsewhere, here gives health and strength.

In a country but partially cleared, as might be expected, wild animals of all sorts abound in great numbers, and accordingly every description of animal found in Bengal, from an elephant to a field-mouse, is to be met with. At one time, elephants were no doubt very much more numerous than they are at present; but still a goodly number are annually caught and carried off. They are, however, not often seen far out in the plains, but prefer remaining in the vicinity of the hills, where they can take refuge when pursued. A hardy old tusker does occasionally take his stand on the road, and refuses to allow the traveller to pass; but the number of casualties from wild elephants is not large, and altogether the monarch of the forest gets the worst of it, and is no match for the slim Bengali, who, with noose in hand, is generally successful in catching and walking him off with the aid of his tame elephants. As no Kheddahs have ever been constructed, all elephant-catching has been carried on by chasing the wild elephants with tame ones, called Koonkees, a noose being thrown by the catcher over the head of the wild animal as he rushes along to escape his pursuer, and instead of raising his trunk and thereby preventing the loop from falling round his neck, very foolishly, immediately it is touched by the rope, curls his trunk up, and allows himself to be caught, thereby making easy what would otherwise be a most difficult operation. In this manner thirty or forty wild elephants are carried off from the Western Dwarfs every year, much to the benefit of the catchers and advantage of the cultivators, whose crops suffer severely from their depredations. Next to the elephants in size, come the rhinoceros, which are very plentiful, and of great size. Occasionally, when wounded, these animals do show fight, but naturally they are of a very quiet disposition, and quite willing to live at peace with their neighbours, especially if allowed to devour the ryots' paddy unmolestedly, of which they are very fond. They are generally found in the heaviest and wettest jungle, and love to wallow in the mud, to be found at the bottom of a deserted channel of a river, or low patch of ground. They are perhaps more numerous in the Bhootan Dwarfs than any other part

of India ; but as they breed but slowly, their numbers are decreasing fast before the deadly effects of the bone-smashers and shells of the sportsman. Besides rhinoceros, the antelope is also to be met with on some of the open grass plains in great numbers ; but they are very wary, and it is only by a lucky long shot that they are ever brought down. Tigers also are common, though not very numerous, as also are leopards, large and small deer, buffaloes, pigs, and the smaller kind of animals.

Leaving the wild animals to take care of themselves, or be disposed of by the sportsmen at their leisure, a subject of much more importance to the welfare of the country has now to be discussed ; namely, that of the tame animals and their condition, and the means of transport through the country. Like the cattle all over Bengal, those of the Dwarfs are of the most diminutive kind. This happens, no doubt, from no care whatever being taken in their breeding, and also from deficient feeding ; for when properly fed, as they must be when employed as draft or pack-cattle, they become sturdy little animals, well up to their work. During the period of Bhooteah dominion, roads not having been dreamt of in their philosophy, pack-bullocks were the only kind of carriage then in use ; and of these, strings may still be seen at the time the cotton crop is being exported, wending their way back from the vicinity of the hills, where the cotton is grown, with a bundle of cotton on each side as large as a big drum, between which the little bullock is almost hidden. They will carry two maunds each, but two bullocks with a cart would convey ten maunds ; so that although pack-bullocks and tattoos are, perhaps, the best kind of carriage for a country without roads, good roads more than double their utility, and would decrease the cost of transport in the same ratio. Now, however, that passable roads are being constructed, the common native carts are being gradually introduced ; and as the roads increase in number and extent, carts will increase also, and eventually supersede the more primitive kind of carriage. Much, however, has yet to be done in the way of road-making before the requirements of the district are fully met.

According to Bhooteah law, all the land belonged to the State, and no individual proprietary rights were acknowledged ; and as the British Government has succeeded to the rights of its predecessor, these rights are now vested in the present Government. This is an important fact, and should be steadily borne in mind by those who are responsible for the well-being of the people ; for the Government not only acquired the sove-

reign rights, but the proprietary rights in the lands also, and has therefore to discharge a double duty in administering the affairs of this portion of the country. While, therefore, these rights impose a greater obligation on the Government in the management of its latest acquisition than elsewhere, it also enables it to deal with the land in the manner best suited to its own interests. It is therefore not probable that the same mistake will be made that was committed in Bengal, of prematurely introducing a permanent settlement. Long leases and moderate assessments, when the lands have been fairly brought under cultivation, will ensure continued improvement, and, by not tying up its hands too soon, will secure to the Government all the advantages of an increasing revenue, and place it in a position to expend a fair portion of the revenue on the improvement of the country.

The form of tenure by which the lands are held is that called *jotedari*: the *jotes* are held direct from the Government, and are secured to the holders by *pottahs* or title-deeds; the *jotedar* on his part giving a *kubooleut* or counterpart, by which he engages to pay a fixed sum for the lands he holds. At present the assessment on the lands is very light indeed, almost nominal, it having been fixed when the country came under British rule, at whatever the *jotedars* declared they had previously paid to the Bhooteah authorities. In this matter it may safely be assumed that the *jotedars* did not indulge in much exaggeration; and as the people in general were very poor, and not possessed of any accumulated capital, it was thought proper, in order to enable them to recover from the state of beggary to which they had been reduced, to take at first just what they offered to pay. The whole of the lands at present being held in detached farms, this peculiar tenure has a very marked effect on the arrangement of the population, and unlike Bengal or any part of Hindoostan, there is scarcely a village to be seen from one end of the Dwar to the other. The plan adopted, is for every holder of a *jote* to establish his homestead on the most eligible site for building on, within the limits of his *jote*; and around the *jotedar's* house those of his dependents cluster, thus forming a compact collection of houses which, with the trees about them, form a very pleasing feature in the landscape. The size of these homesteads varies, of course, with that of the *jote*. Some contain as many as forty or fifty houses, whilst others have not more than six or eight in them; but in all the same characteristics prevail: the *jotedar* is the head of the

little community, and is looked up to as the master over all ; it is he who manages the affairs of the whole jote, sets out the lauds to his under-tenants, or retains what he chooses for his own special use ; his word is law ; he is in fact a little patriarch living in the midst of his family and dependents, whose influence for good or evil is felt by every member of the society.

Instead, therefore, of villages in which persons of every denomination usually congregate, the whole country is dotted over with separate homesteads, at a greater or less distance apart, according to circumstances. It must not, however, be supposed that each jotedar has but one jote, for there are many men who hold eight or ten such farms. In the jote on which the jotedar lives, he usually reserves a considerable portion of it for his own cultivation : the rest he lets out to under-tenants, called Chookunedars or Moolundars, and Ryots or Purjas. The first class of under-tenants cultivate on an agreement or pottah given them by the jotedar, either for one or more years, and at a specified rent. The second belong to the poorest class of people, and being possessed of no property themselves, are obliged to take besun bhotta, *i. e.*, seed and food from the jotedar, who also supplies them with ploughs and oxen wherewith to till the land. The Chookunedar or Moolundar pays his rent in cash, but the Ryot or Purja in kind, giving usually one-half the produce of each class, and sometimes even as much as two-thirds. The outlying jotes are commonly let out to the first named class of tenants, and not unfrequently to one person only, who agrees to take it at a somewhat higher rate of rent than has to be paid by the jotedar to the Government. In the time of Bhooteah misrule, these tenures were practically valueless ; now, however, they sell readily, and their value is steadily on the increase. That this kind of tenure is well adapted to develop the agricultural resources of the country, there can be but little doubt. The jotedars will in time become substantial farmers, holding an intermediate place between the over-wealthy and often non-resident zemindar, and the indigenous squatter of the ryotwari system : all that is required to make him prosperous, is a sufficient amount of education to enable him to employ his lands to the best advantage. It cannot, however, be denied, but that this form of tenure has its disadvantages ; for as it necessitates much scattering, it will be found an inconvenient arrangement of the population, as regards the successful working of village day-schools, for the scholar will have much further to travel than if they were collected together in

villages, and the number that could resort to one school will necessarily be limited. Still much may be done by a judicious selection of sites for the schools; and by fixing on a central position surrounded by well filled homesteads, a sufficient number of scholars might certainly be secured so as to form a very respectably sized school.

As might naturally be expected, the state of agriculture is very backward: it is indeed conducted in the most primitive manner, and with the simplest implements, and farming as a science is totally unknown; still such is the natural fertility of the soil, that the people, nevertheless, do manage to secure very fair crops, the chief of which are rice, both broad cast and planted, wheat, barley, rape, jute, tobacco, pulses and cotton, besides which, sugar-cane and vegetables are also grown in small quantities. Of these the only articles exported are rice, jute, tobacco, and cotton; the three former in small quantities, but the latter to a considerable extent. The cotton is, however, of the very poorest quality, being short in staple, harsh in texture, dull in color, and adheres so tightly to the seed, that its separation can only be effected with the utmost difficulty. At present, the cultivation of cotton is almost entirely carried on by the *Mechies*, who shift about from place to place in order to secure virgin soil for the crop. Their plan of operations is to clear a space in the forest of all its trees, leaving, perhaps, a few of the more valuable kinds standing. The work of felling is done with the axe and *dào*, a straight, heavy cleaver; the felled trees, when dry, are then burnt, or collected in heaps, and the ground is then dug up with the *kodal* or mattock, and, when ready, is sown with the seed which is thrown broadcast over the land. This is done during June, and the crop is gathered in during November and December. Not more than two crops are taken off the same land, partly on account of the yield being less if the same ground is continually sown, and partly from its being found more troublesome and laborious to get rid of the grass and small jungle that springs up after the second year, than it is to clear fresh land.

That cotton of a superior quality could be produced in the Bhootan Dwarfs, is certain. The soil near the hills, though not similar to the deep black mould of the country round Hinguughât, is of excellent quality, being a rich loam and at the same time light and friable, and therefore easily worked: the climate also is well adapted for the production of cotton, there being a sufficiency of rain during the time the crop is growing, and which,

ceasing in October, does not injure it when ready for gathering. The chief requisite, moreover, according to the Cotton Commissioner, Mr. Rivett Carnac, is not wanting, namely, good drainage, and which the same authority states to be of "even greater importance than the soil." The plan of selecting good seed for sowing, is unfortunately totally neglected, and "rogueing" the crop for seed is quite an unknown process. The growth of cotton in the Dwarfs has, therefore, hitherto labored under every possible disadvantage in its treatment; but attempts have been made of late to improve it by the distribution of better kinds of seed. Though the Hingunghât variety has not yet been tried on a sufficiently large scale so as to test its suitability to this part of Bengal, yet as the climate is somewhat similar to that of the Central Provinces, and the soil and drainage excellent, it is highly desirable that this should be done as soon as possible. Hitherto the cultivation of cotton has been limited to those parts of the Dwarfs that immediately underlie the lower range of the northern hills; but there is no good reason why it should not be produced elsewhere, as high, well drained land of excellent quality is abundant all over them. This cultivation is therefore susceptible of almost indefinite extension, and if but one good crop of superior cotton was raised, and its proper mode of culture brought home to the people by practical demonstration, the best possible results would be sure to follow.

But, it may here be remarked, that the same soils which are so well adapted for the production of cotton are those which are also the best suited for the growth of the tea and coffee plant, and in no part of Bengal are the conditions so favorable for the successful development of these speculations as in the country lately acquired from Bhootan. It may be said that none of the requisites for ensuring success are wanting, for the climate in every essential particular resembles that of Assam: the soil is as good; available land is abundant; and, as respects the facility of procuring labor, and its accessibility, it is far better situated, being within a reasonable distance of the teeming population of the Rungpoor, Dinajpoor, and Purneah Districts, which part of the country, according to Mr. Eden, "after Chota Nagpoor, is the best labor market in Bengal." Added to this, it may be mentioned that large batches of coolies, of some hundreds each, come up annually of their own accord from Chota Nagpoor, at the beginning of the cold weather, seeking for work, who could doubtless be persuaded to remain, if offered sufficient inducement. They march up in gangs through the Purneah District, and arrive in

October and November ; and thus all the expense and risk to life of importing the laborers by boat or steamer would be saved, and the only obstacle to the success of tea-planting as a speculation be entirely avoided. In a country where the indigenous population is scanty, the available labor on the spot is, however, necessarily very limited : at present, coolies demand 3 annas a day, and a pack-bullock cannot be got for less than 4 annas, and hackeries from 8 to 12 annas per diem ; and as the whole population is engaged in agriculture, there is little available labor for other purposes ; but there are colonies of Nepaulese settling about, especially near the Military Post of Buxa, who are ready enough to engage themselves for hire. Pack-bullocks, however, can be procured in almost any numbers, and carts are multiplying fast, so that although there might be some difficulty in procuring a large amount of carriage, and coolies would have to be brought from Bengal, the difficulties of procuring a sufficient supply do not exist to the same extent as they do in Assam and some other parts of the country. Food also is cheaper, rice selling on an average at 2 Rupees a maund, and other articles of consumption in proportion. This, however, is high, considering that the whole population are agriculturists, and that a failure of crops is a contingency which, from the proximity of the country to the hills, and the almost certain supply of rain that is thereby caused, is very unlikely to occur.

The country being high with a gentle slope towards the south, and drained by innumerable rivers, inundations cannot take place to any extent or last long. When rain is falling heavily in the hills, the rivers remain full, and the lower lands get partially flooded ; but no sooner does the rain cease, than it almost immediately drains off, and such an occurrence as the loss of crops by inundation is very rare indeed. The country is therefore well suited for the cultivation of indigo ; but until the population has greatly increased, this branch of industry, which requires the co-operation of a large number of people, would probably not succeed, though in the course of a few years, by which time the population will have greatly increased by emigration from the south, there is no reason why the Bhootan Dwarfs should not rival Tirhoot as an indigo-producing district. And while on the subject of crops, some mention should be made of tobacco, which is grown in considerable quantities in Northern Bengal, and under the name of Rungpoor tobacco has obtained some degree of celebrity. It is even said that the tobacco of this frontier finds its way down to Arracan, and

is thence exported as the genuine Sandoway tobacco. Be that as it may, there is no doubt but that the tobacco grown in the Rungpoor District and the country to the north of it, including Koch Behar and the Western Dwarfs, is of a superior quality, and might be still further improved by careful culture and manufacture. It is a very remunerative crop, and large quantities are exported to the marts further south, and some also into Bhootan. With regard to accessibility from Bengal, the Western Dwarfs are very favorably situated; from the west they are easily reached by the high road leading from Caragola Ghât on the Ganges, to Darjeeling, from which a road branches off at Titaliah to Julpigoori, distant only 26 miles to the east; at Julpigoori the road crosses over the Teesta river into the Western Dwarfs, and thence runs almost due east throughout their whole length, and eventually leads into Assam, the capital of which, Gowhatty, is by this route only 200 miles from Julpigoori, and could be reached in 14 or 15 marches, all through a fairly cultivated country. This road is still under construction, and, when completed, will not only afford the means of easy access to all parts of the Western and Eastern Dwarfs, but if carried on into Assam, will prove of incalculable benefit to that province, by opening up direct communication with the most populous parts of Bengal, from which it is now entirely cut off by the want of such a road. From Rungpoor in Bengal, the Western Dwarfs are approached by a road leading due north from the town of Rungpoor itself, which passes through Koch Behar, and so on to Alipoor in the Western Dwarfs, where it joins the road running east and west: by this road free access is had to the extensive and populous districts of Rungpoor, Bograh, and Dinajpoor, to each of which roads branch off from Rungpoor. From the east, the Dwarfs are even of easier access than from the west, as the Assam steamers on the Brahmaputra river in continuation of the rail to Koshteah, all touch at Dhoobry, from whence there is a good road to Koch Behar, distant from Dhoobry 40 miles. From Koch Behar to Alipoor is only 12 miles over good road, and from Alipoor an excellent road leads up to the Military Post of Buxa, 23 miles further north, which is situated at an elevation of nearly 2,000 feet above the sea, and about 3 miles within the hills.

There are four principal roads leading into the interior of the hills, the westernmost, that from Domehoney on the Teesta river via Kyrauty to Dalinkote, and Dumsong, which has been made passable for carts to the foot of the hills; that



through the Chamoorchee pass into Bhootan, 25 miles to the east of Dalimkote ; that through the Bala pass, about 10 miles east of Chamoorchee ; and that viâ Buxa, 20 miles east of Bala. As yet no roads have been constructed leading from the plains up to the Chamoorchee and Bala passes ; but each of these can be reached by well beaten tracks, used by the natives of the country during the dry season, but which are closed during the rains for want of the means of crossing the rivers. The Buxa pass, however, as before observed, is connected with the plains by a well raised road, and as this is by all accounts the best route into the hills, and that which leads direct up to the capitals of Poonakha and Tassissuedon in Bhootan, this is the most important route, and the one likely to be the most used.

On this road, at its entrance into the hills, stands the Military Post of Buxa, garrisoned by a Regiment of Native infantry. The station is prettily situated in the midst of the hills, and enjoys a climate always tolerably cool, whilst during winter it is quite cold enough. As this post thoroughly commands the principal pass into Bhootan, and affords protection to the whole of the Dwar from Bhooteah incursions, its importance to the welfare and prosperity of the country cannot be over-estimated. In fact, without such a protection no man's life or property in the Dwar would be safe ; but with such a force in their rear, no marauding party of Bhooteahs would dare to enter the plains, knowing full well that the chance of their getting back to the hills with a whole skin was a very doubtful contingency. From Buxa, Poonakha, the winter capital of Bhootan, is only seven days' journey ; Tassissuedon, the summer residence of the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, only six days ; and Paro, where the Pello or Governor of Western Bhootan resides, can be reached in five or six days. This therefore would appear to be the route by which the trade between Bengal and Bhootan should be carried on ; it is the most direct, the easiest, and enjoys the protection which the post at Buxa affords, and, moreover, is that by which the trade with Tibet was formerly conveyed, and which it should be the object of the British Government to re-establish by all the means it has at its disposal. The extent of this trade in former years cannot be better shown than by again quoting from the work at the head of this article :—

"There is perhaps no condition in which the deterioration has been greater in Bhootan than in that of its foreign trade. In 1803, according to Lieut. Rutherford, the trade between Bhootan and Assam amounted to two lakhs of rupees per annum, the

lac, madder, silk, erendi-cloth, and dried fish of Assam being exchanged for woollens, gold dust, salt, musk, horses, chowries, and silk. As Bhootan, however, produces neither salt nor gold, it is clear that the trade, as far as Bhootan was concerned, was merely a carrying trade. Just before the Burmese invasion of Assam, the Thibetan merchants brought down 70,000 rupees' worth of gold, and Hamilton speaks of a caravan sent every year by the late Deb Rajah to Lassa, by which goods to the sum of thirty or forty thousand rupees, chiefly cloth, pearls, and coral from Bengal, were exchanged for tea," &c. And again: "For many years there was a considerable trade to Rungpoor, and our Government kept up regular accommodation at that station for the Bhootan traders; for some years past, it has almost ceased and is probably now confined to the purchase of a little tobacco and indigo. With Darjeeling, too, the Bhootan trade is now nominal: with Thibet their trade is scarcely more important: in truth the Bhooteahs have now nothing to give in exchange for the commodities of other countries. They frequent the bazars of Phari in Thibet, but they are from their turbulent, careless habits, looked on with great disfavor by the Thibetians, and they go there probably to thieve from the wealthy Thibetians rather than to trade. Under a good Government the state of things would be very different. The easiest road from Bengal into Thibet is through Bhootan, and the articles in chief demand in Thibet on its northern frontier, namely, tobacco and indigo, are produced in great quantities in Rungpoor, the district on its south frontier. Thibetan traders will not, however, trust themselves in Bhootan, and the people of these two countries, only nine days apart, with fair roads between them, are thus excluded from the mutual exchange of commodities by the barrier which the rapacity of the Bhooteah Chief affords."

It must, however, be remembered that this was written before the war with Bhootan took place; and although the Government of that distracted country has not improved one whit since then, by the treaty they are bound to protect and foster trade. Far, however, from having abided by their agreement in this particular, it is commonly reported that the rulers of Bhootan have entirely prohibited the people from trading in the plains: it is certain that commerce has ceased altogether, but as the ninth article of the treaty stipulates that "there shall be free trade and commerce between the two Governments," the fulfilment of this article of the treaty might be insisted on with advantage to all parties concerned. For, although there can be but little doubt that

the incessant intestine commotions have reduced the people of Bhootan to great poverty, still they must have something to exchange, and at all events they have the 50,000 rupees to spend, which they receive from the British Government; and as trade and intercourse would be the surest means of improving their condition, and tend to their civilization, every inducement should be offered them, to resort freely to the plains, and fulfil the treaty insisted on by the British Government. With a good brisk trade carried on with Bhootan and the countries to the north, in rice, wheat, cotton cloths, tea, sugar, metal, vessels, &c., which might be exchanged for woollens, silks, ivory, musk, chowries, bees' wax, spices, walnuts, &c., and the ponies of Bhootan, much mutual advantage would be secured; and that the people of the plains are quite prepared to carry on such a traffic, may be inferred from the large numbers that frequent the markets and fairs that are held throughout the country. At present the people of the plains experience some difficulty in finding a vent for their surplus produce. Ordinarily there is no demand for rice in the country to the south; and jute, oil-seeds, cotton, and tobacco, form almost the only exports from the Dwar; a market is therefore wanted, where the common articles produced in the plains are in demand. Now, this is what is exactly the case in the countries to the north; and were it not for the obstructiveness of the Bhooteah officials, there is no doubt that a reciprocal interchange of commodities would take place, much to the advantage of both parties.

With trade re-established with Bhootan and Thibet, the welfare of the people of the Dwar would be greatly promoted; for the natural capabilities of the country are so great, that articles of export, such as are in demand by the people inhabiting the countries to the north, could be produced in almost any quantities; added to which, lime in abundance is procurable all along the foot of the hills, and other building materials are everywhere plentiful and cheap. It may indeed be said that the elements of prosperity do not exist to a greater extent in any district in the country than they do in the Bhootan Dwar. The climate is far cooler than most other parts of Bengal, and the terrific heat of the N. W. Provinces is never experienced. The seasons, moreover, are regular and certain, and such a calamity as a deficiency of rain is almost unheard of, whilst the rain-fall in general is by no means excessive. From the proximity of the country to the hills, the soils are more varied than those of districts further south, and therefore capable of producing a greater variety of products than less favored localities. The communications, also, both by

land and water, are good. All therefore that is required to ensure a prosperous future to the Bhootan Dwarfs, is that their present state of waste should be reclaimed by the industry of man; when, what is now an unprofitable acquisition to the British dominions, would then be converted into a most valuable and wealth-bestowing country.

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## ART. V.—QUARANTINE AND CHOLERA.

THE question of quarantine in cholera, which now engages the attention of authority in India, could not have presented itself at a time more favorable for full discussion and just estimation of its merits. The doctrines which formerly prevailed as to the necessity and efficacy of the measure were asserted in time of excitement and terror. The credulity of nations threatened with pestilence rose accordingly as promise of immunity under quarantine was more or less boldly put forth by its advocates and blindly accepted by authority. There was not leisure or tranquillity for calm enquiry. The natural consequence of extravagant hopes was disappointment ; and the denunciations of quarantine, which followed and formed the current doctrine of England for many years subsequently to the epidemic of 1832, had little more of substantial ground to rest on than the credulity which had preceded them. Disproof of the efficacy of quarantine soon gave way to denial of the possibility of communication of cholera from man to man, and it must lie under suspicion, therefore, of having furthered whatever extension of disease may from time to time have followed the non-recognition of this principle.

There have existed, no doubt, reasons, many and strong, why the scientific investigation of quarantine should have been impeded. With regard to cholera, the disease has prevailed in Europe in epidemic form at long intervals only ; and with the disappearance of each outbreak the public care for preventive measures has ceased. Not only have science and public health been concerned in the solution of the difficulty, but great questions of commerce and politics have arisen, and the magnitude and variety of interests involved have been fatal to all singleness of purpose and patient enquiry ; indeed it may well be doubted whether, in later days, quarantine has not been borne down in England more by a national sense of its being a ruinous alternative than by deep-rooted conviction of the difficulty of enforcing it, or of its intrinsic uselessness.

But consistent and resolute antagonism has been almost peculiar to England. Other countries have clung with greater or less tenacity to the belief that contagious disease is kept

from their shores by quarantine. Some of our own dependencies are, to this day, unable to shake themselves free from the practice; while, for international reasons, there is still kept up a semblance of quarantine against yellow fever in certain parts of the mother country, which are in direct communication with her West Indian possessions.

Continental policy has derived strong confirmation from the conclusions of the Cholera Conference of Constantinople. With the knowledge of the direction which these were likely to take, it was natural to expect that the epidemic of 1865, 1866, and 1867, would be met by restrictive measures of the fullest extent and rigour. It was so met, and in consequence the capabilities of quarantine have been developed and tested to the full, with results which are day by day becoming more accurately known than they were, when the reports were drawn up on which the judgment of the national delegates was pronounced.

It is with quarantine solely as a measure of practical hygiene that we are now concerned. We seek to do no more than contribute to a solution of the question whether it can be usefully introduced when nations or communities are threatened with disease from without, either through ports and sea-board places, or between adjacent districts of continental land; and to enquire whether the better insight, which the experience of the past three years has given us, into the nature and attributes of cholera, is in accord with the broad results which have attended the international enforcement of quarantine during the recent epidemic in the west.

The medical officer to the Privy Council, after careful survey of the facts and arguments adduced by advocates and opponents of restrictive measures, has stated his belief that if quarantine could be carried out with the accuracy of a chemical experiment, it must keep cholera from the shores of any country where the very difficult conditions can be fulfilled. This will be open to no doubt if only it can, and in so far as it can be made clear that epidemic diffusion of cholera depends on direct communication from infected persons. Recent observation, however, has shewn that whatever influence this may have in determining the first cases, or the beginning of the disease in a place, it is certainly not the only, and probably not the principal, medium of propagation; and that efficient systems of quarantine are not practicable on a scale adequate to the requirements of nations.

It is a very prominent point in the history of the western epidemic, that the countries in which quarantine was practised with the utmost rigour suffered most severely from cholera. Of this Spain and the Papal States were notable examples; and at the opposite end of the list lay England with its unrestricted freedom of intercourse, and comparative immunity from disease. On the other hand, it is said—on what evidence we shall presently enquire—that in two infected localities mechanical investment seems to have been absolutely perfect, and extension of disease to have been prevented. These places were Sicily and Dominica,—places so circumstanced that the success of their policy, if it be established, can afford no guide for its adoption on a larger scale; no disturbance of the general conclusion that quarantine, with the most perfect organization of which it is susceptible, fails in its object, when applied to much frequented sea-boards, crowded ports, or to the investment of inland places; and leaves its supporters without a weapon of defence against the charge of causing great collateral evils.

Evidently this is the direction which opinion has now taken in England on the subject; not indeed in the mere pursuit of controversial bias, nor in the manner of obstinate adhesion to the earlier policy of the nation which realizes, in their greatest intensity, the evils attending impeded commerce and the interrupted intercourse of colonies, but as the conclusion of scientific men, many of them masters of sober reasoning, committed to no previous doctrine whatever, and judging simply from observation of facts now brought before them on a scale of novel magnitude. This opinion has found expression in a memorial which was presented to the President of the Privy Council in March last, in which it was proposed to take advantage of the opportunity now afforded of testing through a Royal Commission, the practicability and efficacy of quarantine by recent events, and of pronouncing finally whether the good to be expected from it is such that the great attendant evils should be accepted for the sake of it. Among the subscribers of this memorial are found the names of all in England who have been prominently before the world of late, in connexion with sanitary advancement; and its language plainly sets forth the distrust of quarantine, which has led to its presentation.

The results of quarantine are now, as we have said, fairly before the world. With every advantage of locality, organization, and unlimited resources, it has not kept cholera from

the ports of the nations which have trusted it, nor hindered its inland-spread. As a matter of observed and recorded fact, the failure is open to no dispute; and as the policy has had for the time the support or the patient tolerance of all the nations of Europe, it is difficult to suppose that failure has been due to any defect of means or power which may hereafter be remedied. It becomes necessary, therefore, to seek elsewhere for the cause of the ill success. It is clear that the main conditions of the spread of the disease have not been met, and that no mechanical impediment which is practicable has prevailed against them. It is probable that they vary with circumstances which are not yet accurately known; that the exacter knowledge which is growing up of the material agents involved in the phenomena of cholera, while it tends on the one hand to prove the possibility of preventing its extension in some small degree, will shew, on the other, that such limited prevention can only appropriately be attempted by operating on cases in detail, and not by broad measures addressed to the supposed infective power of masses of men; and thus that research in demonstrating, if it be so, the existence of human communication, will at the same time define the real limits of its actions.

It must not be forgotten that fallacy may at all times attend conclusions based on observation of a single outbreak, in the case of a disease which has appeared, at different times and places, to vary greatly in its attendant phenomena. But there are many considerations which help to liberate from this source of error, arguments drawn from the last great epidemic. By its extent and duration there came into view all the many phases and characters of the disease which in local epidemics have shown perplexing variety, and which belong to peculiarities of geographical position, of climate, and season, and soil. These characters have been scrutinized with the utmost minuteness. The freshest resources of science have been called into requisition, and applied throughout the whole western world by the most competent hands; and there has resulted an accumulation of exact knowledge on questions of fact, which clears the subject of much confusing speculation, and brings out conclusions which are at once available for useful application in preventive work.

And it is in virtue of this exact knowledge, so far as it has advanced, that the teaching of the past two years has an all-important bearing on the question at issue. It is only by the



precision with which the medium of cholera infection of man by man is known, that the possibility of interrupting infection can be measured; and it is only in so far as this process of transmission can be shewn to influence the course of epidemics, that restriction on intercourse can point the hopes even of enthusiastic persons. There are many examples of the spread of cholera from place to place where no personal communication can be traced; there are also many reasons of a positive kind for believing that infection is carried by the air, as the only element known to pervade all infected places, the agent being either itself a vapour, or taking some form that air or vapour may convey. How far such cases are examples of the general law of epidemic cholera, and how far they are exceptions to it, is the question of main importance, and very difficult of solution in the existing conflict of opinion and testimony. But if the process which they indicate be admitted in extenuation of the failure of restrictive measures, it must be with the effect of shewing that failure is irremediable; for air-borne contagia must, in the nature of things, overleap all obstacles of quarantine, and prove them to be as useless as the controllable media of personal infection would prove them to be needless.

From the weight which naturally attaches to the deliberations of so learned a body of men as the delegates who met at Constantinople; from the fact already mentioned, that their views strengthen in a very high degree the position of those countries which have never relinquished their belief in quarantine; and especially from their conclusions having been suffered to guide hitherto the counsels of the Government of India, we can devise no better method of enquiring into the soundness of their conclusions than by following this Conference through the evidence they have collected; examining it internally as far as the record permits, and supplementing it, where we are able to do so, with information gathered from independent sources. To do this completely and in a such manner as to escape suspicion of selecting facts for a purpose, it will be necessary to pass in review all the events which have been recorded by the delegates in illustration of the spread of cholera, in the special report prepared by the Committee, and finally adopted by the Conference; though this will involve the risk of re-producing many wearisome details.

For the present, and for the sake of the argument, we shall admit the principle of transmissibility, passing without criticism the reasoning on which it is supported in the proceedings.

At the outset it seems desirable to draw a broad distinction between the efficacy and the practicability of complete isolation; but in arguing on facts, it is not always possible to maintain the separation, for in every instance of failure, we are liable to be met by the assertion that failure has been due to remediable defects of practice, and does not, therefore, affect the principle advocated; for it is of course impossible to prove, on the bare evidence of present facts, whether other consequents would or would not have followed other antecedents. It is, however, none the less useful to examine the actual facts on which the Conference has founded its judgment.

It is alleged that in certain instances immunity from disease has resulted from the observance of quarantine, and to these instances we shall first direct attention. They are very few, scattered through an overwhelming list of failures, and in nearly, if not quite, all of them the conclusion is open to objections which forbid its ready acceptance. Greece, Sicily, and some ports of the Black Sea and the Levant, comprise the whole with New York, which last is set forth as "confirming in the most conclusive manner the efficacy of quarantine judiciously applied against the propagation of the "choleraic scourge." The selection of New York as a typical case was unfortunate. It is true that in 1865 quarantine was very rigorously maintained against very limited sources of infection, and that the city, *in common with other ports of the United States, of whose practice we are not told*, escaped. But in the following year quarantine remained in full vigour and fuller prestige, and New York was ravaged by the disease. There is, therefore, no evidence to be found here as to the efficacy of quarantine, but a strong caution against confidence in its continued practicability.

The ship *Atlanta*, between Havre and New York, exported sixty cases of cholera and fifteen deaths. Two deaths occurred in the port. No arrangements having been in readiness for rigorous isolation, the vessel was sent to the lower bay and isolated there. Forty-two cases were subsequently sent from the ship to the Marine Hospital, of which six only died. New York escaped, as well it might when the state of things was such that six cases only out of forty-two landed were fatal. Cholera had arrived; that is, cases of the disease had moved westward in advance of the conditions which constitute and carry an epidemic, and alone their importation was powerless to determine epidemic spread.

Ships are well known to suffer under the conditions which foster the extension of cholera. It is a matter of common experience to find that at times, when the disease is only of occasional or sporadic occurrence in Calcutta, emigrant ships leaving the port are the scenes of severe outbreaks, but unaided they do not carry the disease into their places of destination. The *Atlanta* obeyed the same law. Her freight of men was heavily visited on board; but no sooner were the sick landed, than they felt the influence of a place where no epidemic state prevailed, and nearly all recovered. Two other infected vessels arrived, the *Virginia* and the *England*, with similar events. If anything more be needed to prove that the epidemic conditions had not yet reached America, it may be found in the following paragraph from the proceedings of the Conference. Personal communication did its worst. "The *England* furnishes us with the following cases of transmission, devoid of interpretation and duly certified. The Pilot who took the vessel into Halifax was attacked by cholera and returned to Portuguese Cove, nineteen or twenty kilometres distant, where his family lived. Five of his children had cholera one after the other, and two died. Another Pilot of the same ship, who also returned to Portuguese Cove, fell slightly ill, and his sister very seriously after him. The Sanitary Officer of the Port of Halifax, who had attended upon the passengers by the *England*, sank under an attack of cholera." On the voyage there had been fifty deaths in a company of 138 persons, and a very slight outbreak in the town of Halifax. Here the sick return from the ship to their families, and nothing of an epidemic kind is heard of.

In the case of Greece the question of practicability must be conceded, in so far at least as Greece proved herself able to hold all her external relations in suspension. Commercial nations will, we fear, at the best, look upon this as a very barren triumph of a principle. On the escape of this country from cholera, the Conference lays strong emphasis. The system adopted for the southern shores required all ships approaching to perform quarantine at Delos,—an island at a distance of seventy miles from the nearest point of the mainland,—with several islands interposed. There is, therefore, no inference of arrest by quarantine in any form possible to the world at large; no illustration of efficacy which can serve the purposes of other countries.

The northern quarantine station was the Island of Sciathos. Here we are in close proximity to the town of Volo, which, as we shall presently show, escaped from other causes than quarantine; and there was at the same time exposure of this frontier inland from infected places in Thessaly, so that no protective action can be ascribed to seclusion in Sciathos. It is unfortunate that in the most signal instances of apparent protection, the information obtained by the Committee should be wanting in precision. It is stated in general terms that the country of Greece was saved from invasion, and this result is attributed to the stringency of her quarantine system; but none of the occurrences at the several ports are recorded, as has been done in most other cases, and it would seem that, from Greece, Sicily, and Samos, the general condition only of the countries as to the epidemic has been reported. This vagueness is fatal to exact comparison. It is worthy of remark that in 1854-55, Greece and Thessaly shared the same fate, and that in 1865 there were isolated outbreaks of the disease in Thessaly without the character of a wide-spread epidemic. Indeed, as we shall presently see, several importations of cholera took place in various parts of Thessaly with the result of proving that the country was, in an epidemic sense, insusceptible. From previous history, and from their being portions of the same mainland, it would be reasonable to conclude that Greece was similarly conditioned with Thessaly in 1865. In the absence of information, this is no more than a natural conjecture, throwing doubt on the protective agency of the quarantine system.

With regard to Sicily, it is equally difficult to believe that the very rigorous quarantine laws were effectual in practice, for we have it on the authority of a Return to an order of the House of Commons "for information on the laws of quarantine obtained by the Board of Trade," dated 18th August 1860, as a well known fact that while a strict quarantine was often imposed by Sicily or Malta, smuggling was going on all the while. Dr. John Davy was the author of this passage in the Return.

Of the events in Samos we are only told that the island was saved by the adoption of the same system as that of Greece, and was surrounded by choleraic foci.

We desire to write in no spirit of controversy, but it is obvious that deficiencies of the records are responsible for the doubt from which at present it is not possible to escape, and

that, to establish the fact of exception to so general a law as the failure of quarantine has proved to be, requires evidence the most minute and exact. The only specific information furnished, relates to the deaths from cholera in the Greek quarantine stations. It shews that they were numerous in them; neither were the objections due to concentration of disease wanting here, nor was any immunity secured to those who had come from infected places. There is, moreover, some little confusion of dates tending further to impair confidence in the report of these countries, which, though belonging strictly to the accounts from Volo and Larissa, is of importance with regard to the alleged escape of Greece. After details of the events at the former place, with the infection of villages in its neighbourhood in August and September, it is stated in the proceedings that Larissa, *as well as all Thessaly*, had "enjoyed perfect health until the end of November."

Concerning the town of Volo, for which credit of exemption by quarantine is claimed, the facts are these. Ships arrived with foul bills of health. From two of them alone 1,649 passengers underwent quarantine in tents. Sixty-two cases of cholera occurred in the lazaret. The doctor of the lazaret being attacked, fled into the town, but no result followed, and a writer in the Health Office was attacked beyond the limit of the lazaret. Forty-two days later, disease was again imported into Volo from the adjacent villages, where there had been 32 deaths in a population of 1,051 inhabitants: but there was no extension of it. It began and ended with the one man who came sick into the place. Similarly, from the Parliamentary Report, we learn of Volo that "between April 1855 and April 1859, twenty-three cases of cholera were admitted into the lazaret; no other case of sickness or death occurred, nor any instance of the spreading of disease."

It seems difficult to draw from these facts any inference other than that the conditions necessary for the reception of epidemic cholera did not exist in Volo at the time. To infer that quarantine was protective when not only was it violated by a public officer who carried the disease into the town, but when actual importation took place also from another source without leading to infection, is scarcely reasonable.

A similar train of events occurred in Thessaly close at hand. Some two months later, there came into Larissa, from the Province of Monastir, where cholera existed, between

three and four hundred Bulgarians. "Cholera," says the report, "appeared at Larissa simultaneously with their arrival. "From the 5th to the 15th of December there were 18 cases, "seven of which ended in death. The Bulgarians came from "an infected country, and they furnished the greater number "of cases; the others were persons inhabiting the same quarter and living in houses close by the dwellings of the Bulgarians. The disease ceased with the departure of these "foreigners, who took to flight." Surely there was the same want of receptivity here as in Volo; the same disproof of immunity after previous exposure.

In summing up the evidence, and commenting on the mischievous effects of misconstrued and misplaced lazarets, the Committee find that the case of Salonica is opposed to their general conclusion, as, notwithstanding its prominent defects, the town escaped infection. They say:—"We note a "circumstance, however, in the case of Salonica, where the "lazaretto, before the construction of the huts, labored under "even still more unfavorable conditions than those mentioned above. The over-crowding was greater, and the "number of cholera patients more considerable here than "elsewhere. Yet the town was spared. *Might not this be "one of those cases of local immunity observed in all epidemics, "though their true cause is inexplicable?* What tends to make "one think so is that cholera penetrated into some villages "of the interior, such as Galatzita, where it prevailed abundantly without touching the town, which was greatly more "exposed to the focus alongside it. The three cases observed "in the town, the persons attacked having come out of the lazaretto, support this hypothesis." It is not surprising after this that the conference should have been charged, as they have been, with forcing their facts into accordance with foregone conclusion. At Volo and at Salonica trains of events are seen which are the exact counterpart the one of the other; even accident conspires to enforce the identity, for the same number of infected cases appear in the protected places, three in each. In the one case the quarantine adopted is the approved process of the Conference, and the escape of the town is its accepted consequence; in the other the system is bad, and the result being the same as before, it is conjectured to have arisen out of local causes.

The cases of Rhodes and Crete come next as examples of quarantine success. At Rhodes 2,618 persons were detained

in the course of two months. They were, for the most part, under canvas in favorable circumstances. One of the people in the quarantine station, who had landed the day before from an Egyptian ship from Alexandria, which had had no cholera on board, fell sick of cholera and died the same day. The other passengers by this ship, 86 in number, were removed elsewhere under tents, and completed ten days of quarantine without accident. It was the only case of cholera observed at Rhodes during the period of quarantine, according to the Conference; but, in the Appendix to the 8th Report of the Medical Officer to the Privy Council, Dr. Radcliffe states, on the authority of H. M.'s Consul, that "a suspected case was reported in the town, the patient having arrived from Alexandria a month previously." How far these facts tend to prove the local origin of the cases, as distinguished from their importation, we are not now concerned to enquire; but they shew clearly that town and lazaret were similarly situated as to non-receptivity, a position greatly strengthened by the previous history of the island. In the Parliamentary Return already quoted, dated 1860, we read: "Since 1838, when Rhodes was erected into a Central Health Office, no disease, for which quarantine is liable to be imposed, has occurred in the island." "And again, during the five years, 1854 to 1858, 1,755 persons were received into the lazaret from fear of plague or cholera. Among the entire number received, not a single instance of fresh sickness occurred."

Crete received one hundred and three ships, with foul bills of health, coming from Egypt, Smyrna, and Constantinople. The crews were 843 in number, the passengers 972. Of these 184 performed quarantine on board, and 788 on three islets, where huts had been erected and encampments prepared. The supervision was strict. No communication was allowed between the islets, which were situated "at a certain distance" from each other. Two ships only brought cholera cases with them. Three others had cases on board during the voyage, "*but without any ulterior results.*" Among the passengers of the first two, cholera developed itself during the quarantine: there were altogether thirteen cases only, and nine deaths. The Conference remarks—"What deserves special mention here is the fact that not only did cholera not penetrate into the Island of Crete, but that no case occurred among any batches of passengers other than those of the two ships which had brought cholera patients with them. The reason of this is that the passengers of the

“two vessels underwent quarantine separately in two islets in the Gulf of the Suda, the two islets being very distant from each other, and having no communication with each other or with the main island. The Cretans knew how to profit by the experience which had saved their country in previous epidemics.”

The cases of Rhodes and Crete are held by the Conference in proof that assemblage in lazaret of persons from an infected place does not tend to extend the disease among those so confined, and thus to get rid of a leading objection to quarantine. For this purpose they are completely overpowered by a multitude of instances of an opposite kind, if the bare facts of disease and no disease in the lazarets are isolated from their attendant circumstances and regarded as evidence. The conclusion to which under careful analysis these cases appear to point is this, that groups of persons arrived at places enjoying at the time, from whatever other causes, the conditions of immunity, and this immunity they shared with the people of the place. Lazarets were so contrived as to admit of their sharing this advantage, and their inmates neither acquired nor transmitted the epidemic. It was otherwise at Salonica. Local immunity was there, but the state of the lazaret effectually thwarted its action. The arrivals contracted disease freely from their infected members, for the lazaret was crowded and insalubrious; but they did not transmit it to the neighbourhood which was insusceptible, though they sent some cases to the town. Regarded by the Conference as illustrations of importation checked by quarantine, Salonica and the islands are in a direct antagonism. Regarded as illustrating the results of local conditions, they are pointedly concurrent. That the towns did not owe their exemption to wholesale isolation is clear, as the quarantine stations were, in an epidemic sense, exempt, without such isolation in Rhodes and Crete; and the towns of Volo and Salonica were exempt where isolation was violated. So long as the general conditions of receptivity were wanting, it would seem that the only useful element of quarantine acted with full effect; that is, where the person infected was watched and prevented from infecting his neighbours, all went with the mass. But though adopted in some quarantine stations, this practice is not peculiar to them, nor does it render their existence necessary or desirable. Dr. Radcliffe tells us that the same thing was done in the town of Salonica—(Report to Privy Council.) He says:—“Her Majesty’s Consul reports that a Turk,



“after being detained fourteen days in quarantine, was attacked with cholera in his own house, and died. His wife, who had attended him during his illness, and had not been in the lazaretto, was also seized with the disease, and died. A third person living in the same house was likewise attacked. The house was isolated, the inmates removed into other houses, and the malady did not spread further.” Here are the circumstances of the Cretan quarantine station repeated in a town, and the results are the same. Similar practice was adopted in other lazarets and other towns. The case of Porto, after choleraic arrival from Elvas on the Spanish frontier, and those of several towns in Northern Italy, may be cited.

The course of events at Samsoun and Bourgas, the other instances of alleged exemption under quarantine, was the same; but we should scarcely have expected to find the name of Bourgas in the list, as the quarantine there was of a character elsewhere condemned by the Conference as insufficient. It lasted only three days. Moreover, one man died in the town after being admitted to pratique, yet cholera did not spread.

At Benghazi one case was landed. None occurred in the lazaret or town.

At Mitylene two cases occurred on board the ships in quarantine; none in lazaret or town. We obtain from the Parliamentary Return of 1860, some insight into the previous history of Mitylene:—“Since 1854, when cholera was in the Levant, no arrivals have been quarantined. About August 1850, four persons, who had first returned from Asia Minor, were attacked with cholera in the village of Sanmarino, about five miles from the town. One died with all the symptoms of Asiatic cholera; the three recovered. It is generally believed that in 1853 there was one case of cholera in this town.” So much for the receptivity of Mitylene.

The cases of Valona and La Cavalla were the same. Sinope and Batoum, Varna and Scio, are also named in the proceedings as exempted places, but unfortunately without particulars. Of Scio we gather from the Parliamentary Return of 1860 some previous details:—“Although during the last 25 years numerous vessels have arrived here with cholera on board, and the sick have been landed at the lazaret, no case, either of that or any other contagious disease, has ever occurred among the population.”

In estimating the bearing of the cases of minor ports on the practicability of maritime quarantine, it is necessary to draw

a broad distinction between those at which vessels merely touch in passing, and those which are ports of final destination ; for it is clear that in the former class the inducements to the evasion of quarantine laws will not exist as in the latter. These inducements are obviously entitled to the prominence given to them in the Privy Council Reports, as dominant influences against the possibility of quarantine on a large scale, or in places of large commercial intercourse ; and it is unreasonable to infer, from any apparent success of quarantine at mere ports of call, that it can be carried out in places differently circumstanced. This point, notwithstanding its manifest importance, does not seem to have attracted the notice of the Conference.

We have in the foregoing paragraphs carefully transcribed, from the published proceedings of the Conference, every example of alleged protection by quarantine, and, examining them by the internal evidence of the record itself, and of other authorities of equal value, have found ourselves driven from the conclusion arrived at by the Conference as to the efficacy of isolation. Argument of contagion from negative results alone, in such a case as this, must be open to objection as soon as it becomes clear that two factors at least are necessary to ensure a positive issue, either of which may have been absent or inoperative when the event is wanting. External evidence becomes indispensable to shew which of the two is in abeyance, and such evidence is plentiful in the case before us. Granting the transmissibility of cholera, the imparting agency has been forthcoming ; but there has not been epidemic transmission. A condition of non-receptivity is thus made evident. We do not pretend to define this condition, nor even to indicate the whole of its component elements ; but we cannot, even at this stage of the enquiry, conceive it possible to doubt its existence, or its influence in determining whether the disease imported into a place shall take the form of a deadly epidemic, or shall be kept within the narrow limits which ordinary care may impose on the action of personal contagia.

It is evident that in the result of non-reception, as above exemplified, isolation has had no part : for where it was, and where it was not effected, the result was the same. Where lazarets were well-placed and well-designed and managed, infected arrivals participated in the exemption which the neighbourhood enjoyed ; where they were otherwise, infection spread within, but not beyond, them. Some, therefore, of the conditions

of infection and escape are demonstrable, though not all. Sanitary management in places visited by cholera has not always been successful, nor has the neglect of it been everywhere deadly. Infected arrivals favorably situated in quarantine have been precisely in the position now familiar to Indian experience, in the practice of *camping out* troops and prisoners where barracks and jails are infected,—a practice often, but by no means uniformly, successful. Whether the result depends in this case also on the presence or absence of epidemic influence, is a great question for future enquiry, on which the events of 1867 in Northern India, may throw no small light.

So far, then, as we have yet advanced, the facts on record sustain no inference either of reduced liability to disease among those who have come from infected places, or of the efficacy of quarantine. Arranged to support these doctrines, they are irreconcilable with each other, and exceptions at once appear to the law which it is sought to establish. Under the conclusion now indicated, there is nothing that needs to be reconciled about them, but in every case the same cause and effect cling closely and consistently together. Having thus been inductively led up through a limited class of cases to an hypothesis of local preservation against disease by causes other than isolation, we are in a position to try if it be a law, by applying it to the much larger number of instances in which the epidemics of 1865 did extend from place to place. Having regard to the great importance of this law, and to the consideration that, if established, it is subversive of the position of the Conference, we shall be careful to omit mention of no place which is brought forward in their Report to support their view, for the purpose, as before, of guarding against suspicion of overlooking cases adverse to the conclusion; and we shall again adduce from other public records whatever facts and opinions appear to assist the enquiry.

To establish our position, it is necessary to shew that where choleraic arrivals have appeared to impart an epidemic to the place of arrival, they have themselves suffered in a similar manner; as we have already seen that their escape has accompanied the escape of the several exempted ports. The relative numbers of cases in the lazarets and towns will be the data of calculation, wherever they are obtainable; and inasmuch as the populations of the lazarets fluctuate from day to day, the same inmates remaining only for a few days, they can be rightly compared with the fixed populations of towns

only by ascertaining the mean daily numbers present in the lazaret as the base of the proportion. In the Report which forms the annexure to the Ninth Minute of the Conference, but is published in India separately from the volume of proceedings, a numerical comparison of cases of cholera in towns and lazarets is instituted for the purpose of proving the exemption of persons previously exposed to infection; but it is so conducted as to be fallacious. The gross numbers of persons who passed through certain lazarets are taken, and the total number of cases of cholera which occurred within their walls. These are brought into relation, and the resultant figure is called the percentage of cholera cases in the lazaret, and is used for comparison with the rate reckoned on the fixed population of the adjoining town, notwithstanding that many of the persons remained in lazaret only five days, none of them more than ten, and all as they passed out contributed to swell the population of the town. The erroneous-ness of this method is too obvious to require demonstration, but as it is made the basis of a prominent argument it is necessary to notice it here. The circumstances of the several ports vary so much in their details, that no figures can be even approximately true, which do not in some degree represent these differences. Each case must therefore be separately examined before its figures can be accepted, or the totals will be mere aggregates with nothing of totality in their nature, and the ratios mere fictions. With the utmost care an approximation is the best result that can be hoped for from the records as yet published. A mean daily number is absolutely exact as the basis of ratio, where the contingency to be calculated is due to causes arising within the place itself, and not imported from without. By every case of imported disease accuracy is in some degree impaired; and to clear the present reckoning to the utmost from fallacy, those cases of disease only should be taken into consideration, which arise within the lazaret. With this precaution there will still remain a source of error in the influence of imported cases on the residents, which cannot be eliminated; but error will be reduced to a minimum.

Starting from Alexandria as the centre from which the epidemic spread westward, the Conference first notice the invasion of Constantinople, which introduces no question of quarantine, and then proceed to the case of *Dardanelles*.

There is no daily record of events in the lazarets from which alone a perfect estimate of mean numbers could be made, but

we are told that the number of persons who performed quarantine at Dardanelles, between 29th June and 15th September, was 3,058. This number, multiplied by the average number of days passed by persons in the place (the mean, that is, of 5 and 10 or 7, 5), will yield a figure representing the total number of persons present for one day, which again divided by the total number of days will give an approximate daily mean. Calculating in this manner, we arrive at 8 per cent. as the proportion of seizures in quarantine, there having been 22 cases of cholera in the lazaret. In the town of Dardanelles, again, containing 8,000 souls, there were 550 attacks, or 8 per cent. But from this population it is said that there were 2,000 fugitives. At what period the flight took place we do not know; but if the whole number be deducted from the first day, the ratio will only rise to 9 per cent. It is more accurate to avoid this deduction, as in the population of the lazaret there are included the crews of the ships who performed quarantine on board. The inclusion of fugitives in the town, therefore, improves the parallel.

The events at Dardanelles are thus described in Dr. Radcliffe's Report to the Privy Council:—"Aggravated mortality in the lazaret itself, and propagation of disease beyond the walls."

At *Enos* a small group of cases occurred, but there was no ground whatever for concluding that they were in any way connected with the shipping in quarantine, among which no sickness had occurred; nor is any such conclusion intimated by the Conference. There is, therefore, no question of quarantine raised.

*Lu Cavalla* is one of the towns mentioned as illustrating the value of quarantine restrictions, but the events appear to lead to an opposite conclusion. There was no spread of disease from sick to healthy in the lazaret, nor in the town. The quarantine arrangements were such that persons landing without sickness might continue without sickness; and, in common with the neighbourhood, they did so. But the fact which converts the arguments from the form given to it by the Conference, is, that the town was at the same time exposed to infection from a place in inland communication with it at six miles' distance, where there were local conditions of disease; for 52 persons died of cholera in a population of 2,500.

*Salonica* and *Volo* have already been mentioned in speaking of the question of exemption. In the former case, an extension of disease took place to the town, notwithstanding the passing into it of three cases of cholera; but there was heavy

mortality in the crowded unhealthy lazarets. The local conditions of the lazarets frustrated those of the neighbourhood, and the history of Salonica presents no exception to the law which has governed other cases.

*Larissa.*—Here also the events have already received notice. They offer no illustration of the present question.

Of *Smyrna* there is sufficient information to shew that the town and lazaret suffered alike. From 23rd June to 24th October, 1,701 persons passed through the lazaret. The period of detention is not laid down, and a mean daily number cannot therefore be deduced, but it must clearly be very small. Nevertheless the Conference enumerate 19 cases and 11 deaths (the first statement in the Section of 14 cases and 9 deaths seems due to an oversight) among them. In the town it is said that about 5 per cent. of the population were seized. This population, however, as estimated with a close insight into its component classes by Dr. Radcliffe, would yield a smaller proportion, by 50 per cent. than that recorded by the Conference.

*Mitylene, Rhodes, Crete, and Benghazi* having escaped the epidemic, have no bearing on the present question. They have been already examined.

*Cyprus.*—Calculation made as in the case of Dardanelles yields a rate of seizures of 4·5 per cent. in the lazaret, and 5·5 in the town of Larnaca. In the latter the population was reduced by flight from 12,000 to 4,000, according to the Committee. The mean, or 8,000, has been taken.

*Mersina* was infected from an inland source. There were no cases on board the ships or in the lazaret. The infection was partial in the town, in an "unhealthy quarter under very unfavorable hygienic conditions." No numbers are given.

*Alexandretta.*—Two cases were landed in the lazaret: no others occurred in quarantine or in town, connected with this importation. The town, it is said, was subsequently infected from an inland source.

At *Beyrout* there arrived from Alexandria, between 17th and 25th July, 3,600 passengers and 950 sailors, in 50 ships: in all 4,550 persons. Thirty attacks of cholera took place in quarantine, or 3·5 per cent. on the mean daily number detained. In the town, with a mean population of 50,000, there were 1,560 seizures, or 3 per cent. nearly. The lazaret is described as "isolated and well ventilated, but crowded, and consequently communication took place between the different classes of persons in quarantine."

*Aleppo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Mesopotamia* come next in order in the Report. They afford no evidence on quarantine.

The town of *Samsoun* escaped with only two doubtful cases. There were 56 vessels in quarantine, with 3,170 passengers and 1,960 sailors. From eight of these, sick men and corpses were landed. The ships had been severely visited before arrival. It would seem that at this place, the number of vessels subjected only to short quarantine was so greatly in excess, that a mean number of days would lead to error. Fortunately, the highest number in the lazaret at one time is stated at 853; but notwithstanding that 18 cases of cholera and 12 corpses were landed, there occurred only six seizures subsequently. The sick were removed to a cholera hospital at a distance, but a portion of the lazaret was "a few yards from the Government House." None of the employes about the lazaret were affected, nor was the town, except as above stated.

From *Trebizand* we have not sufficient particulars for comparison. The general facts are, that a crowded lazaret, situated close to a town, exhibited high mortality among its inmates; and though the town population is not given, it would seem, from the small number of cholera cases mentioned (46) that the mean death-rate fell far short of that in the lazaret. In a report from Mr. Consul Stevens, dated 2nd August, we find that "among the Circassians, about 1,200 in number, encamped close to the suburbs, 50 deaths daily "had been occasioned by the disease for ten days back." Although the report of the Conference extends over the period included in this note, it makes no allusion to this heavy mortality.

At *Erzeroum* nothing occurred which bears on quarantine. Of *Sinope, Batoum, and Varna*, we have no particulars, although the first is placed by the Conference among proofs of the efficacy of quarantine. *Bourgas* received 186 vessels with 1,718 sailors and three cases of cholera. The quarantine lasted for only three clear days. It was, therefore, of a character elsewhere condemned by the Conference. Yet it is brought forward in support of the doctrine of efficacy of isolation. One thousand and ninety-six persons underwent quarantine. Only two cases of cholera arose in the lazaret: one man died in the town after being admitted to pratique, and some cases of "cholérine" took place. The occurrences in town and lazaret were identical.

At *Kustenjie* we are unable to draw comparison of town and lazaret. From the facts recorded we are left to conclude that quarantine, which lasted only three days, had come to an end before the town was infected.

*Sulina*.—Here 387 vessels arrived, carrying 865 passengers and 7,983 sailors. Thirty cases of cholera were said to have occurred on board. No disease appeared on shore, either in quarantine or elsewhere, until after the arrival of a Turkish war steamer on 30th July, the *Esseri Jedid*, from Constantinople. Among her crew, five cases out of twelve ended fatally on 30th and 31st July. The greatest number of persons present together in the lazaret was 73. Even admitting this as a mean number, the percentage was very high, fully equal to that which prevailed in the town, from whence it is traced by the Committee to the neighbouring villages. The authority on which this statement rests is not given, and we cannot avoid contrasting with it the authenticated narrative furnished by Mr. Radcliffe to the Privy Council, which runs thus: "Dr. Jellinck, the Medical Officer in charge of the Navigation Hospital, in a report to Major Stokes, the British Commissioner on the Danube, dated 17th October 1865, states that "on the 30th July, a Turkish steam transport arrived in the roadstead of Sulina from Constantinople, having on board a crew for one of the iron-plated gun-boats in that harbour. "The transport had lost two men from cholera on the passage. "The men disembarked were immediately quartered in an isolated house. On 1st August, Dr. Jellinck was invited by the Quarantine Doctor to visit these men, and among them he recognised two incontestable cases of cholera, both of which ended fatally the following night. On the morning of the 2nd August, he observed among a group of workmen *who were encamped on the opposite side of the town*, about a mile from the lazaretto, a man affected with all the symptoms of cholera. During the afternoon of the same day another case was discovered, the patient being a man employed in the Lieutenant-Governor's Office. These cases also proved fatal. From this date the epidemic spread rapidly. 'The manner in which the epidemic showed itself,' writes Dr. Jellinck, 'as described above, shews pretty clearly the uselessness of the quarantine against its extension.' \* \* \* Nevertheless we were obliged to endure the inconvenience of a complete exclusion; commerce was checked; the navigation suffered enormously; every ship was taxed to no inconsider-



"able extent for guards, &c. The same scene was repeated with "the same want of success at Tultcha, Galatz, and Ibralia, "whilst the epidemic advanced constantly, and attacked places "situated in the interior of the river-bordering countries."

Dr. Jellinek admits that the arrival of the Turkish steamer was the signal for the outbreak, but specially notices the fact of its appearing at a distance from the quarantine station, and among persons who "had come from Galatz to Sulina, and "who, it was well known, had not been in contact with the "cases in quarantine."

At *Toultcha* we are merely told by the Conference that the sailors performing quarantine in the river suffered heavily as did the towns-people. No figures are given.

At *Rousthouk* the disease is represented as having been received overland from Kustendji. No question of quarantine arises.

At *Vidin* similarly, no comparison can be drawn, the quarantine being nominal.

At *Valona* twenty-two ships arrived from infected places. On board one of them, twelve passengers had died during the voyage; 416 were landed, of whom five were sick; one of them died the next day. All were advantageously situated on shore during a quarantine of ten days. The sick recovered; the town escaped. One case only occurred among the détenus on the day when pratique was granted.

*Gallipoli, Echelle, Neuve, Chio, Adalia, Akaya, and Durazzo*, are next mentioned as exempt, notwithstanding the arrival of many vessels from infected places, of which, however, it is added, "the greater number came from Constantinople, "Smyrna, and Alexandria, places essentially compromised; "but no cases of choleraic disease occurred on board either "on arrival or during the voyage." Mr. Radcliffe tells us that Gallipoli was included among infected places, but no particulars are given.

The town of *Odessa*, according to the Conference, "felt the "first attacks of the epidemic which was prevailing at Constantinople towards the middle of July. From 14th to 17th "of this month, four cases of sporadic cholera were observed "here, one of them ending in death. It was not till between "the 11th and 16th, that fresh germs of the disease were imported by two ships from Constantinople." There is probably some confusion of dates here, or typographical error. Four cases of disease distributed over a period which includes the

alleged date of importation of the epidemic, would scarcely be distinguished as "sporadic," unless it were desired to establish the fact of importation by ignoring the previous existence of epidemic elements. From the official reports of the Russian Government we learn that "*at the commencement of May*" (on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th days), four cases of sporadic cholera occurred in Odessa, of which one died. From 29th July, cases presenting all the symptoms of epidemic cholera were received into the lazaret of that port from vessels of different kinds which arrived from Constantinople. On 6th August the first case of epidemic cholera was recognized in "the city."

There are discrepancies, also, of minor importance, in the dates of the subsequent cases. No numbers are furnished of persons in the lazaret, but we gather from the Russian source that 16 persons were attacked in the lazaret, and 236 in the city and hospital, the latter being situated at a distance. This points to the fact that town and lazaret fared alike, and the narratives are mutually corroborative in this respect, which is the immediate issue; but, considered in their relation to the question of importation, the pointed statements of the Russian reports, concerning the unusual previous mortality in Odessa, and of the appearance of cholera in May, are full of significance.

The case of *Greece*, the next in the list, has been already noticed.

*Trieste* was but slightly visited, and a few cases occurred in quarantine; but it does not appear whether the disease is to be regarded as received overland or by sea, though the Conference feel justified in concluding that the dates of occurrence, inexact as they are, connect the disease with the vessels.

*Italy*.—Here the first case on record occurred at Ancona, but the manner in which the disease was imported, if imported at all, is left undefined. The Conference state that no one had been attacked in the lazaret, and they accept a rumour, without giving the evidence on which it rests, that the first case occurred in the person of a washerwoman who had removed some clothes belonging to passengers from Egypt. The date of this is said to have been the 7th July, after arrival of the steamer *Principe Curignano*—how long after, we are not told; but we learn from the Privy Council report that this vessel arrived on the 17th June, all on board having enjoyed good health; and that she had been put in quarantine, as a

passenger came on board at Messina, who had suffered from a choleraic attack in the lazaret there. Mr. Radcliffe quotes the following additional fact from a letter of H. M.'s Chargé d' Affairs at Florence, dated 15th July 1865: "A woman who arrived from Alexandria at Ancona on the 3rd instant, remained at the lazaretto of that place, in conformity with quarantine regulations, for the space of six days. She left the lazaretto on the 9th, was taken ill on the 10th, while travelling towards Pistoja, where she died on the following day with all the known symptoms of Asiatic cholera." And from a note by Dr. Webster, F. R. S., "two persons who had come from Egypt were affected with cholera in the lazaretto of Ancona, but recovered; while it is further said that other cases of the malady had occurred near, but outside, the lazaretto, which were, however, considered as sporadic and exceptional."

"It is proper to add," says Mr. Radcliffe, "from whose report the foregoing passages are extracted, that Professor Ghinozzi, who made an official investigation of the outbreak, believes that it would have occurred even if no communication with Alexandria had taken place."

With this conflicting testimony, it is not easy to draw a conclusion of the manner in which Ancona became infected. There is no information as to the previous state of public health in the place, to throw light on the question of importation having taken place in the manner intimated by the Conference; and as we are equally uninformed of the situation, construction, and population of the lazaret, we are unable to compare its condition with that of the town. Indeed, it is not clear whether the lazaret was inhabited at all after the disease commenced. The woman mentioned above had completed her quarantine and been discharged.

The history of the subsequent spread of cholera in Italy is full of important evidence on the results of arrest by the care of individual cases and small groups; by measures, that is, which are in the category of sanitary and medical treatment; although perhaps the practice of isolating cases and houses in towns may be claimed by the advocates of quarantine and lazarets as a part and illustration of their system. "Thus," say the Conference, "the first case imported into Milan was followed by no consequences." The same thing happened at Pistoja and Ravenna. "At Bologna the germ was imported on several occasions, but receded before measures applied with tenacity and perseverance by the Sanitary authorities." The tale

was repeated at Modena, and Acqui, and other places in Piedmont, according to Dr. Milroy, who observes: "Now, here in the Northern Provinces did the disease become fairly epidemic; whereas in numerous towns in the Provinces of Capitanata, Terra di Bari, and Otranto to the south, it raged with great violence, although there was very much less intercourse with Ancona in this direction than towards the more busy and populous towns in the north of the Peninsula.

*Marseilles.*—From France we can gather little that bears on the question of quarantine. It is clear that the disease, whether of local origin or imported from Alexandria, preceded by some time all official recognition of an epidemic. Its commencement is traced back as far as the 9th June. Infected vessels are said to have arrived from Alexandria, which port they had left on 1st June. No figures are given for comparison of events in lazaret and town.

*Spain.*—It is to be regretted that in a country where quarantine restrictions are carried out with the utmost severity, there should be difficulty in obtaining historical information. Yet this peculiarity has been recorded of Spain from the time when questions of public health first attracted attention; and it appears to be in some degree the characteristic of all countries in which an exclusionist policy is maintained. Concerning the introduction of cholera into Valencia, the Conference afford no information, but that it was imported by one Honoré Teissier, a French merchant, who had come from Alexandria *via* Marseilles. Even this seems conjectural only, for it is added: "We are all the more justified in supposing that cholera was imported by him or his baggage, that the victims who were carried off in succession all inhabited the same house of the lazaretto. We learn only that Valencia having no lazaret, one was improvised when the quarantine regulations were strictly observed." The only conclusion supported by this imperfect record is that quarantine was ineffectual.

With the other towns of Spain, there is similar absence of details relating to quarantine. Of Palma it is recorded that "the disease spread to all the other localities in the environs of the town, in spite of the establishment of sanitary cordons." Carthagena and Murcia, Seville, Barcelona, and Madrid, yield no information. The Conference remark generally of the practice adopted, that "the quarantine for choleraic arrivals lasted from three to five days in those towns of Spain where temporary lazarets had been improvised, but a strict quaran-

"tine was observed, according to the Spanish law, in the ports of Vigo, Cadiz, and Mahon, which were provided with suitable establishments. The proper measures, however, were not strictly observed everywhere." The latter supposition is well suited to the explanation of the failure of quarantine, but at variance with the characters of the system in Spain, well known as they are, and often brought unfavorably into notice on account of their severity by Dr Milroy. The entire account of the choleraic invasion of Spain, as given by the Conference, is composed of loose, indefinite, or doubtful statements, shewing that they succeeded no further than former enquirers, in eliciting exact information from that country.

*Portugal* was invaded through its Spanish frontier. No question of quarantine was illustrated as in Northern Italy, unless the arrest of disease by isolation of houses and cases be held to uphold the credit of general quarantine.

*Malta.*—Here the Conference make no attempt to define the manner of introduction, with precision. They shew that suspicious arrivals preceded the official recognition of the disease, but that it did not shew itself until six days after quarantine had been enforced. They ignore the previous state of public health in the island, and make no mention of the character of the buildings in which cholera first appeared; nor do they give any statistics of mortality in the lazaret.

We are fortunately provided from other sources with the fullest details regarding both Malta and Gibraltar. In the report of Surgeons Adams and Welch of H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, quoted by Dr. Milroy, we read: "Between 14th June, the date of the establishment of quarantine, and 5th July, upwards of 1,500 persons from Alexandria were landed and confined in the lazaret, which, besides being badly ventilated and infested with offensive smells, was the scene of much crowding, discomfort, and wretchedness. The first cases of actual cholera in this building occurred on 28th June, and were received from the *Wyvern*, just arrived from Alexandria: but prior to that date, several cases of choleraic diarrhoea had taken place among the inmates. Already, however, the disease had broken out unmistakably in the immediate neighbourhood, but outside of the lazaret, and about two hundred yards distant from it, in a number of small houses that were formerly used as a plague hospital, and were at the time inhabited by soldiers' wives and their families. The atmosphere of this confined locality was most offensive, and the people had fre-

“quently complained of the great unwholesomeness of the place. “The lazaret, too, was no better; for there, as far back as May 20th, several of the military, who then occupied the building, had been attacked with severe diarrhœa, which the patients themselves attributed to the disgusting effluvia from the “latrines.”

From the valuable report of Dr. Sutherland (presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1867), we learn that there occurred in the lazaret 23 cases of cholera and 14 deaths, and of diarrhœa 17 cases. During forty-eight days there were admitted into the lazaret 2,031 passengers. Allowing a detention of seven days to each, a mean daily number of 296 is obtained, and a rate of cholera seizures of 7·6 per cent. Of the cities within the garrison, the population was 53,316, and the cases 979, or 1·8 per cent. Of the towns and villages outside the garrison, the population was 64,019, and the cases 1,280, or 2 per cent. very nearly. The attacks among soldiers were 2 per cent. of their number, of their wives 9 per cent., of their children 3 per cent. Here was excessive mortality in the lazaret again as at Salonica, corresponding with the known conditions of insalubrity. Dr. Sutherland fully confirms Dr. Milroy's description of the quarantine buildings, and says there are within them “local causes sufficient to have brought the “disease into existence among susceptible persons, quite apart “from any question of importation.”

The same writer investigates with extreme care and penetration the state of public health in Malta prior to the appearance of the epidemic,—a topic untouched by the Conference. He alludes to the belief in personal communication of cholera, existing among influential persons in the island, as an obstacle to sanitary improvement, and criticizes the evidence advanced in support of the belief in Malta and Gozo. “The first “important fact is,” he says, “that when compared with the “whole number of instances in which cholera appeared without even suspected communication, the whole number of “alleged cases of communication would scarcely make a fractional difference in the history of the epidemic; and if they “were all expunged, they would make no difference in the law “of progress of the disease, as shewn by the statistical facts “already given.” And though not professing to carry his argument against quarantine beyond the strict scope of his report, which was to shew that the prospect of escaping epidemics in Malta lay in sanitary improvement, and not in restricted inter-

course, he adduces abundant ground for the opinion which he does not conceal, that the cholera of 1865 was of indigenous origin in Malta, and that through the same year "quarantine did not arrest the progress of cholera over Europe."

Were it our purpose here to discuss the communicability of the disease and the manner of its spread, it would be easy to shew the close accord which exists between Dr. Sutherland's position and the fact now abundantly demonstrated, that the inmates of quarantine stations have met with a fate determined by the conditions of the place at which they landed. Moreover, with regard to the great argument of importation drawn from the dates of infected arrivals, finding that in those places where the most exact knowledge is afforded from other sources, evidence is brought forward tending strongly against the assertions of the Conference, it would be at least pardonable to hesitate before accepting their accounts of places of which they are our only informants.

*Gozo.*—The outbreak at Gozo, again, illustrates no question of quarantine. It did not commence until a month after Malta had been infected. It is traced to communication through the person of Michael Cilia, who arrived from Malta, by boat, suffering from diarrhoea, on 21st July. Not a word is said of the filthy house into which he came; nor of the fact that between the 20th June and 21st July, some 220 boats and 800 passengers had passed between Malta and Gozo without any result. The several cases, as they occurred in succession, are put forward by the Conference in such manner as to indicate the agency of communication. Dr. Sutherland, however, recording all the events with singular minuteness, after visiting every room of every house involved, shews that "out of four simultaneous cases which constituted the first outbreak of the disease, one took place a long way from the house supposed to have been the focus; and without any communication, and that one-half of the 16 cases had no communication with Cilia's case, or with any other;" and with a closely consistent argument he connects the outbreak here, as in Malta, with the crowded insalubrious dwellings of the place.

*Gibraltar.*—Here the facts allow no comparison of quarantine station and town. On the authority of Inspector-General Rutherford, the disease is traced to the arrival of the 2nd Battalion, 22nd Foot, from Malta, on 10th July. The men, however, had had nothing approaching to cholera among them.

previously to departure, and their good health remained unbroken up to the 18th, except by a single case of slight diarrhoea. On the 18th a soldier fell ill of cholera and died. The wing to which he belonged *embarked on board the "Star of India," and reached Mauritius without accident.* The other wing remained in health till 31st July, having been removed to a great distance from the first camp. On the 31st a fatal case occurred, followed immediately by another. The wing embarked at once, and also *reached Mauritius without accident.* But the disease remained and spread in Gibraltar.

It would seem difficult to arrange facts more pointedly for proof that the cause of disease was on shore, and not brought there by the troops; yet the Conference, arguing, it must be supposed, on the evidence of dates, are satisfied of its importation. They apparently anticipate objection from the fact of the Battalion having been in perfect health before and after leaving Malta, for it is added: "On the 5th and 6th July, "the day of embarkation, cholera was raging at Malta, in "an outer fort close to the place of embarkation;" and they stated that the troops on arrival were encamped on a very healthy spot named north front, between the north of the Rock and Spanish territory. Both of these statements, which compose the entire evidence of importation of cholera, are overthrown by Dr. Sutherland (Report to Parliament). Of the events before embarkation at Malta he writes: "The regiment "moved from Pembroke Camp on the 5th July. It marched "through Floriana without passing near any locality where "there was cholera, and embarked on board the *Orontes*, which "was lying off the Hay wharf in the quarantine harbour. It "was at one time thought that possibly the regiment might "have become infected from having been embarked near a "place where there was cholera, or from a drain proceeding "from the counterguard, which enters the harbour 200 "yards or more from the place where the ship was moored. "There had, no doubt, been cholera in the counterguard, but "there had been no cases for three days before the regiment "embarked; and, moreover, it never was near the counterguard "again. The first case of cholera in Pembroke Camp, where "the 2nd Battalion, 22nd Foot, had been stationed, took place "in a woman, on the 20th July. The first case in a soldier "was on the 27th. It will be seen that the regiment had "left Malta a fortnight and three weeks before these occur-  
"rences."



And of the north front, speaking of the spot where the first cases occurred, Dr. Sutherland shews that it would be difficult to imagine a place more abounding in deadly nuisances.

The Conference do not notice that the other passengers on board the *Orontes*, soldiers' families, who proceeded to England after landing the 22nd regiment, reached their destination without a casualty.

*Guadeloupe*.—Here, if importation of cholera be accepted, it must be admitted to be possible from a vessel thirty-six days after quitting an infected place, although there had been no sign of sickness on board. Indeed, the point which receives most prominent illustration in the epidemic of Guadeloupe is the fact that persons from infected places may make long voyages without indication of sickness until after they reach their place of destination, and still be charged with the importation of sickness. There were similar examples in Europe.

Having thus traced the epidemic to its extreme western limits, the Conference proceed to follow its course inland from various places which they designate "secondary foci," and in doing this, touch on no questions of quarantine.

We have now to deal with the question of inland quarantine by means of *cordons*. This portion of the subject is in more immediate relation with the measures which have recently been proposed by the Sanitary authorities for adoption in this country. Following the conclusions of the Conference as to the position of Indian pilgrim assemblies as original foci of the disease, and as to the general utility of quarantine, the advisers of the Government of India appeared to accept without demur the policy of restriction laid down by the delegates. It is therefore of special importance that the history of sanitary cordons should be followed as minutely as possible, and their efficacy examined, with which view we shall re-produce from every source at our command such records of fact as they contain, making no omission or selections, in order that our readers may be in the same position as ourselves in forming judgment on the evidence.

From the language in which the Conference recommend the adoption of cordons, it would appear that there was in the minds of the delegates themselves but little confidence in the position they had taken up. They are (*see Proceedings, p. 881*) "of opinion that sanitary cordons, when established in thickly populated countries, produce an uncertain and often

"a dangerous result; that on the contrary, when established in thinly populated and confined countries, such as those of Asia, they *may be* of the greatest use against the propagation of the malady." This is little more than saying that where cordons are most necessary, they will be found uncertain and dangerous; where other conditions are such as to render them superfluous, they may be successful. It is a position which appears to concede all that the opponents of quarantine need desire, and would render even investigation needless as far as this authority is concerned, were it not that in India such weight has been attached to the very qualified recommendation of cordons that their adoption has been seriously contemplated. We shall presently shew that if the opinion of the Conference in their favor were fully sustained by facts instead of being a mere speculation, Indian pilgrim assemblies would, on their own shewing, be the very last occasion for the use of cordons; meanwhile, as in the case of maritime quarantine, we transcribe the evidence which is before us, of their efficiency and expediency.

The examples adduced by the Conference in support of their view are derived almost exclusively from Russia. They are passed, however, with little more than allusion, and without detail of fact. Some stress is laid on the events of the year 1830-31; but in a previous paragraph it had been said, in extenuation of the failure of these very cordons: "It is even probable that the cordons contributed to disseminate the evil against which they were intended to act. Between 1847 and 1850, Sweden made a still more sustained effort than the other states of Northern Europe in order to save herself; but on this occasion, too, cholera passed the very costly barrier erected against its progress. Such systems, powerless to stop cholera in its invading march, brought discredit upon quarantines," &c., and the summary conclusion is thus worded:—"The Committee, therefore, are of opinion that the lessons to be drawn from the experience of this primary period of quarantines have no conclusive value." We must conclude that on the fact of the success of cordons in these countries having been greatly out-weighed by their failure, the conclusion with regard to them in populous places was based. The most important statement, because it is the most particular, is the following:—"It appears from a statistical paper, submitted to the Russian Ministry of the interior by Dr. Rosenberger, that from 1847 to 1849 the deaths from cholera in the Rus-

"sian Empire exceeded the number of one million, and that the number of towns attacked was 471. Now, at that time the communications between infected and healthy places were open. On the other hand, in the first invasion, from 1829 to 1835, when the progress of cholera was interrupted by sanitary cordons, the number of deaths did not exceed 2,90,000, and there were only 336 towns attacked. Does not this difference (the epidemic on both occasions being equally violent) seem to be explained by the action of restrictive measures and cordons?" Nothing further is said. What the evidence of equal violence may have been, we are left to conjecture if we can. It is to be feared that impartial persons will scarcely regard the difference between 471 and 336 as proof of the efficacy of cordons.

The following examples are all that we have found in the proceedings in favor of the argument for thinly peopled countries:—"Lately (1866), the small town of Tiberiad, in Palestine, was tried by the epidemic. It lost more than a hundred out of 3,000 inhabitants. Being situated in conditions rendering isolation easy, it was encircled by cordons, and the cholera died away there without spreading to any other place in SyriaA. Almost at the same time cholera raged at Nejef and Kerbela. One of the eight small forts existing on the skirts of the desert, to restrain the incursions of the Bedouins, was infected. It was isolated and guarded. The disease died out in it without touching any of the other fortlets, which were only an hour's journey distant from each other." The Conference have elsewhere brought to notice the marked influence of desert land in arresting cholera, and have shewn how the disease dies out in caravans returning from Mecca.

Prominent mention is made of the use of cordons in Mecklenburg Schwerin in 1859. In the course of the discussion on the report, M. Muhlig, contending for a broad distinction between cordons for the defence of untainted localities, and for investment of infected regions, observes that during the epidemic in the Grand-Duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin in 1859, about ninety or one hundred uncontaminated localities were isolated by cordons, and maintained themselves uninfected. Only nine or ten of them were attacked in spite of this measure. "It must be added, nevertheless, that many places remained untainted, notwithstanding their frequent communication with infected places."

"From Palma," the Conference tell us, "the disease spread to all the localities in the environs of the town, in spite of the establishment of sanitary cordons." From other sources we gather the following facts:—

"In 1831," Dr. Williams says, "the cholera broke out at Suez and Coffer a few days after the arrival of the fugitives from Mecca. A hurried cordon of the Bedouin Arabs was thrown across the road between Cairo and Alexandria, but unsuccessfully; for on 21st August, many soldiers were attacked in the second line." Speaking of the action of the Russian Government in 1831, the same author remarks: "They attempted to stop the progress of the disease by establishing an extensive military cordon along their frontier, and also by enforcing a strict quarantine;" and he proceeds to show in a detail of facts the utter fruitlessness of the measure. A second cordon was instituted for the protection of Moscow with similar results. The disease then spread to St. Petersburg, notwithstanding another strong military cordon." The succeeding events were these:—"The Governments of Austria and Prussia established a triple cordon of troops along their respective frontiers, and submitted all persons passing them to quarantine—precautions equally futile on this as on every other occasion."

"The city of Naples is a remarkable instance of the inutilty of precautionary measures in preventing the introduction of cholera. The Neapolitan Government, alarmed at its approach, surrounded the city with military cordons, and adopted the severest system of quarantine. The city nevertheless was infected."

Dr. Williams, summarising the evidence of the accumulated facts which his book contains, thus states the conclusion at which he arrives: "It will be only necessary now to add that every preventive means founded on the principle of contagion has totally failed. In Moscow many persons provided themselves with a stock of provisions, shut up, lived in chambers filled with chlorine gas, yet were seized with the disease. Respecting cordons and quarantine regulations, Russia tried them amply and in vain. In Austria, the cordons round Vienna nearly occasioned a civil war. The King of Prussia, in a proclamation dated Charlothenburg, September 6, complains that the Asiatic cholera had penetrated into his dominions, in spite of measures the most vigorous, precautions the most active, and vigilance the most sustained; and he adds: "The vigorous mea-

asures of isolation by cordons established on the frontiers and in the interior of the country have hitherto acted unfavorably on the industrious habits of my people, and threaten, if they be maintained much longer, to destroy the comforts of families, and, in short, to become more ruinous than this malady itself." The experience at Naples was equally unfortunate. It is remarkable that Hanover, which early abandoned, or did not adopt, this system of quarantine, almost entirely escaped the disease.

Dr. Milroy, writing of the events of 1865 in Spain, says: "On 24th August, a military cordon was drawn right across the neutral ground by Spain so as to cut off all communication with Gibraltar. The amount of distress it occasioned to the neighbouring Spanish villages, as well as to Gibraltar, was very great, and the destitution that ensued upon so many of the people being thrown out of employment inevitably aggravated the severity of the visitation on both sides of the cordon. On this as on former occasions, this measure of rigour failed in its object." (*Brit. and For. Med. Chir. Rev.*, XII., 178.).

The same author describes the occurrence at Dominica, which has assumed great importance from its having been brought forward by Mr. Simon as one of the two instances which he acknowledges of successful isolation. Dr. Milroy's narrative runs thus:—"In the second or third week of November, five men from Marie Galante landed at Dominica; two were ill with cholera at the time, and one of these men died ten hours after landing; the other after twenty. A strict isolation of the place where the men abode was maintained, and no other cases occurred. None of the other West India Islands (the case of Guadeloupe had been previously recorded), nor any place throughout the whole Mexican Gulf, manifested any traces of infection in 1865. It was not till the following year that any extension of the disease in this region of the world occurred."

Mr. Simon's account (8th Report, Medical Officer, Privy Council), taken from a public despatch of the Lieutenant-Governor of Dominica, states:—"When news arrived that the disease was spreading through the island of Guadeloupe, the whole of the island and its dependencies were placed in quarantine. Despite this precaution, a boat from Marie Galante, filled with persons, some still healthy, and some sick with cholera, succeeded in reaching Dominica. A street guard was placed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the village at which these persons had landed, and for the future health guards with

“loaded muskets were stationed at every place round the island where landing was possible, to prevent persons from Guadeloupe from setting foot on the island. These measures of precaution were entirely successful, and, so far as I can gather from the despatch, only two persons died of cholera in Dominica; and these were two boatmen who landed from the boat mentioned above, and died on the beach close to the village which was subsequently isolated.” This case has received exceptional notice, but the facts bring it at once into the same category with Salonica, Volo, Porto, and many towns of Northern Italy. The disease is imported, but public attention is aroused, care is taken, and it does not extend even among those in communication with the sick. The epidemic state does not prevail; the island, in common with other West India Islands, escapes, and quarantine is credited with the result. Had infection of numbers taken place within the circle invested by street guards, while all beyond it escaped, the argument would have had a very different appearance. As it is, isolation does not appear to have been even put upon its trial, for disease could not be arrested in its passage where it did not attempt to pass.

From the Board of Trade Returns, already quoted, we derive much useful information respecting cordons. The following is taken from the Consular Report on Egypt and Barbary :—“With respect to quarantine measures by land, several cordons have been established since 1831, to prevent the spreading of the plague and the cholera; but they were unsuccessful. Last year, when the plague appeared at Bengazi, the Sanitary Board here attempted to establish a military cordon from Aboukir to the Libyan desert, and around the city. Numerous infractions of the cordon took place, especially by smugglers. The pestilence did not reach to Egypt; the exemption was due more to the remoteness of the infected localities than to the operation of the cordon. The caravans from the desert preferred to return from whence they came, rather than submit to the quarantine which would have been imposed upon them.”

Of Tripoli it is said on the same authority :—“In 1858, a cordon was placed on the eastern frontier of the province of Tripoli, to prevent the introduction of the plague from Bengazi. The organization of the cordon was so imperfect that no inference can be drawn from it. Happily the province was preserved from the pestilence.”

In Portugal, "while the cholera in 1855 was marching on along the course of the river Tagus towards Lisbon, a sanitary cordon was established to prevent all persons having any ailment whatever, and coming from an infected place, from entering the city. The cholera made its appearance notwithstanding."

At Porto Rico, "during the cholera of 1856, sanitary cordons were established in various parts of the island with the most signal want of success."

At Teneriffe, Consul Murray says: "Sanitary cordons by land have been adopted on several occasions here, and are considered as decidedly advisable."

Of Spain, "formerly," says Mr. Consul Brackenbury, "sanitary cordons were adopted in such parts of the road as were deemed expedient, to impede the introduction of epidemics by land; but, doubtless in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining any results by such means, the employment of cordons was ultimately abandoned as being vexatious to traffic and to the communications in the interior, without producing the desired object. In September 1855, when the cholera re-appeared partially in the neighbourhood of Vigo, the spread of the disease was believed to have been arrested by isolating the infected houses, and burning such articles as were susceptible of contagion, and had been used by the cholera patients."

With respect to quarantine measures by land, Mr. Consul Mark observes:—"On the outbreak of cholera in 1854 and 1855, sanitary cordons were established in the outskirts of Malaga to intercept communication with the infected places. They were discountenanced by the Government from the commencement, and they do not appear to have had the slightest effect in checking the extension of the disease."

"At Carthagena, when any pestilential disease has been declared in the district, a sanitary cordon is established against the introduction of the same. In 1854 and 1855, this plan was adopted against the cholera; but, whether it was from the cordon or from any other cause, only one case of the disease was publicly declared to have occurred in this city." Mr. Consul Turner adds that "during the sanitary cordon, the Municipal authorities were known to leave the town and return to the same without being placed under observation, such being strictly against all rules and regulations."

Mr. Consul Barrie writes from Alicante of cholera in 1834 and 1854 :—" Though many of the towns in the province, and " particularly on the coast, adopted measures to prevent communication, few of them escaped. Among the latter was " Carthagena, where very rigorous measures, both by sea and " land, were enforced. This is the only instance in Spain, of " which I am aware, where sanitary isolation proved effectual."

An important comment on the case of Carthagena is furnished in the special report from that place by Dr Dalgairns :—" In 1854 and 1855, when the disease was raging in other " parts of Spain, a cordon was formed round the town, and no " persons were allowed to enter until they had performed a " longer or shorter quarantine. Corn-meal and poultry were " admitted without trouble, but letters and newspapers, after being pierced in various places, had to be dipped in salt-water or vinegar before they could be received. Three " cases only, in persons who had come from Murcia, all fatal, " occurred: one within the town, one in the suburbs, and the " third in a village three miles off. *Outside the cordon, in the " suburbs and neighbouring villages, persons were in the habit " of coming from infected districts, without bringing infection.*" The events of Salonica and the others, therefore, were repeated at Carthagena. From Trinidad it is written :—" In former " times some abortive attempts were made to prevent the introduction or spread of pestilential disease by quarantine measures on land."

Dr. Milroy, in an article in the "British and Foreign Medical Chirurgical Review," No. LXXXIII., tells us that in 1867, " military cordons were drawn round the infected districts in " Montenegro, and persons who dared to cross them were " shot. The horrors of famine were thus added to those of " pestilence."

Mr. Radcliffe, in the 8th Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, says that the malady appeared in the town of Filurina, and " on the disease being recognized, a *cordon sanitaire* was drawn around Filurina, and the epidemic does not " appear to have extended beyond the limits of the town." What its extension was within the town limits we are not told, and have therefore no data for judgment on the operation of the cordon.

Again, says the same writer :—" At Orsova, the frontier town " of Austria on the Danube, the quarantine, established for a



" short time, was removed upon the earnest remonstrances of  
 " my Austrian colleague, on the commission. Although the  
 " cholera visited every Turkish town where the quarantine  
 " was strictly enforced, to within a few miles of Orsova, that  
 " place remained quite free from the disease. The passenger  
 " traffic through Orsova, between the East and Vienna, is very  
 " considerable, and yet no instance occurred of cholera being  
 " imported from the many pest-stricken towns."

Dr. Sutherland, in his Report on Gibraltar, thus writes of the cordon:—" The Spanish cordon was established on the  
 " 24th of August, five days after the first case of cholera  
 among the civil population of Gibraltar; and we learn from  
 the 'Gibraltar Chronicle' of September 12, that cholera sud-  
 denly appeared at St. Roque, four or five miles behind the  
 cordon, and proved fatal to six persons in one day. At a  
 later period (October 9), the disease entered a solitary  
 house between St. Roque and Algesiras, away from all  
 " communication with affected localities, and attacked the  
 " inmates. It is perfectly certain that these events took place  
 " in spite of the cordon."

It must be stated that this case is intended to illustrate rather  
 the absurdity of establishing a cordon at such a time, than the  
 inefficacy of the proceeding; for cholera "had already esta-  
 blished itself over a third part of the area of the country."

Of the foregoing examples, which include all that we have  
 been able to meet with of the institution of cordons, without  
 omission or selection, no reasoning or analysis is needed to  
 shew which way the testimony points.

To strengthen their advocacy of the principle of quarantine,  
 the Conference endeavour to overthrow the leading objec-  
 tions—sanitary and commercial—to which it has been found  
 liable in practice. The objections, that is to say, of a posi-  
 tive kind, are the intensification of disease by confinement  
 of compromised persons in lazarets, and the great cost to na-  
 tions from interrupted commerce. On the first point it is  
 contended in the Report that no such intensification exists,  
 but that on the contrary there is evidence of a certain im-  
 munity attaching to persons who have come from infected  
 places,—an inference based on the fact that infected arrivals  
 have often passed through quarantine stations without suffer-  
 ing material injury. Such an opinion is at variance with the  
 entire mass of evidence adduced in support of the transmis-  
 sibility of cholera; for, when arguing to this conclusion, the

authorities are at considerable pains to prove that at the several points of arrival, the disease appeared first among the new comers, and this, in several instances, where there had been no sign of previous infection of the group. And if all the cases adduced be examined in their bearing on this particular question, while no pretension is made to set aside such proof of communication as may be deducible from dates, it will be placed beyond doubt that in no instance could such exemption be established. That the arrivals often escaped disease is absolutely true; but they escaped only where favorably situated on landing, and in common with the residents of the place; but, equally in common with these, they suffered when the conditions of suffering were locally present, and they suffered in much higher degree where the state of the quarantine station was such as to expose them to exceptional risk. The element of disease which they introduced, depended for its subsequent diffusion, not on any condition which accompanied it, but on the conditions into which it was imported; and if it be contended that the arrest of cholera in good lazarets, which is herein admitted, is a strong argument on the side of the Conference, we reply that the results destroy at a blow all the pretensions of lazarets and quarantine, for they have followed on the same details of management in towns and places, where no such establishments existed; and they are of constant occurrence in the experience of every Indian officer, who records from year to year a few isolated cases of cholera in his barrack, or his jail, or his hospital.

The grounds on which the opinion of the Conference is based respecting the loss and injury sustained in commerce from quarantine are less obvious. The opinion is thus stated in the proceedings:—"Restrictive measures, made known generally beforehand and properly applied, are much less prejudicial to commerce and international relations than the disturbance occasioned to industry and commercial transactions by an invasion of cholera." This follows as a conclusion on arguments stated in general terms. No attempt is made to introduce the evidence of facts, unless the following passage be regarded in this light:—"Honorable merchants have remarked to the Committee that directly the quarantine is raised, commerce re-commenced with an activity which may compensate for the loss sustained during its imposition;" which is probably true enough in the interest of capitalists, and

large mercantile firms well able to bear temporary suspension of business, but very open to question if said of the trading community generally. No doubt the difficulty in the way of a comparative estimate of losses under quarantine, and losses under epidemic invasion by emigration from towns and other causes, is very great if exactness be sought for; but there are nevertheless records of the financial effects of quarantine, which tell heavily against it as they stand. The Board of Trade Returns give copious details of quarantine dues at the several ports, and shew how great an influence the power to levy them exercises in leading to the enforcement of quarantine on grounds vexatiously trivial. Dr. Sutherland also has touched upon the question in such a manner as to prove that great pecuniary loss is inseparable from a quarantine system. In his Report on Malta he remarks—"When we examine what has been the result of the various quarantines enforced since cholera declined in Malta, the question may fairly be asked, whether the loss to commerce has not vastly exceeded any hypothetical gain to health. We learn from the tables that between the 1st August 1865 and the 31st December 1866, no fewer than 1,008 vessels entered Malta in quarantine. The aggregate tonnage of these vessels was 508,507 tons; their crews amounted to 28,622 men, and they had 1,663 passengers on board. If all the vessels had ridden out their quarantine, no less than 1,944,504 tons of shipping would have been detained for a day, and 101,632 men with 15,734 passengers would also have been detained for a day;" and of Gibraltar he writes—"The total tonnage arrested was 323,409 tons: 240 vessels rode out their quarantine, and 395 vessels arrived and sailed in quarantine. The practical result of this great sacrifice, so far as concerns public health, was simply *nil*; for in spite of it all, Gibraltar was visited by one of the most fatal epidemics on record. So far as regards commerce, the small population of Gibraltar is almost entirely dependent on commerce for its support; and one of the inhabitants said to me—"If we have such another quarantine as we have gone through, it will be our ruin."

Dr. Milroy (*Brit. and For. Med. Chir. Review*,) says—"The pecuniary losses are incalculable. Dr. (now Sir John) Bowring, speaking in the House of Commons in 1841, stated his belief that the losses from quarantine in the Mediterranean alone were not less than two or three millions sterling a year." We learn from Dr. Burrell's able and very instructive

report on the plague of Malta in 1813, which he considered—and we think justly—of indigenous origin, that it entailed (*sic*) by the rigid cruel measures enforced to confine it, a cost of £232,531.

By adopting Dr. Sutherland's method, it would have been easy for the Conference to arrive, approximately at least, at the cost to the shipping at the several quarantine ports. To do it in this place would take us far from the scope of this article, and for a purpose with which we in India are very little concerned. It is sufficient, therefore, to say that the argument of comparative loss by quarantine and invasion proceeds entirely on the hypothesis that restriction is both necessary and efficacious against cholera; and it ceases, therefore, to be an argument if it be shewn that neither character belongs to it.

Another objection to quarantine in cholera, which transpires under examination of its history, is the fact that there always have been, and as far as can yet be seen, always must be, instances where epidemic progress outstrips official intelligence, establishing the disease in a place before it can be recognised, or restrictive measures applied. The facts of 1865, which set forth this point, are numerous and definite. They may be used, indeed, as arguments against the whole doctrine of personal conveyance of epidemic cholera, and so may bear a significance much wider than is now claimed for them, but in their narrowest interpretation they can exhibit no less than a serious and abiding source of failure in quarantine. The appearance of the first case of cholera at Alexandria, long in advance of the arrival of the pilgrims from Mecca; the circumstances so fully detailed by Dr. Sutherland, as preceding the outbreak at Malta; the *sporadic* cases at Odessa and Ancona; and a large number of less definite statements of fact and opinion, scattered through the several records we have examined, point to the great caution with which we should receive evidence even so apparently conclusive as that adduced, to prove the personal conveyance of cholera from Alexandria in 1865. Although in the great majority of instances, no counter-testimony of facts has yet been published, it is allowable to remark that in the few places of which we have the most exact information from other sources, the facts are at variance with those furnished to the Conference. It is no more than prudent, therefore, to accept at present, with suspended judgment, the great argument of communication derived from dates of arrival.

Summarising the evidence which we have now brought forward, and stating for convenience of application the conclusion to which we have been led, we arrive at the following propositions:—

1. *Quarantine being a mechanical measure, and addressed only to the prevention of personal communication, can, in the nature of things, operate only so far as this process contributes to the diffusion of disease.*

2. *The particular elements of quarantine practice, to which it has owed its success, can be, and have been, applied with full effect in places other than quarantine stations, without any of the attendant evils of such stations; and that, therefore, where the success of quarantine is apparent, it affords no argument for the maintenance of the system.*

3. *Whether personal communication contribute much or little to the spread of cholera, there are wider agencies at work in determining epidemic diffusion, which, though they are not yet definable, are certainly of such a nature that no process of personal restriction can counteract them; and although such agencies are beyond those comprising the known conditions of insalubrity, there is no room to doubt that, within the limits of insalubrious places, crowding and mismanagement may give to the results of importation the proportions of an epidemic.*

4. *Whatever truth there may be in the doctrine that cholera is communicable from man to man, this property, though it may determine the occurrence of first cases in a place, has little or no further share in producing an epidemic. It is inoperative in the presence of good sanitary management, and may be effectually opposed by measures applied to cases of actual disease. It does not, therefore, support the policy of quarantine, nor extended restriction of intercourse.*

5. *Bodies of men arriving from infected places, whether there have or have not been among them evidence of infection, have suffered after arrival, in more or less degree, exactly as the sanitary condition of the place of arrival would render probable.*

6. *Where this condition has been favorable to immunity, disease has been arrested; where it has favored its increase, it has increased and spread, whether the cases of imported disease have been many or few, severe or mild.*

7. *The same circumstances have determined the degree of infection of towns and neighbourhoods after choleraic arrivals, whether general isolation has been completely or incompletely enforced, or has not at all been attempted.*

8. *From the foregoing propositions a general law becomes evident, that groups of persons arriving from infected places share the fate of the residents and neighbours of the place of arrival, with regard to the risk they incur from communication with actual cases of cholera. The few exceptions to this law, which, as matters of fact, are on record, viz., the instances in which arrivals have suffered severely after landing without spreading infection, are those and only those in which they have been themselves unfavorably situated, in the neighbourhood of more favored places; and where towns have been severely visited without corresponding intensity of disease in quarantine stations, it has been shewn that there was special care of sanitary matters in the latter.*

9. *In a large majority of the examples in which the efficacy of isolation is affirmed, it is clearly provable that isolation cannot have had any influence on the events, and in no single instance has its necessity or usefulness been demonstrated.*

10. *Upon the general question of communicability of cholera from person to person, the conclusions set forth by the Conference must, for the present, be received with the utmost caution, for they rest mainly on the relative dates of imperfectly known events; and in those cases in which we are in possession of detailed information from other sources, the records of the Conference are contravened in points very material to the issue.*

It is to inland restrictions on intercourse that the attention of authority in India is for the most part directed. Cordons have been suggested to prevent the dispersion of large assemblies, and to divert travellers from ordinary lines of road, with regular establishments of quarantine stations, or lazarets in the environs of towns and jails. It is, therefore, by the experience of this class of measures that the prospect of good results in India, from restriction, must be estimated.

There can be little doubt that, in respect of probable efficacy, a broad distinction must be drawn between cordons established for the confinement of infected masses, and those which are intended to protect from infection places hitherto healthy. The distinction was discussed by the Conference, and it calls for the fullest consideration in India. It would be unreasonable, for instance, to refrain from hindering the admissions to a healthy jail, when its neighbourhood had become infected, merely because it had been found impossible or dangerous to restrain the rush of terror-stricken millions from Hurdwar; equally unreasonable to deny that an infected pilgrim crowd might be diverted from a station or a town with advantage,

because all efforts had failed to prevent their leaving the focus of disease. Without acknowledging any difference of principle, or affecting to believe that any such mechanical obstacle will stay the course of an epidemic, it is clear that the merits of the several processes of quarantine are not identical, for the simple reason that one procedure is open to the charge of mechanical impossibility, while another may involve no practical difficulty whatever. Each class, therefore, must be judged by itself, and each has now become the subject of recorded experience in a Report on the epidemic in Northern India in 1867, recently issued by the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

The report enters fully into the distribution of the disease over the vast tract of country infected. Regarding the Hurdwar Fair as the point of departure, the march of returning pilgrims is traced, and its influence on the health of the several districts pointed out, with, of course, especial reference to the question of communication. The evidence adduced is of the same general character as that of the Western epidemic of 1865. There is the same prominent notice of dates of arrival of pilgrims as the main proof; but there is the broad distinction that the epidemic only spread in certain directions, and did not attend the return of pilgrims in others. To examine this portion of the Report at length, would carry us too far from our immediate purpose, and unduly extend the length of this article; we shall, therefore, do no more than allude to the facts which tend to shew that personal contagion has an influence as limited and partial in India as elsewhere, with the object of proving, as far as is yet possible, that there is no principle at work here to render quarantine more necessary or more rational than it has proved to be elsewhere.

The influence of local peculiarities overbearing all liability to personal infection, is seen in the general exemption of the jails and of certain stations; in the greater immunity of Native than European troops, the latter being certainly less exposed to external contagion, while an internal possible source of disease is shewn among them; the relative mortality of cavalry, artillery, and infantry; the special infection of the small female jail at Lahore, while the extensive male wards escaped; and the very remarkable case of the village of Singhawara. We find the same conflicting testimony of observers as to communication; the same impossibility of tracing it in places; the same convictions of independent origin, the last in much

greater proportion than in Europe; the same extravagant hypotheses to supply the missing links in the chain where the doctrine of contagion is the sole pursuit; and even the same admixture of conclusions demonstrably fallacious.

We must content ourselves with this hasty indication of the general tenor of the epidemic history, and pass on to the third section of the Report, which treats of "The preventive measures adopted, and the results of the epidemic."

It is clear that there was no neglect of any sanitary precaution *which could be adopted on a sudden emergency*. It is equally clear that precautions so adopted, including quarantine, did not prevent wide diffusion of cholera. "Cordons of police were posted to divert the stream of returning pilgrims from the larger towns. Quarantine camps were established, in which the pilgrims were detained in some places for 48 hours, in others as long as five days. \* \* \* In the districts which lie nearer to Hurdwar especially, quarantine, sanitary cordons, cholera hospitals, and general sanitary supervision, were had recourse to. The opinions of the Civil Surgeons are generally to the effect that much good resulted from them;" and from these opinions several extracts follow. They are unfortunately recorded as mere opinions, and stated in general terms, without the particulars which alone could make them useful evidence in trying the question. At Ferozepore "very marked success is reported;" at Kurnaul "tolerable success;" the town of Sirsa is said to have enjoyed entire immunity; this, doubtless, is owing to the sanitary and precautionary arrangements having "been strictly enforced." The Commissioner of Umballa reports that "the sanitary cordon was most effective." From Jullunder, Dr. Verchere reports—"It is worthy of record that none of the principal towns or villages became attacked with cholera to *any considerable extent*. To all these places orders had been sent by the Deputy Commissioners, that quarantine should be established for the returning pilgrims, and the orders were more or less strictly carried out." At Hissar it is said—"The disease would have prevailed more, and perhaps assumed a violent type, had not timely precautions been employed." Further opinions of similar character are given, and allusion is made to doubts entertained by other observers respecting the efficacy of the work that was done.

This work, it must be observed, includes not only quarantine, but all the measures enjoined on the district officers to meet



the emergency. The Commissioner thus briefly comments on the opinions cited :—"To determine how far the preventive measures and the slight prevalence of the disease in certain places stand in the relation of cause and effect, is a question of very great difficulty. There is a natural tendency in the human mind to attribute successful results to the efforts which have been made to attain them ; and especially in regard to such a disease as cholera, whose erratic fitful course is so proverbial, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to say with any accuracy what effect any preventive measures have had upon its progress." And again—"In considering the nature of cholera and the manner of its spread, the opinions of the medical officers and others, which have been quoted on this question, cannot be received as evidence, however interesting they are in themselves." The grounds of rejection are not stated, but it is natural to infer that the several reports did not set forth conclusive facts in support of the opinions they conveyed, and therefore that these opinions have not contributed to form the conclusions of the Commissioner which we shall presently examine. But although opinions thus stated cannot be evidence on the entire position they advocate, they imply the prevalence of facts which bear very pointedly on a main issue of our enquiry. It is observable that *partial success* is the base of favorable judgment throughout. This can only mean that the places reported on were partially infected ; and it is certain that where this took place, seclusion of quarantine was not effectual. We are not in possession of sufficient details to prove, as in the case of Salonica, the means by which diffusion of cholera was prevented after importation ; but the fact of importation is valid against the efficacy of seclusion, while the other proceedings appear in such favorable light as is thrown upon them by limited spread of disease. It appears to us open to no denial that every instance of introduction without diffusion becomes an example of non-receptivity, whatever may be the condition which determines it.

The subject of quarantine is more specifically treated in the succeeding paragraphs on *preventive measures in jails*. The practice is thus described :—"A modified quarantine has been imposed on all new prisoners. The system is confessedly imperfect, because a perfect quarantine is almost impossible, and, also, because suitable buildings have not yet been provided for carrying it out. But imperfect as it is, most excellent re-

“sults have attended its institution, and several instances have occurred in which jails have escaped epidemic visitations for the first time in the course of several years, by preventing the introduction of contagious disease. When cholera was known to be abroad, particular attention was devoted to rendering quarantine as stringent as the imperfect means which existed would allow.” Subsequently, in a section on general conclusions, the Sanitary Commissioner reiterates this opinion of the results, in such manner as to leave no doubt that it must have been based on the experience of the epidemic of 1867. “Practical results,” he says, “are of much greater value than mere theoretical opinions, and the introduction of even such an imperfect quarantine as has been practicable in the jails of the Upper Provinces, has been attended with most excellent results.” For special testimony we turn again to the third section of the Report, where we find the following statement:—“In only one instance during the late epidemic has a genuine case of cholera occurred in the quarantine ward of a jail. This was at Umballa. The man had just been received from Simla; he was immediately isolated, and proper means of disinfection used. In the Lahore Jail two cases of choleraic diarrhoea were discovered in the quarantine quarter: and, if recent opinions are correct, a person suffering from choleraic diarrhoea is as dangerous on arrival as a person suffering from cholera. The Inspector-General of Prisons in the Punjab is of opinion that the benefit of isolation as a preventive to the extension of the disease amongst the prisoners has been instanced in cases of the jail generally throughout the Province, and remarkably in the central jail at Lahore.” We must not suppose that this question has been treated otherwise than seriously by the high authority from which the report emanates; yet we can scarcely ask, with becoming gravity, wherein the protective action of quarantine lay, when only one case of cholera occurred in the quarantine ward of a jail; or why, if the central jail of Lahore is held up as a remarkable instance of success, the female wards should have been infected, and eight per cent. of their inmates attacked.

That isolation was useful need not be questioned now, as it includes the separate treatment of the individual, which is in practice carried out in every hospital in all points which affect the alleged media of cholera transmission, and has been so with the same results as are now attributed to quarantine, ever since hospital organization and management became en-

titled to their name. Year after year there come into the wards of Calcutta institutions case after case of cholera, without infecting a single inmate; but no one thinks of personal seclusion. In the face of this, can it be said, or seriously thought, that if the above cases had been received at once into the jail hospitals, any different result would have followed? or into the wards of the jail itself?—for of late years the jails of India have been the great centres of sanitary improvement, as from their impassable limits, facility of command, and internal resources, the means of making them so have been the most complete in existence: and that it is by the sanitary condition of the jails that their fate in 1867 was determined, is indicated alike by the general fact of the exemption which was seen in Bengal where there was no quarantine, as well as in the North-West and Punjab, where it was practised, and the special occurrences recorded by the Sanitary Commissioner. “Considering,” writes Major Malleon, “the extent to which the disease prevailed among the free population, the comparative immunity which the prisoners enjoyed is very remarkable. In the North-Western Provinces, out of thirty six jails, only eleven were attacked, and of those only two, Allahabad and Shahjehanpore, suffered with any severity. In four others, out of the eleven, only one solitary case occurred in each. No less than twenty-five escaped entirely, and many of these, such as Meerut, Benares, and others, were large prisons in the centre of an infected population. In the Punjab, out of twenty-nine jails, eight were attacked; but in two of these, the disease was trifling; twenty-one escaped entirely. Out of eleven jails in Oude, six suffered; but, excepting at Seetapore, the cases in each were few.”

If quarantine is to be involved in these results, it must be admitted to have utterly failed in twenty-fives case out of a total of twenty-six, for in that number disease was imported; whereas if the results were due to internal arrangements, there were but nine instances of failure throughout, viz., the cases in which infection was considerable in the three Provinces. It may be contended that importation was due to servants and others who were not subjected to quarantine; but the argument of no diffusion is not weakened thereby, nor is it easy to see how “suitable buildings” or any other mechanical perfections of quarantine could have prevented it.

The measures adopted with troops for prevention of cholera

in 1867 include no process of quarantine, and therefore call for no examination. If the cantonments derived any protection from restricted intercourse, it could only have been through the agency adopted for towns and stations generally, while the great immunity of the cavalry, the relative infection of artillery and infantry, and, above all, the smaller mortality of Natives than of Europeans, point forcibly to internal differences of cause, and not to any general agency which would affect them in equal degree.

Bringing thus the conclusions drawn from the great epidemic of 1865 to the examination of the last Indian outbreak, we find nothing in the latter that is not strongly confirmatory of them: nothing which can be held to shew that the system which has so signally failed in all other parts of the world, has any better prospect here. Complete restriction of intercourse is as impossible here as there; nor is there any reason to suppose that, if possible, it would be advisable or successful. On the contrary, the Report before us contains evidence of the highest value, of the action of wider agencies than personal contagion in creating an epidemic,—agencies which can be reached by no such measures; while here, as before, is seen abundant proof that such transmission as is due to contagion may be easily and more rationally controlled without quarantine; and that the system is here, even in the comparatively innocent forms which it has been suffered to take, productive of very serious evils.

The Sanitary Commissioner last year had stated that he "had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that quarantine should be established." This referred to a general quarantine, and the framing of special rules was deferred until full reports had been received of the outbreak at Hurdwar. In the present Report a modified opinion is given, based upon the conflicting evidence recorded, the now-acknowledged difficulties of the task, and the growing opposition to quarantine in England. "The question," we quote from the Report, "is one of very great difficulty: were sanitary considerations alone to be kept in view, it could be easily answered. In my letter to the Government of India, in the Military Department, No. 312, dated 29th May 1867, an opinion was expressed that quarantine should be established. Regarding the matter merely in a sanitary light, that opinion remains unaltered; but a careful consideration of the many important points involved, leads to the conclusion that any general attempt to enforce this measure is undesirable."

“ The difficulties attending any general enforcement of quarantine are practically very great, and it would certainly be attended with much hardship and oppression to the pilgrims. Quarantine was attempted in nearly every district in the Punjab and the upper part of the North-Western Provinces, and the results are generally spoken of as having been very successful. It is very doubtful, however, how far the two things can be regarded as cause and effect. The Civil Surgeon of Unrithur mentions in his report that the pilgrims complained bitterly of the treatment they had received near ———, being driven off the regular road, and forced to walk during the heat of the day for miles through heavy sand without food or water. In fact they attributed a great many of the deaths to this cause. No system of strict quarantine can be carried out without great suffering to those concerned.”

The use of the words “sanitary considerations” in the above connexion would seem to imply that the Commissioner adheres to the belief that cholera may be arrested by quarantine, but yields to the pressure of practical difficulties. Seeing, however, the great disposition herein evinced, to bend conclusions to the testimony of facts, and to advance with the advance of opinion elsewhere, may we not reasonably hope that, before further necessity arises, sanitary considerations will have urged the Commissioner in the same direction in which questions of general expediency have urged him now, and that for the sake of the revenues of the country, and in the cause of sound sanitation, all “suitable buildings” and other appliances of quarantine will long continue, as they are at present, unprovided; unless, indeed, they are to involve no more than the course of humane and judicious treatment which is daily seen to lead to no spread of cholera in the wards of Indian hospitals?

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## ART. VI.—INDIAN PRISONS.

**WE** purpose putting before our readers some of the information contained in the Report for 1867, on "the condition and management of the Jails in the North-Western Provinces." During that year, 28,840 males and 1,405 females were received into the jails of the North-Western Provinces as "prisoners under trial;" but of these no less than 13,939 and 706 were "discharged without trial, or acquitted after trial."

These numbers speak ill for the Police; these 14,645 persons were either innocent, and therefore unjustly arrested; or, if they were guilty, their conviction could not be obtained for want of evidence.

\* On the first of January last there were of convicts 14,855 males and 725 females, to whom there have been added during the year 14,302 males and 674 females, who were "convicted and sentenced." The jail population, however, is given as being 42,632 males and 2,298 females, with a daily average of 15,107. From among these, 23,131 males and 1,310 females have been released on expiry of sentence, and 17 before it; 44 have escaped; 369 males and 9 females have died; 47 males and 3 females have been executed; leaving in confinement at the end of the year (exclusive of transfers to Lunatic Asylums and transportations) 14,015 males and 609 females. During 1867 there were 1,749 male and 86 female convicts less than there were during the year before. Of the 29,350 prisoners in jail during the year, 492 have been sentenced to imprisonment for life; 20 for 21 years, 84 for fourteen years, 273 for ten, 488 for seven, 860 for five, 1,260 for three, and 3,600 for two years; 4,395 for from six months to a year, 4,532 for from three to six months, and as many as 10,757 for periods up to three months. From among all these, 25,323 had not been convicted before, 1,899 and 765 were second and third convictions, while 464 had been frequently convicted.

The expenditure on prisons during the year has been 7 lakhs, 17,239 Rs. 4 annas and 1 pie, being a decrease of Rs. 58,319-1-8 on the expenditure of the year before. It is distri-

buted as follows :—For Food	...	...	Rs. 2,64,133	13	5
Custody	...	...	" 3,06,125	12	10
Hospital expenses			" 7,946	6	6
Clothing	...	...	" 44,864	14	8
Contingencies, repairs			" 94,168	4	8

and gives as the average cost of each prisoner, Rs. 47-7-7½.

Against this has to be set the value of prison labour, which is thus represented :—Cash profits realized on the sale of manufactured goods, Rs. 1,01,721-4-3; earnings of prisoners engaged in Industrial manufactures, Rs. 1,92,865-9-9; estimated value of their out-door labour, Rs. 2,59,010-12-1; and the total net value of convict labour, after the deduction of wages of hired servants and compensation in lieu of convict labour, has been Rs. 4,35,072-8-5. The cost of each prisoner has been, on an average, struck from the 38 jails of the North-Western Provinces, Rs. 47-7-7½; and the cost, after deducting the profits of their labour *carried to the credit of Government*, Rs. 40-11-10½ (Table IVA, p. 77A); while another Table (No. V, p. 25A) gives the year's average of the value of the labour of all prisoners employed on manufactures, jail work, &c., as Rs. 30-6-3, from a daily average of 14,023 sentenced to labour, from whom 2,153 were "inefficient from age or disease."

It is satisfactory to find that the criminal population of these Provinces is thus made to contribute to the cost of its custody and punishment, and some of the figures given go far towards showing that it is quite possible to make prisons self-supporting in a great measure. Indeed this problem has been nearly solved by the Agra Central Prison, the actual cost of each prisoner in it having been on an average Rs. 45-7-2 (p. 77A, No. IV), including *all* charges except the Superintendent's salary, and after deduction of profits, Rs. 26-9-6½, while the earnings of each prisoner liable to labour have been on an average Rs. 40-14-5½ (p. 73A), and of each prisoner actually employed, Rs. 45-5-4½. This jail has during the year received by sale of manufactures, Rs. 78,425-4-9, and after paying for raw material, tools, &c., has paid to the credit of Government forty thousand rupees, which is more than half the total amount so paid by all the 38 jails of the North-Western Provinces (p. 73A); that sum being Rs. 77,177-3-5. We mention this thus prominently because the local Government does not notice it, nor is its attention called to it by the Inspector-General of Prisons, who, in his official report, contents himself with "bringing prominently to the

notice of Government the attention, energy, and zeal" of all the Superintendents of the six central prisons.

From among the prisoners confined in the 38 jails of the North-Western Provinces, 400 have died during the last year, the ratio to strength being 2·45 per cent. "Of these, 42 were old men above 60 years of age; 22 were prisoners under trial; and 82, convicts who had been only three months and under in prison; and of those who thus died, 72 were received during the year in positively a bad or indifferent state of health." (p. 6.) The total deaths from cholera in all the jails were 31 (thirty-one), of which 14 were at Allahabad; and this in a year when cholera prevailed in an epidemic form in almost every district. This speaks well for the sanitary state of the jails, and is a favorable sign, we hope, of what may yet be done in the way of curbing that fearful scourge. The death ratio, 2·45 *per cent.* on strength, is favorable, when it is remembered that the men from whom the calculation is made were all under confinement, were kept at labour on prison diet, and under the mentally depressing effects of loss of liberty. Dysentery (94), diarrhoea (73), and fever (60 cases), are the chief fatal diseases, after which come diseases of the liver (36) and of the lungs (19). This last number confirms an opinion we have long had, that though diseases of the lungs are rarer among Europeans in India than in Europe, yet that they are more frequent and fatal among the natives of the country than is commonly thought; the exposure to which they are subject, the great and sudden changes of temperature, the indifferent and scanty food on which so many live, all tend to make them suffer more from these diseases than we should expect to be the case in a warm climate; but still, for the European with weak lungs or a hereditary tendency to consumption, India affords a better chance of life and health than does England.

The experience from jails might be, and should be, made useful in the building of barracks for European troops. That experience confirms an oft-repeated fact, that the number of inmates in one barrack cannot be increased, though there be a *corresponding increase* in both superficial and cubic area, without injuring the general health of the dwellers in it, and laying them open to the attacks of cholera or any other epidemic that may be about. Dr. Clark (p. 7) thinks that "the maximum number should not exceed 24, or at the very utmost 32 individuals." How many fewer, then, should be the numbers of *sick* men assembled in one hospital? Yet we have often



seen 24 sick, and sometimes more, herded together in *one* military hospital.

The depressing effect of imprisonment on body as well as mind is clearly shown by the fact that of the 378 convicts who died during the last year, 139 had not been over six months in jail, and that 63 men died during the second six months, and 70 during the second year of their imprisonment. It is therefore desirable that prisoners during the first year or two of their punishment should be better fed and set to lighter labour, the latter being gradually and judiciously increased; for though every criminal should be punished, and severely, when his offence against the well-being of society deserves such severity, yet no such punishment should be allowed to shorten life or endanger health. Yet at one time the state of the jails was such that the chances of a criminal sentenced to a long term of imprisonment coming out of jail alive were small. Witness the rate of mortality in the Agra Central Prison in 1864:—432 deaths out of an "average population" of 2,250, *i. e.*, 19.31 per cent. of deaths to strength; or in 1860, when there were 654 deaths out of an average population of 2,278, or a percentage of 28.78, which last has during the past year been reduced to 1.79, the deaths having been 38 from an average population of 1,838. Great praise is due for the improvement of that prison, *evidenced* not only by these numbers, but also by the changes made in it, which, to those who remember it as in former years, make it seem almost a new prison.

Punishment of prisoners for offences against jail discipline has been administered to 1,525 convicts; of these, there have been 220 in the Agra Central Prison, 145 at Benares, 135 at Allahabad, 102 at Ghazeepore, and 85 at Meerut, while the jails of Moradabad and Muthra have had only one convict punished during the year. Is this wonderfully small amount of offences in this and a few other prisons owing to remarkably effective vigilance and discipline, or is it a sign of their absence? A Hindoo proverb says that "the greatest darkness is immediately under the lamp;" and jail *burkundazes* and wardens must be better paid before they can be raised above the temptation of being bribed by the friends of prisoners, in order to let them have tobacco or other forbidden indulgences. Flogging seems to be the chief punishment for jail offences, 1,103 men having been thus punished during the year; the other punishments being solitary cells (132), extra imprisonment (28), shortening diet (46), ~~an~~ objectionable mode of punishment, if, as we believe is the

case, a prisoner's diet is supposed to be just sufficient to keep him in health and enable him to get through the work set him,—increase of labour (65), increase of weight of fetters (56), and forfeiture of good-conduct marks (92).

One of the Indian papers, in commenting on this jail report, almost confined itself to the expression of great indignation at the amount of flogging administered in these prisons, singling out the one at Agra for special condemnation, as many as 158 of its culprits having been flogged during the year. And the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces also calls attention to the numbers flogged, and suggests the use of some other punishment instead ; while in the same letter he dwells with satisfaction on the smaller number of boys sentenced to imprisonment year by year, which he considers to be "the result of the whipping act." We confess that we have no sympathy with such maudlin compassion : doubtless it is a grievous thing that men should have to be flogged, but so is also imprisonment or the infliction of any other punishment. But how are more than fourteen thousand offenders against society to be deterred from fresh offences except by the fear of sharp and summary punishment for any and every breach of jail discipline ?—and we know of no punishment, at once so effective as a deterrent, and so little productive of after ill effects, as flogging judiciously administered. It would not be possible to add to a man's term of imprisonment for every breach of jail discipline which, be it remembered, *must* be maintained in dealing with the accumulation of the worst parts of the population of a country. We doubt if solitary confinement is any punishment to an idle native with an infinite capacity for sleep ; to decrease a prisoner's food when he is already on prison diet would be to break his health, which also would be the probable result of increase of labour, and of adding to the weight of his fetters ; while forfeiture of good-conduct badges and privileges would be no punishment to the man who had not acquired them. The answer will be, we know, that to entrust the use of the lash to any man is to give him a dangerous power which very few men are capable of not abusing ; be it so, but let it be known that it is a *responsibility* as well as a power, for the use or abuse of which he is accountable to his earthly masters as well as to his conscience and his God ; and entrust that power only to men who have been proved capable of trust ; and we do not see either the great objectionableness of flogging for jail offences, or what better punishment could be substituted for it. Nor should it be forgotten

that every prisoner has the power of petitioning the Judge, and of appealing to him personally at his periodical visits, should he think himself badly or unjustly dealt with.

But rewards are a more pleasing subject to think of than are punishments; and it has often occurred to us that most fit opportunities for the bestowal of such rewards to deserving prisoners are past over when the Governor-General or a Lieutenant-Governor visits a prison. If a "King's face should show grace," similar, though perhaps less, graciousness may well be looked for from his Viceroy and the latter's Lieutenants on the occasion of an official visit from either of them to a prison; and the release at such times of one or more prisoners, who by exemplary conduct have deserved some consideration, would be a graceful act of mercy, which we know would have a good effect on the inmates of jails, and would be appreciated by our Indian subjects. We would even recommend that the Inspector-General of Prisons at his annual inspections should have the privilege of ordering the release of one deserving prisoner whose term of imprisonment was short or half expired, or of recommending his release to the Government, should a life prisoner, or one sentenced to a long term, deserve such an indulgence by remarkably good conduct. Hope and the prospect of reward are more effective than fear in influencing the conduct of most men.

From among the 29,350 prisoners admitted into the jails of the N. W. P., 553 males and 57 females have been for murder, and 346 for homicide; 2,474 for wounding; 8,107 men and 455 women for th-ft; 1,256 for assault and affray; 382 for dacoity and robbery; 646 men for abduction of women and similar offences. There have been 1,247 offenders against the Customs and Salt Laws; 249 men have been imprisoned for false witness, 111 for forgery, 32 for perjury, 494 for false information, and 249 for false complaint; 1,111 for budmashee, and 143 women and 250 men have been punished for attempts at suicide. In the Table, No. XVI, p. 48 A, from which most of these figures are taken, is a column which shows 57 prisoners admitted into the jails of the North-Western Provinces for suicide. We have failed to discover any of these in any of the jails of our neighbourhood, some of which are mentioned in this Table as having had as many as 4 and 7 suicides admitted into them, while the Azimgurh jail has the bad eminence of having as many as 23. What becomes of all these suicides? Has Dr. Clark a museum of them, or are they utilized in the jail gardens?

Another Table, No. XVIII, shows the castes of the prisoners admitted during the last year, from which it appears that the Rajpoots and Brahmins furnish the largest numbers,—3,983 of the former and 3,145 of the latter,—next to whom come 2,597 Aheers and 1,094 Bunneas; the Mahomedan population from among its different classes of Sheiks (1,786), Syuds (891), Patthans (1,209), and others, has contributed 3,921 men to the prisons of the North-Western-Provinces; and 70 Christian prisoners, 15 in the Agra, and 19 in the Allahabad jail, bear witness to the growth of a Native-Christian population, and to its not being entirely emancipated from the sins and frailties of humanity. The Tables do not show how many of these 70 Christian prisoners are of Native, and European, and mixed parentage. For the two latter classes, wards with separate cells have been erected in some of the central prisons; these are of very faulty construction, as they do not admit enough light to enable a prisoner to see to read, so that he is condemned to spend in sleep or in brooding over his miseries the hours of the day during which he is locked up; his mental health is thus subjected to injury, not to speak of the harm done to the body by its exclusion from light, for the only window in these cells is placed so far up in the wall that their inmates cannot possibly look out of them, nor stand at the opening to inhale fresh air; and though the latter is supplied to each cell by a ventilating\* apparatus, yet this arrangement, as the sole means of ventilation, is open to objection, for during the steamy stifling days and nights of the beginning of the rainy season a stronger current of air is required than can thus be supplied, while

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\* This is like that used at St. George's Hall, Liverpool, but of course on a much smaller scale. It consists of a Thermantidote which forces air taken either at the surface of the ground, or through a shaft, into a large pipe which runs under the floor of the building to be ventilated; smaller air passages from it lead to openings in the wall, one above and one below each bed in Hospital, and at similar elevations in the separate cells. A constant succession of fresh air is thus obtained which when heated escapes through the ridge-ventilation. The question occurs why is it that European barracks, and Hospitals are not fitted with this arrangement which has been proved to work so well in Jails. The only answer is that the jealousy of the P. W. D. prevents its using any suggestion however useful which does not originate from it. That department was ordered by Government to fit a barrack in the Punjab with this ventilating apparatus, on the working of which the usual military committee had to report; it condemned it as useless—for, the pipes had been constructed, but no Thermantidote had been fixed to supply them with air! This, reader, is no romance of ours, but a sad fact, for which we have the authority of a Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals who saw the building reported on, and exclaimed in astonishment, "Eh mon, whars your Thermantidote?"

the very working of the machine depends on a man's keeping awake and turning the thermantidote, and what that means they know but too well who have to spend the whole year in the plains, instead of flitting to the Hills during the hot months, with Governors and heads of departments of all kinds.

It is a sad but yet certain fact that a good many more Europeans and East Indians find their way into jail than used to be the case. For their imprisonment, apart from natives, there ought to be a prison in some part of the country, where labor in the open air is possible, and where the climate will not add terribly to the actual punishment awarded by the law for four years' rigorous imprisonment in any of the jails of the North-Western Provinces is what no European constitution can stand without serious, perhaps permanent, injury to it. It is perfectly just and right to deprive the criminal of his liberty, or even of his life; but as nothing can justify the use of torture for the latter purpose, so also it is most necessary that in the infliction of the former punishment no injury should be done to the healthy condition of a man's mind or body, such as would render his after-life miserable, and incapacitate him for honest exertion. Not humanity only but justice also revolts against the idea of the penalty of imprisonment which the law awards being turned, by the mode in which it is inflicted, into a far more terrible punishment. In the name, therefore, both of humanity and of justice, do we urge on the Government the speedy settlement of this matter, by the erection on the lower Himalayas, or on one of the higher plateaux of the Central India table-land, of a prison for European and Eurasian criminals, where they can receive the punishment the law inflicts on them without addition to its penalties; where their imprisonment can be utilized, which cannot under present arrangements be fully done; and where their moral and religious improvement can be effectually provided for by being entrusted to proper control.

Miss Carpenter's recent visit to India has drawn attention at Home to the state of its jails, and the necessity for their improvement. We do not know what may have been the condition of those which she saw in the Western Presidency, nor are we acquainted with the state of those in Bengal; but from personal knowledge of two of the largest prisons in the North-Western Provinces, we can affirm that there is little room for improvement in their condition and management, beyond such as can be obtained by having better native agency. As regards cleanliness and sanitation, they might serve as models to many a European cantonment.

## THE MOGHUL EMPIRE.

ART. VII.—*The Moghul Empire—From the death of Aurungzeb to the overthrow of the Mahratta Power.* By Henry George Keene, of the Bengal Civil Service.

**T**HERE is an old Hindoo legend to the following effect: A Brahmin, strongly inclined to dispute the correctness of the conclusions to which his astrological calculations led him, determined to falsify, if possible, the declarations of the stars. Accordingly, choosing for his experiment a day on which they looked auspicious, he resolved to defeat their favorable predictions in respect to himself by doing what must entail on him disgrace and injury. On such a day he presented himself, as usual, before his master, a Rajah, and was asked to accompany His Highness in a ride on an elephant. This he did; but while they were on their ride, he suddenly rose from his seat and struck his master's turban off the royal head. To his own astonishment, the fallen turban was seen to contain a small green snake of the most venomous type, and the Brahmin was hailed in consequence as the preserver of his master's life.

Not content with this proof of the prescience and power of the stars, he waited until the Rajah sat on his musnud in his cutcherry, when, in the presence of the attendant amlah and assembled officers and people, the Brahmin rushed into Court, seized the Rajah by the feet, and dragged him from his seat; but, wonderful to relate, only in time to save his life, for the very next moment the roof of the apartment fell in, and crushed the throne beneath its ruins. Instead of bringing calamity on himself, the Brahmin only earned rewards and honor. Thus were the stars vindicated, and the Brahmin benefited in spite of himself.

These fanciful legends have more than once struck us as illustrating, or shall we say, dimly adumbrating, a real principle more truly romantic than all romance, and more poetic than any product of fancy. We refer to the agency of that beneficent purpose which underlies all human affairs, which brings good out of evil, and blesses man in spite of himself. So far from this agency being a fancy, it seems to us that the hypothesis of its existence is the only light in which human history can be read so as to be comprehended. That whatever occurs works good, is not

only the sole and real justification of its having been permitted, but also the reason which explains its existence, and renders its nature intelligible. Just as a man, no matter what his conduct may have been, can never be said to be understood until the good that is in him is cognized, and the divine idea which is the inner law of his being, recognised; even so are events, whether single events or those aggregates and concatenations of occurrences which form the materials of history, intelligible only as the good they work is understood, and their influence determined, as contributing to human progress and the development of man's true nature.

It is in the light of this idea that we wish to consider the subject of this paper, *viz.*; the Moghul Empire in India, or rather the more general one of the Mahomedan Power in India. It may not be easy to detect the beneficial influences of a power so fitfully put forth, and so capriciously exercised, as that of the Mahomedan conquerors of India; yet we presume that their influence, on the whole, could not but have been beneficial: for it is not to be supposed that Providence would have granted such success, and for so long a time, to these invaders, were their presence in India not designed to serve an important and useful purpose. Reckoning from the first invasion of India by Mahmood of Ghizni, A. D. 1000, to the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, we have a period of about 700 years, during which Mahomedan influence operated in Hindoostan Proper; and assuming that so large a branch of the family of man, to say nothing of countries outside of India, could not have been delivered over to foreign rulers, however much suffering such a state would involve, unless the good effected counterbalanced the evil, we shall endeavour to point to a few of the tendencies for good in the contact of the Mussulman with the Hindoo civilization of this country.

The Hindoos had a civilization. The essential idea of civilization, *viz.*, *life in a city*, as distinguished from either living by the chase, or a nomadic life; in other words, an orderly assortment of fixed habitations as opposed to wigwams or tents, involving a settled life, regular habits, and stated occupations, a social organization and the industrial arts,—the essential idea, we say, of civilization, was realized by the Hindoos from ancient times, as we have proof to go no further, in such cities as Gya, Benares, and Jyepore.

But it was an effete civilization, which seems to have crystallized and lost its vitality. Among other hindrances to social

progress, perhaps the greatest was *caste*. For what was caste? It was sectarianism in its worst form, *viz.*, *hereditary* sectarianism. It clove the social fabric, not only, so to speak, breadthways, but, as it were, lengthways, the lines of cleavage dividing class from class, not only in one generation, but in successive generations. It is hard for a European fully to realize the disastrous and blighting effects of caste. Even in India itself, where its monstrous features are still discernible, now that they are slowly fading away before the light of a higher wisdom, we can scarcely at this day estimate what its effects were upon Hindoo society before the rough hand of their Mahomedan conquerors shook the social fabric to its centre. Imagine how hopeless it must have been for the arts of life to advance when each class was confined for ages to one particular kind of employment. What must have been the darkness and misery among a people who not only regarded learning as the exclusive privilege of a sacerdotal tribe, but consigned to hell the Brahmin who explained the law to a Sudra? Anything, one would be ready to exclaim, anything almost would be a blessing, which could break up such a system as this! However practicable it might be for individual efforts working *from within*, to remould or renovate such a social organization, it could only be practicable up to a certain stage. After that stage was passed, that is to say, when the rust of ages had gathered round it, and an incrustation of habits and customs had formed in the outer life, rendering it impossible for vital force to develop itself from within, nothing could avail but external power. This power came in the shape of foreign invasion and subjugation. It came in the way of rude shocks and harsh measures, for nothing else would serve the purpose. Iconoclasm and the barbarous alternatives of the capitation tax or the sword, on failure to embrace Mahomedanism, were employed to do a work which milder and more Christian expedients could not have achieved. To cauterize and amputate are operations powerless for direct and positive good; but they are absolutely indispensable for the removal of evils which stand in the way of healthful influences. The rubbish of ages must be cleared, and the springs laid bare, ere the pure water can well upwards. The great barriers which separate class from class, and hinder the mutual play of sympathies and that community of interest which is the necessary condition of social progress, must be broken down ere

"Man to man the world o'er  
 "Shall brothers be."



And strange as it may seem, and howsoever foreign to the intentions of the actual agents in the work, this was in a measure effected by Mahomedanism.

The tendency of Mahomedanism to remove caste\* as a barrier to social progress, was truly though dimly perceived by Mr. James Mill. "The principal portion of the manners of the Hindoos," he says,† "was founded upon the cruel and pernicious distinctions of castes. A system of manners, proceeding, like that of the Mahomedans, upon the supposition of the natural equality of mankind, constituted such a difference in behalf of all that is good for human nature, as it is hardly possible to value too high."

Now here, notwithstanding the depreciatory comments of his editor, Mr. Wilson, we do not think that Mr. Mill has stated the case either too ill for the Hindoo system or too well for Mahomedanism. Mr. Wilson thinks that the effects of caste have been "exceedingly exaggerated," and that the condition of the *Sudras*, or the servants and laborers among the Hindoos, was "infinitely preferable to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the Feudal systems."

We have not the space to go into the subject, and it would lead us out of our track; but we think there are two peculiarities in the system of caste which must secure for it the palm in any comparison as to iniquity, cruelty, and monstrosity. First and foremost, it claimed *religious sanction*. We are not aware that the distinction between the Norman baron and his vassal, and the Roman or Greek and his slave, was ever reckoned to be more than a *civil distinction*. But the difference between the Brahmin and Sudra was the difference between sacred and profane, holy and impure. It was not a disparity existing in spite of religion, but had its very origin in heaven, and its roots in the religious consciousness, while all its sanctions were spiritual and eternal. The Sudras were but men, while the Brahmins were gods, or even more powerful than the gods, whom they subjected by means of their

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\* While we are writing, the bill to legalize Brahma marriages is being debated in Council, and we read that the "British Indian Association object that different castes would intermarry." Without dwelling on the discreditable character of the argument, as though such a result could be any objection, and was not rather the reason why philanthropists should uphold the Bill, we would only point to the illustration afforded by the argument, of the obstructive and hostile nature of caste as regards real reform and true progress.

† Mill's History of British India, book iii., chap. v., sec. 6.

*muntras*. The Brahmins were, and are to this day, objects of *worship* with the Sudra, who considers it an honor to drink the washings of the Brahmin's feet. And *secondly*, the distinction, as already observed, was hereditary. The Sudra was not reckoned a man of a lower order from the accident of position, or the circumstance of poverty, or the chances of war: he was inferior by reason of his nature and origin. His degraded condition was written in the constitution of his being. No change in his outward situation or surroundings could make him equal to either of the races above him: he was essentially inferior to them all, and must remain so to his latest posterity.

Let us not lightly esteem the influence of the Mahomedan doctrine of the natural equality of men, which broke in upon this system of opinions, or fail to appreciate the value and importance of a principle which struck at the root of the Upas-tree of caste. It is true, as observed by Professor Wilson, that the Mahomedan doctrine of natural equality did not prevent their permitting slavery; but then the ban of slavery was not reckoned a natural and perpetual disability. No *race*, as such, was doomed for ever to slavery; and no civil or religious office, not the highest, was closed against any one on the ground of servile blood.

But the crystallized condition of the Hindoo social system cannot be clearly perceived without looking at what lies even within the sectarianism of caste. There is a kernel which contains the essence of all that is selfish and narrow in the race distinction: we refer to the institution known as the *Joint Hindoo Family*. From the interiority of its position its influence could hardly be discerned by distant observers like Mr. Mill. If the great distinction of castes separated race from race, or tribe from tribe, the domestic institution to which we now refer segregated households. If the former impaired the vitality of the great arteries of the social system, the latter enfeebled the smaller blood-vessels. It did more. Not merely did it segregate one family from others, and thus hinder inter-communication of sympathies and interests among different families; it paralysed energy in single members of the same family. It emasculated individualism. The joint Hindoo family is in its very nature an *incubus* on individual effort; it fetters free action, interferes with personal responsibility, and is a deadly foe to that manly independence of character which the Natives of India need so much more than many others. Its influence is most painfully felt even at this time of day among the educated

youth of Bengal, to whom it is *the* greatest hindrance in the path of progress, or, more correctly, in the exodus from their bondage.

Now, we do not by any means say that the Mahomedan rule extinguished this institution ; for, alas ! it exists to the present hour. Indeed, to have extinguished it in the summary manner which marked most of the proceedings of the Mahomedan invaders, would have been to disorganize society and produce anarchy and ruin. The social fabric of Hindooism could not have survived the summary extinction of the joint Hindoo family, which was its chief corner-stone. The growth of ages could not be plucked up without the fall of the tree with whose fibres and very roots it was inter-twined. Nor did the Moslem governments attempt its destruction by direct effort. On the contrary, the laws of inheritance and succession, which were its safeguards, were not interfered with. The Hindoo subjects of the Mahomedan rulers enjoyed the administration of their own laws—those of Munoo, in matters of inheritance ; and the succession and concretion, known as the Hindoo family, was allowed to hold together around the joint Hindoo property.

Notwithstanding this, however, the introduction of another system, of different laws of marriage and succession, side by side with the civil institutes of Munoo, could not have been without its influence. A Banian-tree could not be successfully planted alongside an Upas-tree without impairing the vitality of the latter. Let us glance at the fundamental difference between the systems.

“Anciently,” says the author of the *Vyavastha Durpana*, or Digest of Hindoo Law, “the doctrine of the law was that a father could not make a gift or other disposition of such (real) property without the consent of his sons.” And this was not confined to ancestral property which had come down to the father, but applied equally to “immovables and bipeds acquired by him, which could be neither given nor sold without the consent of the sons.

The Mahomedan law, on the other hand, while recognizing the rights of heirs, allowed, for legacies without consent of heirs, a *full third* of what remained after paying funeral expenses and debts ; and even their notion of the right of inheritance was, that it was founded not only on kindredship and marriage, but also on friendship. (Baillie's *Moochummedan Law*, B. XI., *Furais or Inheritance*.) Here we see that the tendency to keep a family indissolubly united by preventing alienation of real

property is counteracted by the scope allowed for legacies and the claims of friendship.

Again, in the matter of marriage, Mahomedan notions ran counter to Hindoo institutions. With the latter it was, and is, a sacrament. Though called also a civil contract, the female at least is no party to the contract, which is an affair between parents and guardians. With the Mahomedan it is purely a civil contract, in which the right of the woman over her own person is fully recognized. Though Mahomedanism is not the quarter in which we can hopefully seek information about the rights of women, yet it certainly regards the woman as a contracting party in the matter of marriage. Her "acceptance" is as necessary "a pillar" as is the man's "declaration;" and she has even the power of selection. It is not difficult to see how immeasurably this is in advance of a system in which the betrothed girl is devoted, wholly irrespective of her will, to be the sacramental slave of some man *for ever*.

Again, the practical recognition of the worth of the woman by the grant of *dower* distinguishes Mahomedan marriage in a marked manner from the holy servitude of the Hindoos. As explained in Baillie's *Mohammedan Law*, dower is "not the exchange or consideration given by the man to the woman for entering into the contract, but an effect of the contract imposed by the law on the husband as a token of respect for its subject,—the woman." Here the law *imposes* on the husband *respect for his wife*, and that in the most practical of shapes,—a money-payment, the right to enforce which is neither ignored nor left in abeyance by Mahomedan women. Indeed, as against her husband, or even his estate in case of his death, the right is constantly wielded with great effect, and it exhibits the position of Mahomedan women in contrast to that of Hindoo wives, in a way so much to the advantage of the former as hardly to need comment.

We need do little more than advert to the well-known difference in the case of widows. Wholly unlike the Hindoo widow, the Mahomedan widow has as much right to marry again as the widower.

These and the like tendencies in Mahomedan law could not but have borne adversely on Hindoo domestic and social institutions. Their spirit and scope are so much at variance with the joint Hindoo family and all the roots and branches of that unique institution, that the latter could hardly flourish in an atmosphere of opinion which sustained the life of the former,

But in estimating the influence of Mahomedan law upon the Hindoos, whom the invaders found in the country, we must by no means confine our view to the indirect influence of opinion or example. We must not suppose that because Mahomedan law was administered to Mahomedans alone, the limits of Hindoo society were therefore not infringed. We must not forget that hand in hand with civil toleration went religious intolerance and *forcible conversions*. The area of Mahomedanism was not limited to the foreign invaders and their descendants; nor did the word "iconoclasm" express the measure of Mahomedan intolerance. The caste of Hindoos used to be broken whenever the Mahomedan rulers had a fit of religiousness; and once broken, it could not be repaired. The means, too, of doing so were easy,—the forcible introduction of pork into the esophagus is well known to have been the approved method. To destroy the caste of a Hindoo was to make him a Mahomedan; even as is very much the case at the present day in respect to the creed of the existing rulers, distinguish as we may between nominal and real Christianity. To make a man a Mahomedan was no difficult process; circumcision and "*kulma purhana*" were the sum of the operations; and after a Hindoo had become an outcast and unclean as regards the religion of his fathers, he had no alternative but to embrace that of the dominant class. Aggressiveness<sup>t</sup>s, which is the very life of Islamism, here came into contact with a system so utterly inelastic as not even to contemplate expansion. Every proselyte to the ranks of Mahomedanism was a gain for ever, while Hindooism admitted of no proselytism whatever. To its flexible philosophy, what a man believed was true for him: other religions were true for other races, and Hindooism was for the children of Brahma. In the way of proselytism, Hindooism had nothing to win but every thing to lose, and it could not recover ground once lost. Accordingly, in estimating the influence of Mahomedan law in India, we are bound to consider the converts from the ranks of the old religion, who must, from the causes assigned, have been very numerous.

As to the extent of these conversions, we have very little, if any, information in works which treat of Indian history. Mr. Keene, in his work, expresses his regret at the scantiness of his sources of information as to the condition of the people. "It 'has been already mentioned,' he says, 'that there is little or nothing recorded of the condition of the country or of the people by native historians. It must not, however, be thought

“ that I am satisfied with recording the mere dates of battles or the biographies of great men. On the contrary, the absence of information upon the subject of the condition of the nation at large is a great cause of regret and disappointment to me.”

Yet we are not altogether without the means of judging of the extent to which proselytism operated. We see it in the physiognomy of the Mussulmans of India. Such of them as are pure or mixed descendants of the Arabs, Moghuls, or Afghans, exhibit it unmistakeably in their physiognomy, which is in a marked and striking way different from that of the Hindoos. That mixture of blood took place to a large extent, may be fairly inferred from the well-known tendencies of the Mahomedan invaders, and the scope allowed to the true believer, for polygamy and concubinage. And the traditions of the people, as well as the seclusion in which the Hindoos keep their females—a seclusion which is said not to have existed in times prior to Mahomedan rule—bear testimony to the vivid recollection which the Hindoos have of the unscrupulousness of their former conquerors. And all miscegenation (to use a term of American coinage) was always loss to the Hindoo and clear gain to Islamism. While intermixture is undoubtedly the true explanation of the dusky complexion and altered features of tens of thousands of the Mussulmans in India, there is also another remarkable fact which to our thinking bears decisive testimony to the Hindoo origin of entire tribes and communities of Indian Mussulmans. We refer to the remains among them of caste.

This is quite a peculiarity of the Indian Mussulmans. It was not, as far as we are aware, derived from the Arabs, Persians, Moghuls, or Afghans, who over-ran Hindoostan; nor does it now exist among such of the pure descendants of those races as are domiciled in this country. The Sheikhs, and the Meers, and the Begs, and the Khans, do not scruple to eat any food touched by unbelievers (pork, ham, and turtle always excepted), or to eat at the same board with infidels. But the lower orders of Mussulmans, the *plebs*, or the *grex* or the *ignobile vulgus*—to use any of the classically vulgar epithets which the masses sometimes receive from the upper ten thousand—the classes who look to the Nawabs and Omraos as foreigners almost as much as the Hindoos do, have still the lingering relics of caste. Though they may eat fruit and raw vegetables touched by *kafirs*, they are defiled if they eat *cooked* food, after it has come into contact with the unbeliever. And this is true not only in respect to the Mofussil, but to the large cities which are

the centres of Mahomedan influence. Even in Delhi and Lucknow, the lower orders hold to caste to the above extent.

This remarkable feature, while it illustrates the tenacity with which caste distinctions cling to races, indicates most distinctly the Hindoo origin of the Mussulmans among whom they obtain. And we should not perhaps be far wrong in concluding that proselytism to Mahomedanism, or rather the extension of Islamism among the Hindoos, whether by miscegenation or forcible conversion, was effected on a very considerable scale, comprising indeed the bulk of the Mussulmans on this side the Sutlege.

There was one peculiarity in Mahomedanism which indicated its belonging to a more advanced stage than Judaism, and which is not commonly insisted on. We mean its contempt for distinctions of race. The very constitution of Israel was built on this distinction. The covenant with the nation was made between God and the seed of Abraham. One race was selected from other races, and fenced round with blessings and privileges to which other nations were not admissible save by slow degrees and in the course of ages. And this gradual and progressive development of a more liberal spirit was the slow and sure extinction of the life of Judaism. When the seed of Abraham came to be regarded in a spiritual sense, including those only, without distinction of nationality, who had the *faith* of the Patriarch, the death-knell of the old religion had been rung. But Islamism, on the other hand, started just where Judaism stopped. Its watch-word from the outset was *faith*; the very term Mussulman meaning a believer. It set out ignoring differences which were merely national or local, and in its very spirit of proselytism enunciated a higher idea of nationality and a more liberal sentiment than that of Judaism, pure and simple.

Without saying that the Mahomedan conquerors of India had a higher civilization than the Hindoos, a question upon which we do not at present care to enter, we nevertheless think that the influx of those races into India was on the whole a benefit. However calamitous the inroads might have been, and whatever disasters may have followed in their train, and however oppressive, arbitrary, or violent the measures of the Government, the country would have been worse if the Hindoo populations had been left to themselves. If Mahomedan ascendancy was in itself an evil, we maintain it was a necessary evil. The effete energies of the natives needed to be quickened into activity. The downward tendency of all forms

of civil life, the utter stagnation of all those latent energies of mind which can live only as they move, called loudly for external agency to save the people from perishing. The social system needed fresh blood, new ideas, to enter into its circulation; in a word, a new life. What if the Moslem power came not with the appliances of a higher civilization,—education, social science, and a periodical press? The people were not yet prepared for those finer influences, and the ruder methods of Mahomedan action were the only ones by which they could be reached; while these methods served as the rougher roads which did for coaches before the world had advanced to railway cars.

If the Moslem invaders had done nothing but disturb the apathy of Hindooism, *that* would itself have been a blessing. The spirit of the people lay dormant beneath the incubus of their religious institutions; the body politic seemed to lie buried and bound in grave-clothes. To awaken the nation, however rudely, out of its lethargy, was a desirable matter. Immovability is the essence of Hindooism. Its civilization was as stationary as that of the Chinese; its religious institutions more stifened into rigidity; while it peremptorily forbade emigration. Unlike even the Paganism of Rome, which had a niche in its Pantheon for any new god of any country absorbed by the State, Hindooism had no expansiveness. It lacked all capacity for change, which is the indispensable condition of progress. Any external agency which induced a change and aroused it into action made progress possible. This much at least did Mahomedanism. But it did more. Its iconoclasm broke the toys which had kept the childish Hindoo mind from higher objects. Its contempt of race distinctions shook the foundations of Brahminical tyranny. Its violations of caste broke in upon the selfish sectarianism of the populace. Its administrative agency infused a new political life into the people. While its postal arrangements, public roads, and magnificent architecture, had a tendency to enlarge the ideas, and expand the sphere of vision of the narrow-minded and short-sighted Hindoo. One illustration of the liberalizing tendency of Mahomedan ascendancy over the Hindoo mind will be found in the new language it introduced—we mean the *Oordoo*. It opened up a highway for intercourse between all classes of the community, and for that interchange of ideas which is so essential a means of establishing good fellowship between them.

Of this language Mr. Keene gives us the following brief account:—



"The language of Hindoostan, called *Oordoo* or *Rekhta*, was, and still is, so far common to the whole country, that it everywhere consists of a mixture of the same elements, though in varying proportions; and follows the same grammatical rules, though with different accents and idioms. The constituent parts are the Arabised Persian and the Sanskrit in combination with a ruder basis, possibly of Scythian origin, known as Hindee.\* Speaking loosely, the Persian speech has contributed nouns substantive of civilization, and adjectives of compliment or of science, while the verbs and ordinary vocables and particles pertaining to common life are derived from the earlier tongues. So, likewise, are the names of animals, excepting those of beasts of chase.

"The name *Oordoo*, by which this language is generally known, is of Turkish origin, and means literally, camp. But the Moghuls of India restricted its use to the precincts of the Imperial camp; so that *Oordoo-i-mooalee* (High or Supreme Camp) came to be a synonym for new Delhi, after Shah Juhan had made it his permanent capital; and *Oordoo-ri-Zubaan* meant the *lingua franca* spoken at Delhi. It was the common method of communication between different classes, as English may have been in London under Edward III. The classical languages of Arabia and Persia were exclusively devoted to uses of state and of religion; the Hindoos cherished their Sanskrit and Hindee for their own purposes of business or worship, while the Emperor and his Moghul courtiers kept up their Turkish speech as a means of free intercourse in private life.

"Out of such elements was the rich and still growing language of Hindoostan formed, and it is yearly becoming more widely spread, being largely taught in Government schools, and used as a medium of translation from English literature both by the English and by the natives.† For this purpose it is peculiarly suited, from still possessing the power of assimilating foreign roots instead of simply inserting them cut and dried, as is the case with languages that have reached maturity. Its own words are also liable to a kind of chemical change when encountering foreign matter (e. g. *jauz*, barley; where oats were introduced some years ago, they were at once called *jameo*, little barley)."

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\* Forms of this are still spoken by the Sudras of the Deccan.

† There is a native Society for this purpose founded by Saeed Ahmed, a respected judicial officer.

Mr. Keene's work is an attempt to fill up a gap of 40 years in the history of the Moghul Empire, extending from the death of Aurungzeb to the overthrow of the Mahratta Power. Accordingly, after a rapid sketch of the period immediately preceding Aurungzeb's accession, he takes up the narrative and carries it forward to the time of General Lake. As far as it goes, the work is no doubt an useful contribution to the political history of Hindoostan Proper. Of the condition of the people, the author has not been able to tell us much, or of the state of the arts and industry, of the development of character, or the moral and social aspects of the period under survey. The book is a very readable book, and full of exciting matter. Mr. Keene writes well. But it is all about battles, political intrigues, the overthrow of one and the setting up of another. It looks as if the horizon was always obscured by clouds, and the atmosphere ever rent by storms. The calm operation of those moral forces which are the most powerful in moulding nations, cannot be seen at all: nor is any attempt made at gathering up their results, or at estimating their energy from the symptoms which appear at the surface.

Of the character of the races who people Hindoostan Proper, Mr. Keene tells us that very varying estimates have been formed, "in the most extreme opposite of which there is still some germ of truth." What this may mean exactly we are unable to say; but Mr. Keene himself thinks that "it cannot be denied that in some of what are termed the unprogressive virtues, they excelled most of the nations of Europe, being usually temperate, self-controlled, patient, dignified in misfortune, and affectionate and liberal to kinsfolk and dependents." We have no doubt this estimate is near the truth, and it is just the *unprogressive* nature of Hindoo virtue which called for action upon it *ab extra*. It was just *that*, that the Mahomedan Power had a tendency to counteract: and in breaking in upon the old system of things, and arousing the dormant energies of Hindoo life into activity, if it did nothing more, it opened the way to better results, and thus fulfilled an important mission.

## SHORT NOTICES.

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*Our Punjab Frontier.* By a Punjab Official. Lahore : September 1868.

HOWEVER trifling, to a superficial observer of events, the causes which led to the recent military promenade and display of force on our North-Western Frontier may have at the time appeared, there can no longer be any room for doubt, but that they afford the surest and most unquestionable indication of a radical and vital change, both of opinion and policy, upon what may now be considered one of the first Indian questions of the day.

The whole frontier problem being one of unusual difficulty, any attempt at its solution hitherto made has been simply tentative and empirical. The question has, from time to time, been temporized with, and its complete consideration postponed, or rather indefinitely deferred ; and it is only when the steady advance of the Russian troops from the Jaxartes to the Oxus, from the Syr Darya to the Amu Darya, in the direction of what has hitherto been considered our legitimate frontier, leaves us no farther choice, if we would avoid more serious internecine complications, that, awaking from the false security into which we had allowed ourselves to be lulled, we recognize and admit that it is time to repair our error, and to initiate a policy to which it shall be possible consistently to adhere, and which shall at least command the respect of those with whom we have to deal.

Situated as we are, therefore, the opportune appearance of this little pamphlet, replete as it is with most valuable statistics of the tribes with whom we have to deal, cannot but be hailed with satisfaction, as placing at our disposal, in a readable and unassuming form, much information which is not readily available elsewhere. Commencing with a concise account of the various tribes by which the North-West Frontier is inhabited, the writer proceeds to discuss the urgent necessity which, he asserts,

exists for immediate "reconstruction," owing to its present unprotected and unsatisfactory state.

Being himself firmly convinced of the danger threatened, and that it will not be purely local in its effect, but rather that it concerns the stability of the tenure of our whole Indian Empire, he has put the case before us with a warmth which, perhaps, somewhat detracts from the weight which the arguments he adduces in support of his views would otherwise be entitled to claim. It is natural enough that this should be the case, and that we, at this distance, should fail to be equally excited by the discussion of the question, or to be readily convinced that our liabilities can be so effectually terminated by any policy whatever which has not had a fair and reasonable trial. We cannot but recall to our recollection the fact that the recent Hazara campaign was the twenty-third of the series of expeditions necessitated by our conquest of the Punjab some eighteen years since, and the consequent advance of frontier from the Sutlej to the Indus.

Our present border of some 800 miles' frontage is still as we received it from the Seikhs, and extends in an irregular and ill-defined line along the base of the continuous and uneven mountain-chain separating the valley of the Indus from the higher Cabul lands. These mountains are inhabited by Pathans of different tribes, of whom those located on the western slopes are nominally subjects of the Cabul Government, whilst those on the eastern slopes, where the valleys open upon the valley of the Indus, *are entirely independent, both as regards allegiance and government.*

But it is urged, and, we consider, with justice, that it is the border itself which is really indefensible. All the eastern slopes of the highlands to which we have above referred, open on the valley of the Indus by passes none of which are in our possession. By a chain of some 20 forts, and some eighty smaller Military and Police Stations, garrisoned and held by a force of some 25,000 troops, regular and irregular, and about 12,000 Police both District and Village, we endeavour to keep in check the whole of the Independent Pathan tribes opposed to us, numbering, as the author shews, from 85 to 100,000 fighting men. It is true that hitherto these troops have not learned to combine against us, and that we have simply been subjected to a system of incessant border raids by distinct clans. But disunited as they at present are, and incapable as they are asserted to be, owing to internecine quarrels and class feuds, which would prevent their

joining in a common enterprize against us, we have numerous precedents for asserting they would make common cause, for the mere love of plunder and warfare, with any invading army attempting to enter from the West ; nor would the danger thus threatened be an unformidable one. These mountaineers are hardy and brave, and are trained warriors from their childhood ; they are extremely bigoted, and entirely under the influence of their priests, and are at all times ready to join in a *Zahâd*, as recent events have only too surely proved.

The Sittana disturbances are still fresh in our memory, and the avowed mission of this little body of fanatics is still our expulsion from India, and the re-establishment of the Mahomedan rule ; yet it is a well known fact that it is almost entirely recruited and fostered by Bengal itself, whence both men and money are annually provided by Mahomedan enthusiasts, who cheerfully provide such funds as are demanded, in so good a cause. The combination of the principles of crusaders with the pursuits of caterans, constitutes of itself a strong motive power ; and the agents of Russia have not, it is asserted, been idle in taking advantage of it, and availing themselves of so useful an element.

It is through the consideration of this part of the subject that we are led up, very skilfully, we must admit, by the author, to what is really the gist of his argument in favour of the reconstruction of our frontier ; and though in his pamphlet, he has separated what he has modestly termed a sketch of "*Affghanistan and our Policy*," from the body of the work, all that has preceded it has been more in the nature of an introduction, than of a separate work.

And it is undoubtedly to Affghanistan that all eyes are now turned. Already Russia, with Bokhara as her frontier, is in direct contact with the northernmost province of Cabul (*Balkh*), which was annexed in 1850 by Dost Mahommed. It is true that *Sher Ali*, his selected heir, is not in possession of *Balkh* and *Kunduz*, which as yet hold out against him under *Azim Khan* ; but the subjection of these is by no means a difficult matter, as they are incapable of a lengthened resistance ; and their possession would give to Russia the command of the route to India by Cabul ; whilst the capture of *Audkhoe* and *Maimanna* would secure that of *Balkh* to *Herat*, thus bringing Russia to what is supposed to be the great object of her ambition, the *Hindu Kush*. She would then be distant but 400 miles by road from our *Peshawur Frontier*.

It was evident from the first that the advance of Russia would have a disturbing influence ; but the rapid progress of her armies in Turkestan during the past five years, was far from being anticipated, and may therefore be said to have taken us un-awares. That her movements in Central Asia have been such as to cause serious apprehension, and a suspension of the long established policy of non-intervention ; and further, that they have sufficed to rouse us from our lethargy to the necessity for an immediate adjustment of our whole frontier policy, speaks for itself ; nor is it probable that the preparations made for the frontier campaign on so lavish a scale, were made without some ulterior object. The horizon is at the present moment unusually clouded, and other troubles are in store ; and a recent number of the *Saturday Review* has drawn attention to some very serious complications. Already Herat is threatened, and the recent occupation by Persia of Leistan is in violation of the treaty of 1857, which especially excluded her from intermeddling with, or entering, Afghanistan. Her occupation of it is thus explained :

Shere Ali, it is alleged, has promised the surrender of Herat to Persia, who, acting under Russian instigation, has given him the assistance for which he so long appealed in vain to us ; and the non-fulfilment of this promise, ratified by treaty, is pleaded as an excuse for the occupation of Leistan, which cuts off the communications of Shere Ali with Herat, it being on the direct route to Candahar. Whether Shere Ali, deterred by our recent display of force, and buoyed up by the hopes of the alliance we have now offered him, will continue to refuse the cession of Herat to Persia under the pressure of Russian and Persian influences, remains yet to be seen. The question is one, the solution of which concerns the settlement of the whole Central Asian question, and is one, therefore, in which numerous interests are involved.

We quite agree, therefore, with the author, that any action taken at the present moment, to be at all successful, must be energetic and decided, and the measures he advances have certainly much to commend them.

For the past eighteen years, we have maintained our border as we received it from Runjeet Singh : no attempt at annexation has been made. Yet throughout this time, we have submitted to being constantly harassed by the raids of these border tribes commanding the hills above us, simply retaliating by reprisals, blockades, confiscations of property, and military expeditions.

But our conciliation and forbearance are neither appreciated nor understood. The former is attributed to fear; the latter to weakness; and they are simply kept in check by the larger force which we are obliged to maintain on the frontier, and to which they manage to give infinite trouble. What is therefore recommended, is our occupation of the passes instead of the plains, of strongholds in lieu of a straggling, indefensible, and ill-defined line some 800 miles in length; and we certainly concur in thinking that every pass from the North-West into the Indus Valley should be in our keeping.

We do not go so far as to assert that Cabul, Candahar, and Herat, should be held by British garrisons; but that we should command the Khyber and Bolan passes: the former, by holding Jellalabad on the north, the latter, by occupying Quetta on the south, will soon, we are convinced, be an established necessity.

Our two most important present military posts, Peshawur and Kohat, are separated by a strip of independent and hostile territory. It is ably urged that from Jellalabad we should command Cabul and with Cabul we should control Affghanistan, of which anarchy has for centuries been the normal state.

That there must then be extraneous influences brought to bear to restore the country to a state of tranquillity is undoubted; and the race appears to be between our Government and that of Russia; and, as the writer proves, we have many advantages in our favor, of which we hazard the sacrifice by the continuance of our inactive policy.

That Russia is already in the field and stealing marches upon us, we have already acknowledged: whether we shall calmly stand by and see the fruit now ready to our hand, plucked by another, to ripen only into an inevitable cause for future strife and blood-shed, is a question which must sooner or later force itself upon our awakened attention; and that we have at last been aroused to a full consciousness of our position, is due, in no small degree, to the efforts of writers like the present, who, with no personal objects to serve, having first by their local knowledge been themselves convinced of the necessity of action, have spared no labour, have risked all chances of public ridicule of their advanced views, only to be rewarded by the adoption of them when hesitation and vacillation have ceased to be longer a possibility.

*Delhi and Other Poems.* By Charles Arthur Kelly,  
'Bengal Civil Service,' 1864.

WERE the conceptions of this little volume of poems as modest and unpretentious as its title or its exterior, we should need some apology for introducing it so late to our readers. But its aspirations as far exceed its appearance, as they ostensibly fall short, in their execution, of Mr. Kelly's original fancies.

"High souls soar ever high, for weal or woe,  
"They cannot rest, they move, they meet their fate."

Whether, to borrow from the Poet's own words, Mr. Kelly's high soarings in this little published collection of them have "met their fate," is rather a personal question as between himself and his publishers, than one in which we are interested on behalf of the general public; and no inference must be drawn from the fact of their having remained unnoticed by us for so great a length of time. We incline to the opinion that his highest aspirations are, of all others, perhaps the least happy, as we most willingly admit that there is much in many of the minor poems which is certainly deserving of praise rather than discouragement—of approval rather than criticism.

The range of subjects embraced is so vast, the scenes are shifted so quickly, that we are somewhat puzzled in selecting any salient feature in the character of the poems before us, which would serve to identify them in the minds of our readers. The treasures of history, past and present; of poetry, ancient and modern, and even of mythology, have all been ransacked, apparently without effort, to provide material for this little volume, and are touched upon in many instances so briefly and lightly, and in such rapid succession, as to leave but faint impress upon our minds of their purport, and necessarily to fail to arouse the deeper feelings of our nature, to which they are unquestionably intended to appeal.

We have heard it urged as a mark of genius that it flows only into moulds of its own making, constructing for itself the cast and shape which do most justice to the inward spirit. If there be any truth in the test, we cannot but feel that we are somewhat presumptuous in venturing to criticize a genius which has already evinced itself in the construction of moulds as innumerable as those of the thirty-one poems before us from the



pen of Mr. Kelly; but we wish to render justice, and we would not be considered unappreciative of the real merits of much of the true poetry which the book undoubtedly contains. The Poet Laureate has reason, and it is unjust for us to vex with our "shallow wit" the mind of a poet whom we are unable to fathom; but there are parts of these poems which require no fathoming: such is that which we quote from the 2nd Canto of the 1st poem on "Delhi," from which the book derives its name. The tribute to the memory of the brave Nicholson is most gracefully rendered: -

- " 'Twere long to tell, how many a weary day  
 " By Delhi's blood-stained walls the avengers lay;  
 " How some that sought to rescue found a grave;  
 " How boomed the cannon, and how fought the brave;  
 " How hearts, too great to murmur, throbbed with grief  
 " What time Death's angel bore away their chief.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 " On towards the gate of Death he pressed and fell,  
 " The proud, stern man they feared, yet loved so well;  
 " Quenched by the death-shot, lie for ever still  
 " That iron spirit and that master will,  
 " That princely heart of steel that would not yield,  
 " But, like the Spartan, died upon the shield.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 " Say not such earnest toils were borne in vain;  
 " Who wins the glory, first must feel the pain.  
 " Champion of right, the noblest aim of man,  
 " He lived, and died when vengeance led the van."

Space will not admit of our giving our readers further selections from the poem upon the Mutiny, which is as undoubtedly one of the finest as that in it the flights of the Poet's fancy are the least erratic. He is more natural, and the subject is, in itself, one the mere remembrance of which cannot fail to stir all.

The contemplation of actions, the very essence of which is such entire absorption in others that self is forgotten rather than renounced, cannot but be wholesome, and the Poet has treated the deeds of Havelock and Nicholson in a manner worthy of his subject. The Mutiny, undoubtedly, called forth innumerable and glorious instances of the most noble self-devotion; and what is more worthy of being chronicled or sung than such deeds, performed by men actuated by no selfish desire for fame, honours, or wealth, but simply by a sincere and simple love of duty?

There is a certain element in many scenes of woe and violence accounting for our interest in them, making the eye gleam and heart throb, bearing us through details of suffering and bloodshed, causing our spirits to feel elevated and moved by the courage and endurance called forth. These are fitting themes for a poet, a title to which Mr. Kelly may justly lay claim in this poem; and the recital of such soul-stirring deeds, giving life and glory to ordinarily bare records of events, cannot but tend to foster both heroism and self devotion. Our criticisms of some of Mr. Kelly's other poems must, therefore, be considered rather friendly than hostile; and if he accepts our advice in the spirit in which it is tendered, and will restrain the perennial flights of his muse, we have no doubt of being able to accord a less qualified meed of approbation to any future poetical aspirations which he may submit to our judgment.

Although we have no evidence before us of the time at which these poems were written, there are many of them which bear trace of improvements on "The World's Martyrs," also from Mr. Kelly's pen; and it cannot but be considered extremely creditable to him that he should find time from his other duties to devote to such great literary labour; the more so that he writes best when he writes most freely, and is most himself. This he is not in "Marathon" particularly; and, with another reviewer, we may be pardoned if we say, that we like

"Kelly neat, better than Macaulay and water."

*Sur Une Nouvelle Methode pour determiner en Mer l'Heure et la Longitude, par M. C. de Littrow, Vienna, 1868.*

SINCE the days when the quadrant first found a place amidst the ordinary appliances of Navigation, and the determination of the Latitude by a meridional observation of the sun became an every-day incident in sea-life, some easy, but at the same time trustworthy, method of ascertaining Longitude astronomically has been sought for, and sought in vain.

One of the latest contributions to the literature of the subject is now before us, in the shape of a pamphlet, from the pen of M. Charles de Littrow, Director of the Imperial Observa-

ry at Vienna, calling attention to a method of determining Longitude proposed by the author a good many years ago, and subsequently employed successfully on board the *Novara* in her voyage round the world.

M. de Littrow's style is somewhat prolix and tedious, and his pamphlet (which contains numerous examples from the *Novara's* log) is, we fear, little suited to arrest the attention of practical men; but his method appears simple enough in itself, and might doubtless be advantageously resorted to on many occasions, provided its use were restricted to suitable Latitudes, *i. e.*, those within  $30^{\circ}$  of the Equator. It was suggested more than a quarter of a century since, he states, in the course of a sea-voyage, by *three* considerations:—*First*,—That it would be very desirable to devise some method for determining the Longitude as nearly as possible *simultaneously* with the Latitude of a ship's position, inasmuch as when these observations are taken separately, we have to take into account the distance run in the interval, which is often a cause of inaccuracy. *Secondly*,—That as the ordinary method of calculating the Latitude by taking altitude of the sun when on the meridian is the most simple as well as the most exact yet known, it would be advisable that the observation of the Longitude should be also made about the same period of the day. *Thirdly*,—That any method which would enable the seaman to observe Longitude with the same ease, despatch, and frequency as Latitude, would be a valuable contribution to Nautical Science.

These results he proposes to obtain in the following manner:—

The Latitude is determined in the ordinary way by a meridional altitude of the sun.

To find the Longitude, we take two other altitudes (of the sun) in the neighbourhood of the meridian. These altitudes, (of which several pairs should be observed, and the mean taken when accuracy is sought) may be on the *same side* of the meridian, in which case there should be an interval of at least 15 minutes between them, or, on *opposite sides*, whether at equal intervals or not, matters little. Then  $z$  and  $z'$  being the zenith distances thus obtained (the difference between each altitude and  $90^{\circ}$ ), and assuming that  $s$  and  $s'$  represent the horary angles corresponding to the times of observation,  $p$  the polar distance, and  $\lambda$  the Latitude, observed as above,

the *time* and consequently the *Longitude* may be readily ascertained by the equation,

$$\frac{s + s'}{2} = \frac{z' - z}{s' - s} \cdot \frac{\sin. \frac{1}{2} (z' + z)}{\sin. p. \cos. \lambda} *$$

The corrections required on account of parallax, refraction, sun's semi-diameter, &c., will, of course, be the same in both calculations.

Neither is the utility of the method confined to the determination of the Latitude and Longitude only; the variation of the compass may be ascertained by its aid as well. If *d* represent the variation sought, and *p* and *p'* the bearings of the luminary at the moment of observing each altitude, then

$$d = \frac{1}{2} (p + p') - \frac{1}{2} (s' + s) \cdot \frac{\sin. p.}{\sin. \frac{1}{2} (z' + z)}$$

We have thus Latitude, Longitude, and Compass variation determined at once by means of simple formulæ, which in the present day *ought* most assuredly to be within the capacity of every one pretending to any proficiency in the Science of Navigation.

We have now to consider the degree of confidence which may be placed in results thus obtained. It appears that the trials made at the Imperial Observatory at *Venice*, some years back, showed a maximum error of observation of 12 seconds—the error in ordinary cases not exceeding 4 or 5 seconds. These observations, however, were made on land. Allowing an error of 30 seconds in each altitude, M. de Litrow thus estimates the *possible error* in the time as determined by *one pair* of altitudes, in the Winter Solstice:—In Latitude 10°, two and a half minutes of the arc or nautical miles; in Latitude 20°, three minutes; Latitude 30°, three and three-quarters; Latitude 40°, few minutes—results unquestionably far more accurate than those attainable by any process of 'dead reckoning.'

To the seaman, however, the most conclusive testimony to the value of the method, *when suitably employed*, will proba-

\* This equation stands properly thus—

$$\frac{s + s'}{2} = \frac{\sin. (z' - z)}{\sin. s' - s} \cdot \frac{\sin. \frac{1}{2} (z' + z)}{\sin. p. \cos. \lambda}$$

The simpler form may, however, be substituted without affecting the accuracy of the result.

bly be the observations of Captain (now Vice Admiral) Baron Von Wüllerstorff, the accomplished Commander of the *Novara*, which are given as follows:—

“La methode en question fournit des resultats assez satisfaisants, surtout sous les Latitudes peu elevées. Dans le cours du voyage la meme methode a été encore employée avec succès dans des conditions favorables, et pendant l’ete, sous des latitudes de 43° et au dessus.” (Narrative Novara’s Voyage, 16 Oct. 1858.) And again in a letter to M. de Littrow:—  
 “La methode pour la détermination de la longitude nous a rendu de bons services et était si bien à l’ordre du jour qu’elle avait re-ellement pris place parmi nos occupations courantes. Je ne crois me tromper en disant que, surtout dans la seconde partie de notre voyage, elle a été employée presque journellement et au moins aussi souvent que la methode des angles horaires mesurés pres. du premier vertical.” He adds:—  
 “Par une mer tres-agitée les limites de l’exactitude de la methode deviennent naturellement plus larges que l’on ne desirerait, mais toutes les autres en souffrant d’autant plus que la reduction necessaire pour ramener au meme instant la longitude et la latitude devient plus incertaine.”

These opinions, be it observed, were pronounced after frequent opportunities of comparing the results thus obtained with those afforded by more exact methods of observation, such as would be out of place in the course of an ordinary voyage.

We trust some public-spirited mariner may be induced to give the method a further trial, and to put forward the results of his experience in a form better adapted to the wants and capacities of the sea-faring world.

*The Authority, Commission, Ordinances, and Perpetual Presence of Christ in His Church: A Course of Lectures preached in St. Paul’s Cathedral, Calcutta, on the Wednesday evenings of June 1867. By J. H. Pratt, M. A., Archdeacon of Calcutta. Published by request.*

*A reply to the above, re-printed from the “Indo-European Correspondence.”*

IT is not customary with us to discuss religious controversial publications, even when expressly forwarded for review, as in the present instance; and if, on this occasion, the great

interest which the subject of the pamphlets at the head of this notice, and the great esteem in which the author of the first is held, induce us to depart from the custom, we must confine ourselves to giving some account of them, and letting them speak for themselves, instead of expressing any editorial opinion on the merits of the questions discussed.

Archdeacon Pratt's lectures derive great additional interest from the fact that they were evidently designed to controvert the views of what it is customary to call the Ritualistic party, which is supposed to be looked upon with more or less favour at St. Paul's Cathedral. The weight which anything which comes from his pen must carry with it, led no doubt to the request to which the separate publication of these lectures is due.

The subject of the lectures is sufficiently explained in the title, and they consist of an analysis of the concluding words of St. Matthew's Gospel:—

*“ And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach [or, as it is more correctly translated in the margin, make disciples of] all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.”*

In the course of this analysis, the Archdeacon brings under review the leading controverted questions of the day. The following passage contains his argument against the Baptists:—

“ St. Mark's language is not to be taken to be the counterpart of St. Matthew's report of our Lord's words. The two have nothing sufficiently in common. But what St. Mark relates must have been *in addition* to what St. Matthew reports our Lord to have said. What St. Mark relates to, refers to preaching the Gospel, and the reception that preaching would meet with, and the consequences of its being received or rejected. Infants can neither reject nor receive the Word preached, and therefore their case is not considered in St. Mark's words. “ And Jesus said unto them, Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel. He that believeth and is baptized (i. e., according to the commission already given) shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned” (xvi., 15, 16). To infer from this, that because infants cannot believe, therefore they are not to be baptized, is very bad logic: for it is precisely the

same as arguing, that when St. Paul laid down the injunction to the Thessalonians, that "if any would not work, neither should he eat" (2 Thes. iii. 10), he would have them starve their infants; for it was clear they could not work, and therefore they ought not to eat. The answer is, that the Apostle is evidently speaking only of those who were *capable* of working but who would not work. So in the words which St. Mark quotes from our Lord's lips, our Lord is speaking of those who were capable of understanding the preaching of the Gospel, and declaring the fearful consequences of rejecting it, and the unspeakable blessing of embracing it.

This passage of St. Mark is the stronghold of the Baptists, who say that infants ought not to be baptized because they cannot believe. But you see it is one from which they can easily be dislodged. The condition of believing is nowhere laid down as necessary to baptism, except among those who are capable of believing, *viz.*, adults. Teaching after baptism is in all cases necessary, according to our Lord's commission. And, therefore, to baptize heathen children, who are not transferred to the bosom of the Christian Church to be nurtured and brought up in the Christian faith, would be contrary to our Lord's injunction. But to baptize and bring up the children of the faithful, is acting according to the principle which the Almighty laid down as far back as the days of Abraham, and is according to the practice of the Church from the very commencement of Christianity. And they incur a great responsibility who shut out their children from the blessing which must follow the right use of this holy ordinance."

The subject of a Christian Ministry and of Episcopacy is also of sufficient interest to justify a long extract:—

"So that it is plain that our Lord appointed a standing Ministry, and His Apostles, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, carried on the command of Christ in ordaining others also, and instructing them to do the same. How, therefore, the Plymouth-Brethren, Quakers, and others, can deny that the Christian Ministry is a Divine ordinance, it is impossible to see. The Disciples brought into the Church were to be taught to reverence this institution, and to observe what it required.

In the Preface to our Ordinal it is said, that it is evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been three orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and

**Deacons.** At the time of the Reformation, the Church of England was highly favoured by that movement commencing with the Bishops, of whom there were just enough among the reformers to carry on the Episcopal order in our reformed Church. This was not the case on the Continent. No Romish Bishops there joined the mighty movement which Luther was the honoured instrument of creating. The alternative with the Continental reformers was, whether those on whose hearts the light of Divine Truth had dawned should continue under the blind and erroneous teaching of the Romish hierarchy, or seek for teachers and ministers of their own, men of God, mighty in the Scriptures. Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin, were all most anxious to preserve Episcopacy: but they could not get it. And therefore, under this necessity, and finding that there is no absolute command in the Scriptures that none other but the Episcopal form would be tolerated, they adopted the Presbyterian form of Church government, according to which their ministers are ordained by their brother ministers of the same order, no one of whom has the pre-eminence which the Bishop has. Authority was communicated from minister to minister, no one of whom was of a higher order than his brethren. It was not denied that the Episcopal form of government is in the Scriptures, but they denied that that form is exclusively laid down. And such men as Bishop Hall, who was a man that imbibed the spirit of our blessed reformers, used to say, as he did, that Episcopacy was necessary, not to the being, but to the well-being, of a Church. In our Ordination service, most happily, we combine both; for in the ordination of priests, the priests present lay on their hands, in conjunction with the Bishop: so that our ordination is both Episcopal and Presbyterian,—a practice which is strictly Apostolical; for St. Paul reminds Timothy, in one place, of the gift which was in him by the laying on of his (the Apostle's) hands (2 Timothy i. 6); and in another, "of the hands of the Presbytery (1 Timothy iv. 14)."

This passage shews that though Archdeacon Pratt does not consider Episcopacy as *necessary*, he holds to a certain extent the doctrine of Apostolical succession, that is, that Episcopal ordination by any except a validly ordained Bishop is invalid; otherwise the Continental reformers could not have been placed in the dilemma which he refers to.

We have not space to quote all the passages in which the



doctrines of the High Church party, from which Archdeacon Pratt dissents, are discussed; but the most important is that in which he argues that the only evidence which may be used in proof of any doctrine is the inspired Scripture.

"Preach the *Word*." "A dispensation is given me fully to preach the *Word*." Let me ask, *what Word?* and I reply, the commandments and sayings of our Lord, which he had taught the Apostles, and St. Paul in particular, by direct revelation; also the comments on those commandments and sayings, which the Holy Ghost gave when He came and illuminated the minds of the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, and which the Apostles committed to writing in the Scriptures of the New Testament, for our benefit, to be our rule of faith and practice.

"The Church of Rome exalts tradition to a joint-rule with Holy Scripture, and speaks of the written and also of the unwritten Word of God." And it supports this notion by saying that people were instructed orally by the Church for several years after the Ascension, before there was any written gospel or epistle; that no book of the New Testament was written for fifteen years after that event; and that the teaching of the Church precedes the teaching of the writings of the New Testament. Yes, I reply; but this was during the lives of the Apostles, the inspired Apostles, who had the Churches and the word preached to them under their eye and their guardianship. Every one of the books of the New Testament was written before the last of the Apostles (St. John) departed to his rest; he indeed having written the last book in the collection, and also, about sixty years after the Ascension, the last-written of the whole, *viz.*, his Gospel. In less than forty years after his death, the books, which had been read and used in the several Churches, had been gathered into one volume, which we call the New Testament; the Canon of Scripture *having been carefullj fixed on this principle*, that not only forgeries, but all books, however excellent, were to be excluded, which were not written by an inspired Apostle ~~or~~ under the eye of an inspired Apostle, as was the case with the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles. This principle, then, by which the primitive Church fixed the Canon of Scripture, answers for us at once this question—*Was the teaching of the Church after the death of the inspired Apostles, except in as far as it was derived from Holy Scripture, regarded as of Divine authority, as co*

ordinate with that of Scripture? And the answer, which the facts given above reply, is distinctly, no. In fixing the Canon, this was to be the criterion of what should be admitted and what not—Was there any decisive evidence that the book was Apostolic? If not, whatever its contents, it was rejected. This shows beyond all controversy that the primitive Church, on the death of the Apostles, took nothing as a rule of faith and practice which had not been committed to writing by them or by others under their eye. Much less, then, can we admit the co-ordinate authority of tradition in later times.”

The second pamphlet at the head of this notice devotes, a large space to replying to this argument, and we think we do it full justice by giving an extract on that subject. After quoting in full from Archdeacon Pratt's pamphlet the passage which we have just given, the writer says:—

“The assertion that the facts stated show the point at issue ‘beyond all controversy,’ is surely astounding! What they do show beyond all controversy is precisely the opposite. But let us proceed systematically to distinguish carefully the different questions involved.

“Two distinct things are necessary, as regards the ‘Word’ to be preached:—*First*, what is it? *Second*, How, when found, is it to be interpreted? The second, which is far the most important, Archdeacon Pratt entirely passes over.

“To have touched upon it, would have brought him face to face with the difficulty we have pointed out before: that if, as he says, the Christian Ministry were to make disciples of all nations, evidently it is they who must be the authoritative interpreters of the Word in which these disciples were to be instructed. And this is obviously the more important question; since if any remote allusion to a doctrine, which in no way proves or states that doctrine as we hold it, but which we can trace as harmonising with it, when we know it from other sources—if this, we say, is to be taken as sufficient Scriptural warrant for the doctrine, then we fearlessly assert that there is no doctrine now taught in the Catholic Church, except that as to the Canon of Scripture, which, strange to say, is the very key to Archdeacon Pratt's position, which we cannot find warrant for in Scripture. But to speak of Scripture warranting a doctrine in this manner, is obviously fallacious. Scripture can only be said to prove a doctrine *so far as it declares it*, and no further; and on this understanding almost half the Protestant doctrines commonly held, such as infant

baptism, the transfer of the obligation from the seventh to the first day of the week, the non-obligation of washing one another's feet, the removal of the Apostolic order to abstain from things strangled and from blood, and many others, are not in Scripture. The real fact is that, with their usual inconsistency, Protestants, as a rule, use one method of handling Scripture to invalidate the doctrines they do not like, and the other method to support those which they have chosen.

"But, let us now turn to the question, 'What Word?' asked by the Archdeacon. What does the Catholic Church (the Church of Rome, as he calls it) answer? Her answer might unobjectionably be stated in the words of Mr. Pratt (if we understand his meaning rightly), with the omission of the *unscriptural* limitation: 'And which the Apostles committed to writing in the Scriptures of the New Testament for our benefit, to be our rule of faith and practice.' In place of those words we would put: 'Of which the true Christian Ministry is the authorized custodian and expounder.'

"Our Lord says: 'Teaching them to observe *all things* which I have commanded you.' He does not say: 'Provided they are written in a certain Canon of Scripture.' St. Paul says: 'And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.' He does not say: 'The writings which I and other Apostles have given you, hand down to other men' (2 Tim. ii, 2); and 'therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which you have learnt, *whether by word or by our epistle*.' These passages, and many others, too numerous to quote, very clearly show a 'Christian Ministry,' even *after* the Apostles, who are made the custodians of the Word of God; and they are made custodians of the Word, both oral or written; but we find not a word of the limitation which Archdeacon Pratt would have us put on it. Where, then, does he get his limitation from? Incredible as such inconsistency may seem, he *avowedly* gets it, *not* from Scripture, but from the Church forty years *after* the death of St. John; and then he builds it *solely* on the basis that the then Church had carefully fixed the Canon of Scripture 'on this principle, that, not only forgeries, but all books, however excellent, were to be excluded which were not *written* by an inspired Apostle, or under the eye of an inspired Apostle, as was the case with the Gospels of St.

Mark and St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles.' But this proof, which he thinks proves his point beyond all controversy, absolutely proves nothing *for* him, while it proves against him the very truth he is resisting. We are not sure that the fact of the Canon of Scripture having been fixed on this principle is capable of being so easily shewn; and if there was any Canon in the year 140, which we doubt, it is certain that it varied from the Canon of the New Testament as now received. But, *argumenti causâ*, we are quite ready to admit the fact. We say that the teaching of the inspired Apostles, *whether written or unwritten*, composes the Christian 'Word' or 'Deposit.' What possible argument against that view is it to say that, what was *not* Apostolic was not received into the *written* Word. Do we maintain that it should have been? The Catholic Church's assertion is, *unwritten Apostolic* injunctions are valid, when there is sufficient evidence of them, of which evidence the Church is the custodian and judge; and Mr. Pratt's *one* argument against this is, that *non-Apostolic* writings were not admitted into 'the written Word!'

"But the fact proves the contradictory of his assertion. In acting, as he says, on this principle, did the Church of the year 140 invent it for themselves, or were they instructed by the Apostles to adopt it? If the former, then the Church has the power of inventing new principles of Christianity as occasion requires,—a power which even the Roman Catholic Church disavows; but if not, then where is the instruction of the Apostles to act on this principle, *written*? The principle—if indeed it was a principle at all—is nowhere found in the Scripture, and therefore Archdeacon Pratt should not teach it, much less build the whole fabric of his faith upon it, as he does.

"Again, no Apostle wrote the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke; but you say that they were written under the eye of an inspired Apostle, and that the Christians admitted them on this account. The whole acceptance or rejection of these Gospels must therefore depend on this important question. Yet it is nowhere stated in Scripture. They therefore used evidence *not* in Scripture to determine the point, the very thing the Catholic Church teaches that we should do, when necessary, in regard to disputes of the present day, and which Protestants object to. Again, the primitive Church not only admitted this evidence, but they *decided* the questions depending on it, authoritatively. They did *not* take pains to pre-

*serve the evidence*, in order that future Christians might have the fullest opportunity of deciding for themselves; but Mr. Pratt tells us that they *fixed* the Canon. What was the use of their doing so, unless the Church is authorized finally to determine questions under discussion? We know that the decision as to the rejection and acceptance of some books was one of great difficulty, and that many of the leading teachers took opposite views; and under such circumstances, a decision is obviously useless, unless authoritative. And this is the *all-conclusive* argument on which we are, in defiance of the plain words of our Lord and his Apostles, to reject any of their teaching which they did not commit to writing; and this, too, though Hooker, one of the most learned of Protestant writers has said, that "*of things necessary, the very chiefest is to know what books we are to esteem holy, which point is confessedly impossible for the Scripture itself to teach.*" De Maistre well said of the 39 Articles that, 'In the very same moment, with the very same pen, with the same ink, and upon the same paper, the Church of England declares a dogma, and declares that she has no right to declare it;' and the Archdeacon, in the passage we quoted, is a consistent follower of his Church, since he, in the very same lecture, in the very same page, and the very same argument, declares the principle upon which he accepts the Canon of Scripture, and declares that he has no right to accept that principle. We can only add with De Maistre that we hope that, 'in endless catalogue of human inconsistencies, this will always hold one of the first places.' "

These extracts suffice to give our readers an idea of the pamphlets which we are reviewing. Those whose interest is engaged in the question discussed by them, should buy them and judge for themselves. The former is to be had at Barham, Hill, and Co.'s, and the latter at D'Rozario's.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Vol. I. of Mr. Baden Powell's "*Punjab Products*;" "*A Réply to the National Paper, on Positivism, by a Positivist*;" and Nos. 10 and 11, of the *Trade and Navigation Report of the Government of India*.

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Liqueur Ammonia, in pints, each	...	...	...	...	2	4
Ditto ditto, each	...	...	...	...	2	4
Hopkins and William's Liquid Jet, in $\frac{1}{2}$ -pint bottles, each	...	...	...	...	0	12
Sulphuric Ether, in quart bottles, each	...	...	...	...	6	0
Hopkins and William's Chloride of Calcium, in $\frac{1}{2}$ -pints, each	...	...	...	...	2	0
Ditto's Citric Acid, in 8-oz. bottles, each	...	...	...	...	2	0
Ditto's Glacial Acetic Acid, in 4-oz. bottles, each	...	...	...	...	2	0
Ditto's Citric Acid, in 4-oz. bottles, each	...	...	...	...	1	0
Ditto's Caustic Potash, in 6-oz. bottles, each	...	...	...	...	1	12

	Rs.	As.
Hopkin's and William's Gallic Acid, in 1-oz. bottles, each Re. 1, 4 oz. ... ..	2	4
Ditto's Glycerine, in 4-oz. bottles, each ... ..	2	0
Ditto's Cyanide of Potassium, in 8-oz. bottles ... ..	2	0
Ditto's ditto ditto, in 4-oz. bottles, each ... ..	1	4
Tripoli Powder, in 2-lb. bottles, each ... ..	4	4
Ditto, in $\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. bottles, each ... ..	2	4
Dexterine, in 1-lb. bottles, each ... ..	1	0
Iodide of Potassium, in 2-oz. bottles, each ... ..	1	0
Precipitated Chalk, in 2-lb. bottles, each ... ..	3	0
Benzole, in 8-oz. bottles, each ... ..	2	0
Acetate of Soda, in 4-oz. bottles, each ... ..	1	4
Ditto, in 8-oz. bottles, each ... ..	2	4
Oxalic Acid in 4 oz. bottles, each .. ...	1	12
Bromide of Sodium, in 2-oz. bottles, each ... ..	2	0
Ditto of Ammonium, in 1-oz. bottles, Re. 1; 2 oz., 1-12; 4 oz. ... ..	3	0
Ditto of Lithium, in 1-oz. bottles, each .. ...	2	0
Ditto of Potassium, in 2-oz. bottles, each ... ..	4	0
Bichromate of Mercury, in 1-oz. bottles, each ... ..	2	8
Iodide of Ammonium, in 2-oz. bottles ... ..	3	0
Iodide of Admium, in 1-oz. bottles ... ..	2	8
Formic Acid, in 4-oz. bottles ... ..	1	4
Chloride of Baryata, in 16-oz. bottles ... ..	2	8
Nitrate of Strontia, in 2-lb. bottles ... ..	3	8
Bichromate of Soda, in 2-lb. bottles ... ..	2	0
Carbonate of Soda, in 1-oz. bottles ... ..	1	0
Nitrate of Uranium, in 2-oz. bottles ... ..	2	0
Polishing Powder, in 2-oz. tin boxes ... ..	0	8
Iodide of Iron, in 2-oz. bottles ... ..	0	12
Sulpho-cyanide of Potassium, in 2-oz. bottles ... ..	1	12
Proto-sulphate of Iron, in 1-lb. bottles ... ..	1	0

### Photographic Colors.

Box of Colored Crayon ... ..	1	4
Boxes of assorted Liquid Colors, containing 12 bottles, each ... ..	6	0
Mansion's Photographic Colors, containing 24 colors, each ... ..	14	0
Newman's Powder Colors, containing 12 colors ... ..	7	8
Mansion's Liquid Colors, in Mahogany box, containing 12 colors, each ... ..	7	8

	Rs.	As.
Mansion's Fluid Color Boxes, containing 24 of all sorts of colors, each ... ..	14	0

### Filters.

Porcelain Filters, from As. 8 to .. ...	3	0
Glass ditto, 1 and 4 oz., at Re. 1 and ... ..	2	0

### Printing Frames.

Ottewill's Mahogany Printing Frames, 15 by 12 inches to 7 by 5, from Rs. 20 to ... ..	8	0
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### Dark Slides.

Of sizes, for large and small Cameras, and for the Stereoscope, also separate inner frames, from As. 12 to	7	0
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### Ottewill's Dark Boxes.

For Plates, 12 by 10 and 10 by 8, also for the Stereoscope, from Rs. 10 to ... ..	15	0
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### Photographic Papers.

Lewing's Albumenized Paper, per quire ... ..	6	0
Circular Packets of Filtering Paper ... ..	0	6

### Card Mounts.

Cards for Carte-de-Visite, per 1,000 ... ..	6	0
Imperial Sheets of Card Boards, per dozen ... ..	12	0

### Mats and Passepartouts.

Of various designs, from Rs. 8 to ... ..	4	0
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### Photographic Morocco Cases.

Of sizes, from 4 by 3 to 8½ by 6½, from Rs. 7 to ... ..	12	0
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### Calico and Yellow Cloth.

Black glazed Calico, per yard ... ..	0	8
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### Scales and Weights.

Mahogany Boxes of Scales and Weights, 12 by 10 inches ... ..	20	0
Oak-wood Boxes of Scales and Weights, 9 by 5 ... ..	16	0



	Rs.	As.
Glass Pans for Scales and Weights ... ..	0	12
Scales and Weights for Photographic Chemicals, with Mahogany drawer, 16 by 9 ... ..	35	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 14 by 8 ... ..	30	0
Mahogany Small Box of Scales and Weights .	4	0
Brass Stands for weighing Chemicals ... ..	7	8

### Back Grounds, &c.

Slips, Pillars, Balconies, Vases, Cheffioneers, Book Case, Writing Desks, of various designs, from Rs. 7-8 to ... ..	20	0
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### Show Cards, &c.

And larger Portraits up to 10 by 8, from Rs. 2 8 to ..	6	0
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### Rolling Press.

Photographic Rolling Press, double gearing 12-inch Roller ... ..	150	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 15-inch Roller ... ..	190	0

### Plate Boxes.

From 10 by 8 to 7 by 4½, from Rs. 2 to . ... ..	5	0
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### Glass Baths.

Ottewill's Mahogany Glass Baths, for Plates, 8½ by 6½, each ... ..	10	0
Ditto ditto, Stereoscopic ditto, 7 by 4½, each... ..	8	0
Ditto ditto, 10 by 8, each . ... ..	15	0
Chance's unmounted Glass Bath, for Stereoscope, size 7½ by 4½ ... ..	6	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 4 by 3 ... ..	4	0
Ditto ditto, for Plates, 10 by 8 ... ..	6	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 6½ by 3½ ... ..	4	0

### Porcelain Dipping Baths.

From 4 by 4 to 10 by 8 inches, from Rs 2-4 to ...	7	0
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### Glass and Porcelain Dippers.

From 6 by 1½ to 18 by 3 inches, from Rs. 2 to ...	4	0
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### Deep Porcelain Trays.

From 24 by 18 to 8 by 6, from Rs. 5 to ... ..	14	8
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Rs. As.

**Shallow Porcelain Trays.**

From 12 by 10 to 6 by 5, from Rs. 12 to ... 3 0

**Shallow Glass Trays.**

From 10 by 8 to 6 by 5, from Rs. 2 to ... 5 0

**Deep Glass Trays.**

From 10 by 8 to 5 by 4, from Rs 4 and ... 5 0

**Glass and Porcelain Funnels.**

From 4 to 10 inches, As. 8 to Re. ... 1 0

**Glass Stirring Rods.**

From 8 to 15 inches, from Rs. 4 to ... 8 0

**Narrow Neck Stoppered Bottles.**

From  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 lbs., from As. 8 to Rs. ... 1 4

**Wide mouthed Stoppered Bottles.**

From 2 to 4 oz., each from As. 4 to ... 0 6

**Graduated Collodion Stoppered Measures.**

From 2 to 6 oz., from Rs. 1-8 to ... 3 0

**Graduated Measuring Glasses.**

From 40 oz. to 1 oz., from Rs. 5 to ... 1 0

**Collodion Bottles.**

From 1 to 8 oz., from Rs. 1-12 to ... 3 4

**Developing Glasses.**

Of sizes, from As. 4 to Rs. ... 2 0

**Vignette Glasses.**

From  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 by 4, from Rs. 3 to ... 1 8

Florence Flasks, each from As. 4 to Rs. ... 1 8

Test Graduated Glasses, from Rs. 1-8 to ... 3 0

**Disks and Cutting Glasses.**

From Plates 12 by 10 to 5 by 4, from Rs. 1 to ... 4 0

**Miscellaneous.**

Test Tubes, each ... 1 0

Mahogany Box, 12 by 9, containing 4 dozen Chemical Tests ... 30 0

Test Tubes, each ... 0 12

Ditto, 10 inch ... 0 10

	Rs.	As.
Small Portable Bellows, each ... ..	25	0
Indian Rubber Tubing, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, the yard .. ..	1	0
Finger Stalls, each ... ..	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mahogany Tripod Tops, for large Cameras, each ...	12	0
Bronze Tripod Tops, with screw, each Rs 3-8 ...	4	0
Ditto ditto, Plate-cleaners, for plates, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and 10 by 8, Rs. 4 and ... ..	5	0
Developing Stands, assorted, each .. ..	3	0
Chemical Labels, 1 dozen packets ... ..	1	8
Stereoscopic Slides, each 1 Re, carts of celebrated persons	0	8
Galvanic Battery Baths, each ... ..	7	8
Ash-tripod Stand, $\frac{1}{2}$ feet 6 inches, Rs. 9 ... ..	10	0
Water Distilling Apparatus ... ..	14	0
Yellow Chamoi Skins ... ..	1	0
Stereoscopic Transparencies, each ... ..	3	0
Pins for hanging Sensized Paper, per dozen ... ..	1	0
Magnifying Glasses, each ... ..	2	0
Glass Tubings, each ... ..	4	0
Glass Blow Pipes, 15 inches long, each ... ..	0	12
Four-inch Crucibles ... ..	2	0
Porcelain Pestle and Mortar ... ..	3	0
Glass Spirit Lamps ... ..	2	0
Ottewill's focussing Screens, Rs 3, 3-8, and ... ..	4	8
Pieces of Ground-glass for ditto, 10 by 8 inches ...	2	4
Retort-receiving Bottles, 4 inches ... ..	3	12
Photographic Deal-wood Box, with partitions, size 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 foot by 11 inches ... ..	22	0
Deal-wood Box, 10 inches by 8 inches by 6 inches ...	5	0

### Works on Photography.

Amateur Photography, by Matheson ... ..	1	0
Barnes on Dry Collodion Process ... ..	1	0
Catechism of Photography ... ..	1	0
Church of England Photographic Portrait Gallery, 41 parts, each part ... ..	1	10
Cowley's Photography in India ... ..	1	0
Evrard on the Intervention of Art in Photography	1	4
Fothergill Process, by R. W. Hall ... ..	1	0
Hand-book to the Daguerreotype Process, by S. D. Humphrey ... ..	3	8
Heisch's Elements of Photography ... ..	0	12

	Rs.	As.
Kemp's Dry Process ... ..	1	4
Long's Dry Process ... ..	1	0
Microscopic Photography, by James Nicholls ..	1	0
Newman's Harmonious Coloring as applied to Photographs ... ..	1	0
Photographic Journal, Vols. VII., VIII., and IX., each	6	0
———— Notes, Vol. V. ... ..	8	0
Price's Manual of Photographic Manipulation ...	4	8
Seely's Ambrotype Manual ... ..	1	0
Specifications of Patents relating to Photography ...	1	4
Sutton's Dry Process ... ..	1	0
———— Positive Collodion Process ... ..	1	10
———— Printing Process ... ..	1	0
Wall's Manual of Photography Coloring ... ..	4	4
William's (Fisk) Guide to Indian Photography ...	2	0
Smith and Beck's Photographs of the Moon (a set of 12) ... ..	13	4

*A Supply of the following Goods has just been received :—*

### Albums.

Elegantly bound in morocco, tooled, lettered, florigated, and embossed, and fitted with best tinted and embossed paper, measuring 11-4/8 by 9½ inches, and 7/8 inches thick ... ..	12	8
Ditto ditto, measuring 11½ by 9½ inches, and 1½ inch thick ... ..	16	0
Ditto ditto, measuring 11½ by 9½ inches, and 7/8 inch thick ... ..	14	0
Ditto, Russia leather, tooled and gilt, and fitted with the best white drawing paper, measuring 11½ by 9½ inches, and 1½ inch thick ... ..	30	0
Ditto, morocco, tooled, gilt, and embossed, and fitted with the best white drawing paper, measuring 10½ by 8½ inches, and 1½ inch thick ... ..	20	0
Ditto ditto, tooled and gilt, and fitted with white drawing paper, measuring 9-2/8 by 7½ inches, and 1 inch thick ... ..	9	0

	Rs.	As.
Ditto, tooled, extra gilt, with ditto, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick ...	16	0
Ditto, gilt, with ditto, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	13	8
Ditto, extra gilt, with ditto, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	15	0
Ditto, gilt with ditto, oblong, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 1 inch thick ...	21	8
Ditto, extra gilt, embossed and lettered, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick ...	9	0
Ditto ditto ditto, paper, embossed and floriated, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick ...	26	0
Ditto, gilt, embossed, and lettered, ditto ditto, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick ...	12	0
Ditto, extra, ditto ditto, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	29	0
Ditto, tooled, gilt, embossed, and lettered, and fitted with the best tinted paper, measuring $10\frac{3}{8}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick ...	14	0
Ditto, gilt and lettered, and fitted with ditto ditto ditto ...	11	0

#### Carte-de-Visite Albums.

Handsomely bound in morocco, tooled, gilt, and fitted with tinted paper, for 20 cartes, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{6}{8}$ inches, and $\frac{6}{8}$ inch thick ...	4	8
Ditto ditto, with two clasps, for 48 cartes, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{6}{8}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	9	0
Ditto ditto, with one clasp, for 48 cartes, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick ...	9	0
Ditto ditto, with one embossed patent expanding clasp, for 48 cartes, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches ...	12	0
Ditto ditto, with one embossed clasp, for 30 cartes, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	10	0
Ditto ditto, with ditto, for 30 cartes, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	11	0
Ditto ditto, with ditto, for 30 cartes, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	7	8
Ditto ditto, with ditto, for 34 cartes, measuring 5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick ...	8	8
Ditto ditto, with ditto, for 48 cartes, measuring 6 by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 2 inches thick ...	25	0

Rs. As.

### Photographic Scrap Albums.

Best finished, bound in morocco, tooled, gilt, embossed, and lettered, and fitted with best white paper, measuring 10-2/8th by 8-2/8th inches, and 1½ inch thick	20	0
Ditto ditto, measuring 11-6/8th by 9½ inches, and 1½ inch thick	18	0
Ditto ditto, richly embossed, ditto ditto	26	0
Ditto, gilt, lettered, and embossed, and fitted with ditto, measuring 11½ by 9-4/8th and 1-2/8th inch thick	16	0
Ditto, tooled, gilt, and embossed, measuring 11½ by 9-4/8th inches, and ¾ inch thick	14	0

### Arms, Crests, and Monogram Albums.

Elegantly bound in morocco, tooled, gilt, and lettered, fitted with best white paper, and interleaved with tissue paper, measuring 7-6/8 by 6½ inches, and 1 inch thick	12	0
Ditto, in roan, gilt and lettered, ditto ditto	8	0
Ditto, in morocco, tooled, gilt, embossed, and lettered, ditto ditto	15	0

### Postage Stamp Albums.

Handsomely finished, bound in morocco, tooled, gilt, and lettered with two clasps, measuring 10½ by 7½ inches, and 1-2/8 inch thick	10	0
Ditto, half bound, tooled, lettered, marble edges, with one clasp, measuring ditto	8	8

### Writing Cases.

Morocco Papeterie or Writing Case, tooled, gilt, and ink bottle, and fitted with stationery, measuring 12 by 9-2/8 inches, and 3-6/8 inches deep, with lock and key	52	0
Ditto ditto ditto, measuring 10½ by 8½ inches, and 3½ inches deep, with ditto	50	0
Ditto, tooled and one ink bottle, measuring 10-2/8 by 7 inches, and 1½ with ditto	10	0
Russia-leather ditto, tooled, gilt, one ink bottle, fitted with stationery, measuring 10½ by 7 inches, and 2½ inches deep, with ditto	35	0

Rs. As.

Morocco Papeterie, ditto ditto, measuring 10-2/8 by 7½, and 2 inches deep, with ditto	...	...	14	0
Ditto ditto, tooled, gilt, and embossed, one ink bottle, fitted with stationery, measuring 10½ by 7-2/8 inches, and 2½ inches deep, with ditto	...	...	38	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 11-6/8th by 9-6/8th inches, and 3 inches deep, with ditto	...	...	42	0
Ditto ditto ditto, and brass embossed, sunk handle, measuring 10½ by 8 inches, and 2½ inches deep, with ditto	...	...	36	0
Ditto ditto, and one ink bottle, measuring 10 by 8-6/8 inches, and 2-6/8 inches deep, with ditto	...	...	15	0
Russia-leather ditto, tooled, lettered, one ink bottle, measuring ditto ditto, with ditto	...	...	19	0
Ditto ditto ditto, measuring 10-2/8th by 7½ inches, and 2¾ inches deep	...	...	15	0
Morocco ditto, tooled, gilt, one ink bottle, fitted with stationery, measuring 11½ by 8½ inches, and 3-6/8 inches deep, with ditto	...	...	40	0

**Writing Case and Despatch Boxes.**

Morocco Writing Case and Despatch Box, tooled, gilt, brass bound, with one ink bottle, a blotting book, and brass sunk handle, measuring 10½ by 8½ inches, and 4-2/8 inches deep, with lock and key	...	...	26	0
Russia-leather Writing Case and Despatch Box, tooled, with two ink bottles, two porcelain tablets, and other fittings, and brass sunk handle, measuring 10½ by 9 inches, and 5½ inches deep, with ditto	...	...	60	0
Morocco Writing Case and Despatch Box, tooled, gilt, brass bound, with one ink bottle, and brass sunk embossed handle, measuring 11 by 8¾ inches, and 4 inches deep, with ditto	...	...	32	0
Ditto ditto, measuring 10-6/8 by 8½ inches, and 3½ inches deep, with ditto	...	...	26	0

**Ladies' Dressing Cases.**

Ladies' elegant Russia-leather Dressing Case, brass bound, patent mountings, tooled, gilt, with fittings, complete, measuring 10 by 7 inches, and 5½ inches deep, with brass sunk handle and lock and key	...	...	100	0
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Rs. As.

Ditto ditto, measuring 10 by 6 inches, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with ditto ...	90	0
Ditto morocco, brass bound, plated mounting, gilt, with fittings, complete, measuring 9-6/8th by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and 3 inches deep, with brass sunk handle and lock and key... ..	60	0
Ditto Russia-leather Dressing Case, brass bound, plated mountings, tooled, gilt, with fittings, complete, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 4-6/8 inches deep ...	80	0

### Elastic Bands.

Perry's patent webbing Elastic Band for portemonnaies, pocket-books, letters, memoranda, &c., each As. 3, 4, and 0	5
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### Paper Binder.

Perry's Paper Binder, for holding together letters, invoices, music, &c., per half gross, As. 12, Re. 1, 1-2, and ... ..	1	4
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### Aluminum Pencils.

Aluminum Pencils, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length ...	5	0
Leads for the above, per case... ..	0	8

### Porcelain Slates.

Leather-framed Porcelain Slates, with ivory top pencils and sponge, measuring 6 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches	2	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 6-6/8th by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches	2	4
Ditto ditto ditto, 8 by 6 inches	2	8
Ditto ditto ditto, $8\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches	2	12
Ditto ditto ditto, 10 by $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches	3	4
Ditto ditto ditto, 11 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches	3	8

### Buckle's Gum-Water.

Buckle's superior chemically prepared Gum-Water, in $\frac{1}{4}$ , 1, and 2-oz. bottles, at As. 8, Re. 1, and ...	2	0
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### Ebony Round Rulers.

Morrell's best machine-turned 30-inch Green Ebony Round Rulers ... ..	4	8
Ditto ditto, 24 ditto ditto ... ..	1	8



				Rs.	As.
Ditto ditto, 18 ditto ditto	...	...	...	1	0
Ditto ditto, 12 ditto ditto	...	...	...	0	10
Ditto ditto, 9 ditto ditto	.	...	...	0	8
Ditto ditto, 6 ditto ditto	...	...	...	0	6

### Newman's Solid Sketch Books.

Solid Drawing Block, of double elephant, extra rough paper, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches, half bound	...	17	0
Ditto, of Creswick ditto, measuring 15 by 11 inches, ditto	...	12	0
Ditto ditto, oblong, measuring $19-2/8$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, ditto	...	17	0
Ditto ditto ditto, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches, ditto	...	10	0
Ditto, double elephant, rough, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, ditto	...	10	0
Ditto ditto, measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, ditto	...	6	8
Ditto ditto, rough, measuring $10\frac{3}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, ditto	...	8	8
Ditto ditto, ditto measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, ditto	...	7	8
Ditto ditto, measuring $9-6/8$ by 6 inches, ditto	...	4	0
Ditto ditto, measuring $7-2/8$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ditto	...	3	3
Ditto ditto, tinted, measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, ditto	...	4	8
Solid drawing tinted, measuring $12-6/8$ by $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches ditto	...	10	8
Ditto ditto, rough, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $10-6/8$ inches ditto	...	11	0
Ditto ditto ditto, measuring 15 by $10-6/8$ inches ditto	...	12	0
Ditto ditto, plain and tinted, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{7}{8}$ ditto ditto	...	2	8

### Newman's Water-Colour Boxes.

Engineer and Architect's Color Box, 18 cakes, with brushes, compass, pencils, ivory pencil rest, Indian ink, three palettes, in japanned tin case	...	36	0
Ditto, twelve cakes, with ditto, one palette ditto	...	26	0
Ditto ditto, with brushes, pencils, Indian ink, and a palette, in a mahogany box	...	20	0

### Red Sable Brushes.

Best Crow Sable Brushes, in quill, fitted with stick	...	0	10
Ditto Duck ditto ditto ditto	...	1	0
Ditto Goose ditto ditto ditto	...	1	4
Ditto Swan ditto ditto ditto, Rs. 2, 3, and	...	4	0

Rs. As.

**Flat Camel-Hair Brushes.**

Half-inch flat Camel Hair Brushes, mounted in tin	0	8
Three-fourth ditto ditto ditto ...	0	10
One-inch ditto ditto ...	0	12
One and a half inch ditto ditto ...	1	0
One and three-fourth inch ditto ditto ...	1	4
Two-inch ditto ditto ...	1	6
Three-inch ditto ditto ...	2	0
Four inch ditto ditto ...	2	12

**Chinese White.**

Newman's prepared Chinese White, per bottle	...	1	0
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**Ox Gall.**

Newman's prepared liquid Ox Gall, per bottle	...	1	0
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**McGilp.**

Newman's McGilp Water Color, per bottle	...	2	0
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**Varnishes for Oil Painting.**

Newman's superior Mastic Varnish, per bottle	...	1	8
Newman's ditto, Copal ditto, per ditto	...	1	0

**Gold and Silver Shells.**

Gold Shells, for illuminating, each	...	0	12
Silver ditto, per ditto ditto	...	0	6

**Tiles for Mixing Colors.**

China-ware Slant Tiles, for mixing Colors, measuring 9 by 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with 3 squares	...	1	4
Ditto ditto ditto, with 6 ditto	...	1	4
Ditto, square ditto ditto, measuring 8 by 7 inches, with 13 ditto	...	2	8
Ditto ditto, measuring 9 by 6 ditto, with 12 ditto	...	2	8
Ditto ditto, measuring 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 ditto, with 12 ditto	...	2	0
Ditto ditto, measuring 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4, with 6 ditto, and 6 wells	...	1	12
Ditto ditto, measuring 4 by 3, with 4 ditto	...	0	8
Ditto ditto, measuring 4 by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , with 3 ditto	...	0	8
Ditto ditto, measuring 7 $\frac{6}{8}$ th by 3, with 4 ditto	...	1	0

Rs. As.

**Palette Knives.**

Artist's Palette Knives, Rs. 1-4 and	...	...	1	8
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**Key Boxes.**

Morocco Key Boxes, fitted with 12 books for keys, with Brahma's patent lock and key, measuring 8 by 4-6/8th inches, and 4½ inches deep	...	...	30	0
Ditto, with tray and Brahma's patent lock and key, mea- suring 6½ by 4-2/8th inches, and 4 inches deep	...	...	18	0
Ditto tooled, gilt, with Brahma's patent lock and key and key and brass sunk handle, measuring 7 by 4½, and 4½ inches deep	...	...	24	0

**Date Indicators.**

Date Cards, in Japanned Tin Cases, 4-6/8 inches length, height 5½	...	...	2	8
Ditto ditto, 4-6/8 inches ditto, height 5½	...	...	2	4
Ditto ditto, 4½ inches, height 6	...	...	2	0

**Stamp Boxes.**

Walnut-wood Stamp Boxes, with 6 partitions, measuring 7-2/8th by 4 2/8th inches, and 1-6/8th inch deep	...	...	2	8
Ditto ditto ditto, with lock and key	...	...	3	0

**The Cue Cement.**

Key's Cue Cement for repairing Billiard Cues and Bil- liard-ware of every description, also for mending Pipes, Walking Sticks, Gun Stocks, &c., and for all Leather,- Wood, Ivory, Stone, China, and Glass-ware	...	...	1	4
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**Leather Travelling Bags.**

Cow-hide Travelling Bags, measuring 15 by 9 inches, with lock and key	...	...	13	8
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**Tobacco Cutter.**

Oxley's Tobacco Cutter, made of the best steel	...	...	2	0
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Rs. As.

### Metallic Memorandum Books.

Penny's patent, clasped, metallic Pocket Memorandum Books, with pencils attached, No. 2, measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ by 2-6/8 inches, bound in roan	1	8
Ditto ditto, No. 3, measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ by 3 inch	1	10
Ditto ditto, „ 4, ditto $4\frac{1}{8}$ by 3 ditto...	1	12
Ditto ditto, „ 5, ditto 5 by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ditto	2	0
Ditto ditto, „ 6, ditto $5\frac{1}{8}$ by 3-2/8 ditto	2	4
Ditto ditto, „ 7, ditto $5\frac{1}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ditto	2	8
Ditto ditto, „ 8, ditto $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ditto	2	12

### Metallic Wallets.

Penny's Metallic Wallets, with Memorandum Books, two pockets, and elastic fastenings, No. 1451, measuring 5 by 4 inches, bound in roan	1	12
Ditto ditto, Nos. 350 and 550, measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches	2	0
Ditto ditto, No. 451, measuring 5 by 3 inches	2	4
Ditto ditto, No. 551 $\frac{1}{2}$ , ditto $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches	2	6
Ditto ditto, with extra pockets, thick, &c., No. 750, measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ by 2-6/8 inches	2	10
Ditto ditto, No. 851, measuring 5 by 3 inches	2	12
Ditto ditto, with memo. book, No. 352, measuring $5\frac{1}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches	2	12
Ditto ditto, with extra pockets, &c., No. 451 $\frac{1}{2}$ , measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches	2	12
Ditto ditto, No. 751 $\frac{1}{2}$ , measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches	3	0
Ditto ditto, No. 852, measuring 6 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches	3	2

### Ink and Pencil Eraser.

Faber's Ink and Pencil Eraser, in cakes, at 0-6 each, or per box containing one dozen cakes	3	0
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### Marking Ink.

Bond's Permanent Marking Ink, per phial	1	0
Barber's Crimson ditto, per ditto	1	0

### Postage Scales or Letter Balances.

Greave's Portable Letter Weigher for English and Indian Postage, in morocco cases, measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch	4	8
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### Leather-covered Spring Inkstands.

Mordan's $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square patent leather-covered Spring		
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						Rs. As.
Inkstands, well adapted for travelling	...	...	...	...	...	3 1
Ditto,	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	3 14
Ditto,	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	4 8
Ditto,	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	4 12
Ditto,	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	5 4
Ditto,	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	8 0
De la Rue's,	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	2 8
Ditto,	1 $\frac{7}{8}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	3 0
Ditto,	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	3 12
Ditto,	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	4 8
Ditto,	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	7 8

### Glass Inkstands.

Square solid cut-glass,	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches square,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high	...	...	...	5 0
Ditto ditto,	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ditto,	3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ditto	...	...	...	3 12
Ditto ditto, mounted on brass,	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches square,	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high	...	...	...	5 8
Ditto ditto,	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches square,	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high,	...	...	...	5 0
Lump or Moulded Glass Inkstand,	3 inches in diameter,	4 inches high, mounted on brass	...	...	...	4 0
Ditto ditto,	3 inches in diameter,	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto, mounted in ditto,	...	...	...	4 8
Ditto ditto,	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches ditto,	4 inches high ditto	...	...	...	5 0
Ditto ditto, hexagonal ditto,	4 inches high, mounted on ditto	...	...	...	...	4 0
Ditto ditto, circular fluted ditto,	4 inches in diameter,	3-6/8th inches high, mounted in ditto	...	...	...	3 8
Ditto ditto,	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter,	4 inches high, on a circular glass stand,	5-6/8 inches in diameter	...	...	5 0
Solid cut-glass circular Inkstand,	4 inches in diameter,	4 inches high, on a square glass stand,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, mounted on brass, with air-tight glass top	...	...	8 0
Ditto, hexagonal ditto,	5 inches in diameter,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, mounted on brass	...	...	...	8 0
Ditto circular ditto,	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter,	2 inches high, with brass top	...	...	...	6 0
Ditto ditto,	4 inches in diameter,	2 inches high, with brass top	...	...	...	4 0

### Flat Examples for Object Drawing.

By De la Rue, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches	...	...	...	...	...	3 0
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Rs. As.

**Spirit Lamps.**

Glass Spirit Lamps, of sizes ... 1 12

**Water Gauge Cocks.**

Five-eighth inch Gauge, per set of two ... 24 0

**Damping Brushes.**

Flat 3½-inch Camel-hair Damping Brushes, for Copy-  
ing-presses ... 2 0

**Solid Ink Leads.**

Mordan's Compressed VS and W Ink, to be used as  
leads for Mordan's patent pencils, per box containing  
1 dozen ... 0 8

**Draper's Air-tight Inkstands.**

Well adapted for office use, as the ink may be kept for  
any length of time in as good a condition as in a corked  
bottle ... 6 8

**Card Cases.**

Gentlemen's Russia-leather Card Cases, with rounded  
corners ... 1 4  
Ladies' ditto ditto ... 1 8  
Ditto, flexible or limp ditto ... 2 0  
Gentlemen's ditto ditto ... 1 4

**Blotting Paper.**

Sheldon's best Blue, Buff, and White demy, thick, 20lb.,  
flat Blotting Paper, Rs. 1-12 per quire, or per ream ... 30 0  
Ditto, Pink ditto, 26lb. ditto, Rs. 1-8 per quire, or per ream 24 0

**Ivory Key Labels.**

Best Polished Ivory Key Labels, with steel rings, per  
dozen ... 1 0

**Tassels for Ball Programmes.**

White Silk Tassels, for Ball Programmes, per dozen ... 1 8

Best Clarified Swan Quills, per bundle of 12 ... 3 12

**Cut Quills.**

Superfine Italian Cut Quills, in fancy boxes of 25 ... 1 4

Rs.

**Albums.**

Bound in roan, gilt, with tinted paper, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ , engraved Album	...	...	11
Ditto ditto, 12 by $9\frac{7}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ditto	...	...	15

**Scrap Books.**

Bound in roan, gilt, measuring 8 by $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, engraved Scrap Book	..	...	5
Ditto ditto, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	..	...	6
Ditto ditto, 12 by $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 ditto	...	..	8
Ditto, embossed ditto, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ditto	...	...	9
Ditto ditto, 15 by $1\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ditto	...	..	15

**Courier Bags.**

Best roan Courier Bags, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 inches, with lock and key	...	..	...	11
Ditto ditto, 9 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	...	..	12
Ditto ditto, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	...	..	13
Ditto ditto, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	...	..	14
Ditto ditto, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 ditto	...	...	..	15
Ditto ditto, 12 by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	...	...	

**Carpet Bags.**

Brussels Carpet Bags, measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ by 12 inches, with lock and key	...	...	...	7	8
Ditto ditto, 26 by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	...	...		
Ditto ditto, 21 by $16\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	...	...		
Ditto ditto, 26 by 15 ditto	...	...	...	9	0

**Leather Travelling Bags.**

Cow-hide Travelling Bag, 18 by 10 inches, with lock and key	...	..	...	...	14	0
Ditto ditto, $19\frac{3}{4}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	...	..	...	...	16	0
Ditto ditto, $20\frac{1}{2}$ by 11 ditto	...	...	...	...	16	0
Ditto ditto, $20\frac{1}{2}$ by 12, with extra pockets, &c.	...	...	...	...	18	0
Ditto ditto, 18 by $9\frac{5}{8}$ ditto, expanding, with ditto	...	...	...	...	20	0
Morocco ditto, 17 by $11\frac{1}{2}$ , with ditto	...	...	...	...	30	0

**Note Paper and Envelopes.**

De la Rue's extra thick, burnished, Albert size, 6 by 4 inches, Cream-laid Vellum Note Paper, per 5-quire packet	...	...	...	...	2	4
Envelopes to match the above, per hundred	...	...	...	...	1	4

Rs. As.

**Steel Pens.**

Gillott's Magnum Bonum, middle and broad points, No. 263, Steel Pens, per box of one dozen	...	1	4
Ditto's School Pens, broad points, No. 353, per box of a gross	...	3	0
Ditto's Public Pens, Nos. 292 and 293, per dozen	...	3	0
Ditto's Principality Pens, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, per dozen	...	3	8
Ditto's Lithographic Pens, on cards of one dozen	...	1	8
Ditto's Mapping Pens ditto ditto	...	1	8
Michell's C. J. and R. Steel Pens, per box of one gross	...	1	8
Ditto's L Magnum Bonum ditto, per ditto	...	3	8
Hughes' Reservoir Steel Pens, per ditto	...	1	8

**Ebony Round Rulers.**

Best machine-turned, 12-inch, black Ebony Round Rulers	0	10
Ditto 15-inch light ditto	...	0 12
Ditto 18-inch black ditto	...	1 0

**Red and Black Sealing-Wax.**

Hyd's best Red and Black Sealing Wax, made expressly for tropical climates, As. 6 per stick, or per box containing 16 sticks, 1lb.	...	4	0
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**Razors.**

Plantagenet Guard Razors, per pair	...	6	0
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*A supply of the following goods has just been received:—*

**Deed Boxes.**

Japanned extra thick Tin Deed Boxes, inside painted white, having handles at sides, and fitted with Mordan's patent 7-guard detector locks and duplicate keys—			
Measuring 14½ by 10-2/8 by 8-2/8 inches	...	23	0
Ditto 16 by 11-2/8 by 9½ ditto	...	26	0
Ditto 18½ by 12½ by 10-6/8 ditto	...	30	0
Ditto 20 by 14 by 12 ditto	...	35	0

**Stationery Cabinets.**

Oak Cabinets, measuring 12 by 8 by 11, and 15 by 8½ by 14 inches, with compartments for two ink bottles, waters, pens, and penholders, date card, sliding secret drawer for private papers, and Porcelain slate, fitted with lids, which serve to keep the contents in their proper places, Rs. 33, 50, and	...	...	58 0
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Rs. As.

Walnut-wood ditto ditto ditto, Rs. 35, 53, and ... 60 0

**Russia-leather Wallets.**

Smith's Patent Russia-leather Wallets, with gilt metal corners, fitted with memorandum book, pockets, &c., well adapted for brokers ... 12 0

**Paper Weights.**

Bronze Paper Weights, of sizes, Rs. 1, 1-4, 1-8, 1-12, and ... 2 0

**Pen Rests.**

Bronze Pen Rests ... 0 8

**Travelling Bags.**

Leather Travelling Bags, 12 and 14 inches long, Rs. 13-8 and... 15 8

**Drawing Pins.**

Per dozen ... 1 0

**Blotting Pads.**

Solid Blotting Pads,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  by  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches, of red and white paper ... 2 0  
 Ditto,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ditto ditto ... 1 8  
 Ditto,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ditto ditto ... 1 6  
 Ditto,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ditto ditto ... 1 0  
 Frame ditto,  $20\frac{1}{2}$  by 18 ditto, of buff, blue, and white paper ... 3 8

**Music Paper.**

Sheldon's best royal-quarto size, 12 stave, Music Paper, Rs. 25 per ream, or per quire ... 1 8

**Letter or Voucher Files.**

Perforating Letter Files, foolscap size ... 1 8

**Writing Paper and Envelopes.**

De la Rue's Cream-laid, octavo,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{2}{8}$  inches, Overland Note Paper, per 5-quire packet ... 1 8

	Rs.	As.
Envelopes, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches, to match the above, per 100, in packets of 25 ... ..	1	12
De la Rue's Royal Treasury, octavo, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, burnished, double thick, hand-made, Cream-laid Note Paper, per 5-quire packet ... ..	4	8
Envelopes, $5\frac{2}{8}$ by 3 inches, to match the above, per 100, in packets of 25 ... ..	3	0
De la Rue's Cream-laid, octavo, $7\frac{2}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, middle black border Note Paper, per 5-quire packet...	2	12
Envelopes, $4\frac{6}{8}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, to match the above, per 100, in packets of 25 ... ..	2	8
De la Rue's Cream-laid, Albert-size, $6\frac{2}{8}$ by 4 inches, middle black border Note Paper, per 5-quire packet ..	2	4
Envelopes, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, to match the above, per 100, in packets of 25 ... ..	2	0
De la Rue's Cream-laid, octavo, $7\frac{2}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, broad black border Note Paper, per 5-quire packet ...	2	12
Envelopes, $4\frac{6}{8}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, to match the above, per 100, in packets of 25 ... ..	2	8
De la Rue's Cream-laid, Albert size, $7\frac{2}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, broad black border Note Paper, per 5-quire packet ...	2	4
Envelopes, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ , to match the above, per 100, in packets of 25 ... ..	2	0

### Visiting Cards.

De la Rue's Ladies' Ivory Visiting Cards, per packet of 50 ... ..	1	4
Ditto's Gentlemen's ditto, per ditto ... ..	1	0
Ditto's Ladies' broad and middle black border ditto, per ditto ... ..	1	8
Ditto's Ladies' small size ditto ditto, per ditto ... ..	1	8
Ditto's Gentlemen's ditto ditto, per ditto ... ..	1	4

### Benzine Collas.

A Fluid for removing stains from Silk, Satin, Tablecloths, &c., and for cleaning Kid Gloves, per bottle ...	1	8
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### Cuir-Nettoyeur.

Or Penfold's Fluid for cleaning and polishing leather, per bottle ... ..	1	8
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Rs. As.

**Davy's Diamond Cement.**

An invaluable Preparation for joining broken China, Glass,  
Earthen-ware, Wood, &c., with strength and neatness,  
per bottle ... .. 1 0

**Pen Trays.**

Wooden, painted black, 10½ by 1½ inches, and 11-2/8 by  
3½ inches, Rs. 1-8 and .. ... 2 8

**Picture Cord.**

Best Picture Cord, in Green, Scarlet, and Orange colors,  
at 12 yards, per... .. 1 0

**Erasers.**

Wingfield Rowbotham and Co.'s best steel ebony-handle  
Erasers, at Rs. 1, 1-4, and ... .. 1 0  
Ditto ditto, Ivory handle, at Rs. 1-12, 2-4, and ... 2 8

**Scissors.**

Wingfield Rowbotham and Co.'s Scissors, sizes 6½, 6½,  
and 5½ inches, at Rs. 1-8, 1-4, and ... .. 1 0

**Penknives.**

Wingfield Rowbotham and Co.'s double-blade Pen-  
knives, with buck-horn handle, electrum-mounted, Rs.  
2-8 and ... .. 2 0  
Ditto's ditto, 3 ditto, with ditto ditto ... 3 4  
Ditto's ditto, 3 ditto, with buck-horn handle ... 2 12  
Ditto's ditto, 4 ditto, with ditto, electrum-mounted ... 3 12

**Set of Apparatus of Experiments with the Gases.**

German Hard Glass Flask, with safety funnel and leading  
tube, arranged for the preparation of Hydrogen, Carbonic Acid,  
Chlorine Gases, &c.

German Hard Glass Flask, with leading tube, for the pre-  
paration of Oxygen, Laughing Gas, &c.

Turned Wood Flask or Tube Holder.

Sheet Iron Retort, for Oxygen.

Japanned Tin Pneumatic Trough, to contain 4 gallons of  
water.

Metal Spirit Lamp, with double current, and ring to support the flask.

Gas Receiver, capacity one pint, fitted with Brass Cap, Stop-cock, Bladder and Ferrule, and Brass Jet for Burning Hydrogen.

One extra Bladder and Ferrule.

Stoppered Gas Receivers, of one-quart capacity.

Porcelain Trays, for removing Gas Receivers and Pneumatic Trough, when filled.

Ground Glass Plate Covers, for Gas Receivers.

Deflagrating Jar, one-pint capacity, with ground edge, Brass Cap and Spoon, for Phosphorus, Sulphur, &c., and Taper Holder.

Two extra Deflagrating Jars.

Woulfe's Bottle, with tubes arranged for purifying Gases.

Strong Glass Tube, for exploding the mixture of Hydrogen and Oxygen.

Iron Wire Gauze, for Davy's Experiment.

Two Goldbeaters' Skin Balloons, for Hydrogen.

Mouth-piece, for inhaling Laughing Gas from a Bladder or Gas-Bag.

Price Rs 45.

### Writing Ink.

	Rs.	As.
Parkins and Gatta's Post Office Ink, in quarts, per bottle		
Rs. 1-2, or per dozen ... ..	15	0
Ditto's ditto, in pints, per ditto Rs. 1, or per dozen ... ..	7	8
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per ditto As. 8, or per dozen ... ..	3	12
Morrell's Registration Ink, in quarts, per bottle Rs. 1-12, or per dozen ... ..	15	0
Ditto's ditto, in pints, per ditto Re. 1, or per dozen ... ..	7	8
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per ditto 0-12, or per dozen ... ..	5	0
Ditto's ditto, in quarter pints, per ditto 0-8, or per dozen ... ..	3	12
Arnold's Red Ink, in quarts, per bottle Rs. 2-8, or per dozen ... ..	25	0
Ditto's ditto, in pints, per ditto 1-8, or per dozen ... ..	2	0
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per ditto 0-12, or per dozen ... ..	7	0
Ditto's ditto, in quarter pints, per ditto 0-6, or per dozen ... ..	4	0
Stephen's Blue-Black Writing Fluid, in quarts, per bottle 2-8, or per dozen ... ..	25	0

	Rs.	As.
Stephen's ditto, in pints, per ditto 1-12, or per dozen ...	15	0
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per ditto 0-12, or per dozen...	7	0
Mordan's Abroticoon, or Gold Pen Ink, in imperial pints, per bottle 1-8, or per dozen ...	13	0
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per bottle 1-0, or per dozen ...	8	0
Blackwood's Copying Ink, in quarts, per bottle 2-12, or per dozen ...	27	0
Ditto's ditto, in pints, per ditto 1-12, or per dozen ...	15	0
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per ditto 1-0, or per dozen ...	8	0
Ditto's Black Steel Pen Ink, in quarts, per bottle at 2-8, or per dozen ...	25	0
Ditto's ditto, in pints, per bottle at 1-4, or per dozen ...	10	0
Ditto's ditto, in half pints, per bottle at 0-10, or per dozen ...	5	8
Ditto's Mauve Ink, in Victoria glass, one-eighth pint bot- tles, at 0-10 per bottle, or per dozen ...	5	8
Ditto's ditto, in quarter pint bottles, at 1-4 per bottle, or per dozen ...	11	0
Ditto's Magenta, in one-eighth pint bottles, at 0-10 per bottle, or per dozen ...	5	8
Ditto's ditto, in quarter pint bottles, at 1-4 per bottle, or per dozen ...	11	0
Ditto Violet, in one-eighth pint bottles, at 0-10 per bottle, or per dozen ...	5	8
Ditto's ditto, in quarter-pint, at 1-4 per bottle, or per dozen	11	0
Ditto's Torquoise Blue Ink, in half pint bottles, at 0-10 per bottle, or per dozen ...	...	...
Ditto's ditto, in quarter pint bottles at 1-4 per bottle, or per dozen ...	11	0
Ditto's Robian Ink, in one-eighth pint bottles, at 0-10 per bottle, or per dozen ...	5	8
Ditto's ditto, in quarter pint bottles at 1-4, or per dozen	11	0
Stephen's unchangeable Light-Blue Ink, in half pints, at 0-6 per bottle, or per dozen ...	3	0

### Letter Clips.

Bronze Hand pattern Letter Clip ...	4	8
Ditto Fox's head ditto ditto ...	3	8
Ditto Domestic Duck's head ditto ditto ...	3	8
Ditto Wild Duck's ditto ditto ditto ...	3	8

			Rs. As
Ditto Hawk head ditto ditto	...	...	4 0
Ditto Hand ditto ditto, 1, 1-2, 2, 2-4, and	...	...	2 8
Ditto Fancy ditto ditto, 1, 1-4, 1-8, 1-12, and	...	...	2 8
Ditto Quarto Letter Clips	...	...	1 4

### Pen Racks.

Bronzed Pen Rack, stag head pattern	...	...	4 0
Ditto double lacquered Pen Rack	...	...	3 8
Brass double Pen Rack, with pen brush	...	...	2 0
Double metal Racks, 1-4 and	...	...	2 0

### Thermometers.

Negretti and Zambor's 7-inch Boxwood Scale Thermo-			
meters, 2-8, 3, and	...	...	3 8

### Copying Books.

Letter-press Copying Books, octavo, 9 by 6 inches, con-			
taining 250 pages, half bound, with index, lettered, &c.	...	...	2 8
Ditto ditto, quarto, 11 by 9 inches. containing 500 pages,			
half bound, with index, lettered, &c., 3-8 and	...	...	4 0

### Lund's Pencil Cases.

Lund's ivory, silver-mounted, patent spring slide, ever			
pointed, with external screw, L lead Pencil Case	...	...	3 8
Ditto ditto S lead ditto	...	...	3 8
Ditto cedar-wood, ivory top and point, electrum slide,			
C lead ditto	...	...	1 8
Ditto ditto, ivory top, ditto ditto	...	...	1 0
Ditto plain cedar, brass slide ditto ditto	...	...	0 8
Ditto L leads for the above, per box of 1 dozen	...	...	1 12
Ditto S ditto ditto ditto ditto	...	...	1 8
Ditto C ditto ditto ditto	...	...	0 12

### Game of Steeple-Chase.

Mahogany Board, &c., of sizes, 14, 20, and	...	30 0
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### Race Game.

Mahogany Board, &c., of sizes, 25, 40, and	...	70 0
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Rs. As.

**SMOKING REQUISITES.****Pipes.**

Picked Meerschaum, carved head, Billiard Pipes, with amber mouth-piece, in leather-covered cases, Rs. 16 and ... ..	18	0
Ditto ditto, straight stem ditto, 10, 13, and ...	20	0
Ditto ditto, bent ditto ditto, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, and ...	17	0
Ditto ditto, belge ditto, 6 and ...	14	0
Ditto horse head pattern ditto ...	15	0
Ditto claw ditto ditto ...	20	0
Ditto fancy carved ditto ditto, 15 and ...	16	0
Ditto, Victoria pattern ditto ditto ...	10	0
Ditto ditto, bamboo pattern stem ditto ...	18	0
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THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW

VOLUME XLVIII.

1869.

*No man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

CALCUTTA :

BARHAM, HILL, & CO., DALHOUSIE SQUARE,

LONDON :

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER, PATERNOSTER ROW.



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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—HINDOO FEMALE CELEBRITIES.

HAVING glanced, in a former paper, at the records left us of the celebrated women of the mythological period of Hindoo history, we now pass from the age of fiction to that of truth. Our canvas shall now be filled with sketches that belong to positive, legitimate history. True that the heroines of Valmiki and Vyas were no myths, or ideal beings; but round them the bard has thrown a mass of fiction, which has destroyed the authenticity of their history, and obscured their fame. No such mythical details disfigure the account of the life of *Sanjogata* as disfigure the story of her predecessors, Sita and Sacountala. *Sanjogata* has also found a poet to immortalize her name in imperishable verse. But unlike the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharat*, and the *Blugbut*, which "are to the Hindoo all that the library, the newspaper, and the Bible are to the European," the *Pirithviraj Chohan Rasa* is little known to the Hindoo world. Its author, Chand, is the last great heroic bard of India. He has transmitted to us an account of the life of *Pirithviraj*—the *Pirithiraj* of the Mahomedan historians, and the last Hindoo prince of Delhi. Nothing ought to be of greater interest to Hindoo readers than the history of the last Hindoo sovereign in India. It is high time that the work of Chand should be translated and placed in the hands of all his countrymen.

The "*Pirithviraj Chohan Rasa*" is divided into many *khande*, or books, out of which the *Kanouj Khand* contains the history of *Sanjogata*. To the English reader, this portion of the work has become accessible through the translation which Colonel Tod

published in the London Asiatic Journal for 1839. The princess Sanjogata was the daughter of Jychand, the last Hindoo Rajah of Kanouj. In the language of the poet, she was the incarnation of Sri, or the Psyche of her country. But Sanjogata was not only remarkable for her personal charms, but exhibited the most perfect model of female character in her day.

Jychand represented the Rajpoots called Rahtores. Pirthiraj represented the Rajpoots called Chohans. The Rahtores and Chohans were implacable foes, like the Montagues and Capulets of Shakespeare. In the height of his power, Pirthiraj celebrated the Aswamedha, and Jychand felt himself eclipsed by his antagonist. To soothe his own vanity, he undertook the celebration of the Rajshui, a ceremony now for the last time performed by a Hindoo monarch. The bard describes the splendour of the hall of sacrifice, in which were assembled all the crowned heads of India, excepting Pirthiraj of Delhi and Samarsi of Mewar. These princes refused to sanction the audacious proceedings of their rival by their presence; but as the performance of the Rajshui required the offices to be filled by royal personages, Jychand made their effigies in gold, and exposed them to derision by assigning to Pirthiraj the post of porter, and that of scullion to Samarsi. The pompous ceremony, it was agreed, should be concluded by the nuptials of Sanjogata. Accordingly, that princess was led through the ranks of the princes of Hind to select her lord. But she had heard of the many exploits of Pirthiraj, and adored that hero in her heart. "She loved him for the dangers he had passed." Instead, therefore, of fixing her choice upon any of the assembled princes, and in spite of the dangers her conduct might provoke, she threw the *burmala*, or marriage garland, over the neck of the effigy of Pirthiraj, which her father had scornfully placed as porter at the gate, and signified her wish to become the bride of that sworn foe. "Here," as 'Tad has remarked, "was incense to fame, and incentive to gallantry." Pirthiraj at once resolved upon bearing away the fair one of Kanouj from her father's halls. He executed his purpose, and, with the *élite* of the warriors of Delhi carried off the princess in open day from her father's court. There was a desperate running-fight for five days all the way to Delhi; but he kept his prize, and gained immortal renown.

The date of this forcible abduction is supposed by General Cunningham to be the year 1175 A. D.; but we think the event must have occurred some fifteen years later. No sooner did

Pirthiraj arrive with Sanjogata at Delhi, than he abandoned himself to her influence. The seductive charms of the fair enslaver lulled the monarch into a neglect of every princely duty. More than a year was thus passed in inactivity; but no sooner did the Islamite re-appear at the head of a fresh army to invade India, than the enchantress at once assumed the character of a heroine. She roused her lord from his trance of pleasure, and, exchanging the softer for the sterner passions, conjured him to arm for battle, and, if needs be, to perish in the cause of his country's independence. "To die well," she said, "is to live for ever. Think not of self, but of immortality. Let your sword divide your foe, and I will be your *ardhanga* (half body, or other half) hereafter."

The Islamite was Muhomed Ghori. He had been defeated at Tilouri, but in two years he appeared again with a fresh army, and encamped on the banks of the Cagger. The Rajah of Delhi—the outwork and bulwark of Hindoo sovereignty—shook off his indolence and uxoriousness. He was roused to enthusiasm by the persuasion of fair lips. Having lost the "sinews" (best chivalry) of Delhi in carrying off Sanjogata, he assembled other warriors and chieftains. The prince of Mewar, his brother-in-law, was invited to aid him. Councils of war were held to deliberate on the best mode of opposing the enemy. The army having assembled and being ready to march, the fair Sanjogata armed her lord for the encounter. It was a custom for the Hindoo warrior to take leave of his female relatives before going out to battle. The mother, the sister, the wife, and the daughter, then bade the hero perish on the field rather than run away and subject them to the derision of the people. But, "in vain Sanjogata sought the rings of his corslet; her eyes were fixed on the face of her lord. The sound of the drum reached the ear of the Chohan; it was as a death-knell on that of Sanjogata." Her mind was filled with evil forebodings; and as Pirthiraj left her to lead Delhi's heroes through the Ranjit gate to the fatal battle, her heart sank, and she exclaimed, "I shall never more see him in Yoginipoor (Delhi), but in the region of Swerga." Her prediction turned out to be true, for "victory perched on the lance of the Moslem." The Hindoo army was routed, and Pirthiraj was made captive and slain. Faithful to her vow, his beloved spouse, his idolized Sanjogata, hearing of the issue to her lord, mounted the funeral pyre to join him in heaven. She had sustained herself only with water from the day that Pirthiraj had left her. There is a



separate chapter in Ohand which describes the penance to which she subjected herself. Her *sutteeism* appears to be the first authentic instance that is on record in Hindoo writings. The traveller who bends his steps to old Delhi yet sees many a vestige of her times. The walls of the citadel which guarded her beauty and honour, the colonnades of the palace in which she resided and lolled in luxury, yet stand to recall to mind the history of her life.

*Korundevi* was a princess of Putun, and one of the wives of Samarsi, who fell in the battle of Cagger. During the minority of her son, she nobly maintained the Raj of Mewar, and gave battle in person to Kootub-oo-deen, near Amber, where that Mahomedan Viceroy was wounded and defeated.

The memory of many a Hindoo female is enshrined in the tales of Rajpoot chivalry and romance. One of the most remarkable of these women was *Pudmini*. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra. *Pudmini*, a name bestowed only on the superlatively fair, was the daughter of Hamir Sank, the Chohan Rajah of Ceylon, in the thirteenth century. She was married to Bheemsi, the uncle of the young prince Lakumsi of Chectore, and protector of the kingdom during his minority. In those days there were many intermarriages between the Hindoo princes of the continent and those of Ceylon. Sangurika, the heroine of the charming drama of *Rutnavali*, or the *Necklace*, was a princess of the Cinnamon Isle, who had been married to Rajah Vatsa, of ancient Kosambi, near Allahabad, on the Jumna. *Pudmini* was accompanied to the court of Mewar by her uncle Gorah and cousin Badul. The palace in which she resided still survives; it is a high and castellated building overlooking a piece of water, of which a fine illustration has been attached to the "Annals of Rajasthan."

In the year 1275, the Patan emporor, Alla-oo-deen, was drawn to the conquest of Chectore. He carried on a long and fruitless siege of that stronghold of Hindoo sovereignty. He is said to have persisted in it with a view to gain possession of *Pudmini*. Finding it impossible to accomplish his object, he at length restricted his desire to a mere sight of that extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Trusting to Rajpoot honour, he entered Chectore slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, retraced his steps. The Rajpoot prince, unwilling to

be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the gate of the fortress, being drawn on by the profuse apologies that were being tendered by his guest on account of the trouble he had occasioned him. This was all a sham ; it was to lead Bheemsi into an ambush. No sooner was he made prisoner, than he was hurried away to the Patan camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmini.

Having been made the price of her husband's ransom, the princess sent for her uncle and cousin to consult with them on the best mode of securing herself from dishonour. They advised her to feign acquiescence, and at the same time devised a scheme for the deliverance of their prince without hazarding her life or fame. It was to convey intimation to Alla of her readiness to proceed accompanied by her females and handmaids, as soon as he should withdraw from his trenches. This the Patan did without delay, and issued strict commands against any violation being offered to the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. To form a retinue befitting the high rank of Pudmini, no less than seven hundred covered litters proceeded to the royal camp. In each was a hardy warrior clad in full armour, borne by six armed soldiers in the guise of litter carriers. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with cloth walls ; the litters were deposited ; and half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindoo prince and his bride. In this interval, Bheemsi made his escape upon a fleet horse kept in reserve for him, and his retreat was covered by the devoted band who had gone to effect his liberation. This Rajpoot stratagem, now played for the first time, became in subsequent ages almost a conventional artifice. It has been practised by many an Indian prince in difficulty and despair. Shere Shah made use of it to obtain possession of the fort of Rotasghur.

The outwitted Alla desisted from his object for a time, but again returned to it in 1303. On this occasion he carried on his attacks with great vigour. The brave Mewarees, despairing of success, resolved upon the rite of *Johar*, and lighted the funeral pyre in subterranean chambers impervious to the sun. Hither they conducted in procession the queens, and their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudmini closed the throng, which had been augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tartar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern which was then closed upon them, leaving them to find security from pollution and captivity

in the devouring element. Such was the tragical end of the fair Pudmini. It seems that out of a gallant sentiment for her memory, the ruthless conqueror, who hesitated not to commit every act of barbarity, spared the abode of the fair of Ceylon. The name of Pudmini is hallowed in Rajpoot song. In Bengal it has been made familiar to the young by the muse of Rungo Lall Bannerjee.

*Camala Devi* and *Dewal Devi* are familiar names to many of our readers. *Camala Devi*, the Cumlade of Dow, and the *Caula Devi* of Elphinstone, was the wife of the Rajah of Guzerat, and was universally regarded as the flower of India. On the fall of Nerwalla, the capital of Guzerat, its unfortunate Rajah becoming a fugitive, *Camala Devi* was taken prisoner. She was carried to Alla-oo-deen's harem; and her beauty, wit, and accomplishments, so charmed that conqueror, that regardless of all other ties, he made her his queen. It is said that the fascination of *Camala Devi* soothed the savage Patan in his moodiest hours, and influenced that stern monarch to a lenity which had been unknown to him.

*Dewal Devi* was the daughter of *Camala Devi*, and had succeeded her mother in the reputation of being the greatest beauty of her age. She had escaped the hands of the Patans, and still remained with her exile father. But *Camala Devi* having expressed a wish to be joined by her daughter, Alla readily undertook to gratify her by sending one of his generals with a strong army to bring the young princess to Delhi. The hand of *Dewal Devi* had been long sued for by the son of Ramdeo, the Rajah of Deogiri; but her father, considering a *Mahratta*, however high in rank and power, as an unworthy match for the daughter of a Rajpoot, had rejected all his overtures. In the present extremity, however, he gave a reluctant consent, and the princess was sent off with an escort to Deogiri. The Patan general overtook and defeated the escort; the fair *Dewal Devi* was made captive, and immediately conveyed to the imperial court. Her beauty made such an impression upon the king's eldest son *Khizr Khan*, that he soon after married the Hindoo princess. Their union was extremely happy, and called forth the elegant effusions of the poet Chusero. But before many years had elapsed, *Dewal Devi* had to deplore the putting out of the eyes of her dear lord by *Cafoor*. In five years from the death of Alla, the throne of Delhi was filled by a converted Hindoo, who filled the capital with Hindoo troops, and proposed to

re-establish the Hindoo reign. He put to death all the survivors of Alla's family, and transferred Dewal Devi to his own seraglio. The triumph, however, of her new lord was of short duration, and her ultimate fate is not known.

*Meera Baie* was a daughter of the Rahtore of Mairta, the first of the clans of Marwar, and the wife of Rana Koombhoo of Cheetore. She flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. Meera Baie was the most celebrated princess of her time for beauty and romantic piety. Her husband was a poet, and she was a poetess. The great lyric poet of Bengal, Joydeva, lived near their time. His Gita-Govinda, or Divine Melodies in praise of Krishna, was their favourite text-book. The Rana composed a sequel to that poem. The compositions of Meera Baie were also numerous, and at one time well known to the followers of the Hindoo Apollo. Some of her odes and hymns to that deity are yet preserved and admired. They are said to possess a merit almost equal to that of Joydeva. Meera Baie was a great pilgrim, and offered her devotions at every shrine of Krishna, from the banks of the Jumna to the shores of Dwarka in Guzerat.

Of *Mrignena*, or the "Fawn-eyed," few have heard. She was a Gujarani princess, and was married to Maun Singh, the great Tomara Rajah of Gwalior, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the words of Kharg Rai, who wrote the history of Gwalior in the reign of Shah Jehan, Mrignena was the most beautiful of all Rajah Maun's two hundred Rances. The Rajah was very fond of music, especially of the *Sankirna Rags*, or Mixed Modes, for which Mrignena had a great genius. Four specimens of her compositions are yet extant, and are called after her name, *Gujari*, *Bahul Gujar*, *Mal Gujar*, and *Mangal Gujar*. The excellence of her songs, probably, drew Tansen to Gwalior, where lie the ashes of that celebrated Hindoo musician.

The names of the heroic *Tarra Baie* and the gallant Pirthiraj, the Rolando of his age and the Troubadour of Mewar, are memorable in Rajpoot song and romance. They flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The "fair *Star* (*Tarra*) was the daughter of Rao Soortan, the chieftain of Bednore, in Rajpootana. He was of the Solanki tribe, the lineal descendant of the famed Balhara kings of Anhilwara. Thence expelled by the arms of Alla in the thirteenth century, they migrated to Central India, and obtained possession of Tonk-Thoda and its lands on the Bunas, which from remote times had been occupi-

ed (perhaps founded) by the Taks, and hence bore the name of Taksillanugger, familiarly, Takitpoor and Thoda. Soortan had been deprived of Thoda by Lilla the Afghan, and now occupied Bednore at the foot of the Aravalli, within the bounds of Mewar. Stimulated by the reverses of her family and by the incentives of its ancient glory, Tarra Baie, scorning the habiliments and occupations of her sex, learned to guide the war-horse, and throw with unerring aim the arrow from his back, even while at speed. Armed with the bow and quiver, and mounted on a fiery Kattywar, she joined the cavalcade in their unsuccessful attempts to wrest Thoda from the Afghan. Jeimul, the third son of Rana Raemul, in person made proposals for her hand. 'Redeem Thoda, said the Star of Bednore, 'and my hand is thine.' He assented to the terms; but anticipating the reward, and rudely attempting access to the fair, he was slain by the indignant father. Pirthiraj, the brother of the deceased, then accepted the gage. Fame and the bard had carried the renown of Pirthiraj far beyond the bounds of Mewar. The name alone was attractive to the fair, and when thereto he who bore it added all the chivalrous ardour of his prototype, the Chohan, Tarra Baie, with the sanction of her father, consented to be his, on the simple asseveration that 'he would restore to them Thoda, or he was no true Rajpoot.' The anniversary of the martyrdom of the sons of Alli was the season chosen for the exploit. Pirthiraj formed a select band of five hundred cavaliers; and accompanied by his bride, the fair Tarra, who insisted on partaking his glory and danger, he reached Thoda at the moment the *tazzia*, or bier, containing the martyr brothers, was placed in the centre of the *chowk*, or square. The prince, Tarra Baie, and the faithful Sengar chief, the inseparable companion of Pirthiraj, left their cavalcade and joined the procession as it passed under the balcony of the palace in which the Afghan chief was putting on his dress preparatory to descending. Just as he asked, who were the strange horsemen that had joined the throng, the lance of Pirthiraj and an arrow from the bow of his Amazonian bride stretched him on the floor. Before the crowd recovered from the panic, the three had reached the gate of the town, where their exit was obstructed by an elephant. Tarra Baie with her scimitar divided his trunk; and the animal flying, they joined the cavalcade, which was close at hand. The Afghans were encountered, and could not stand the attack. Those who did not fly were cut to pieces; and the gallant Pirthiraj inducted the father of his bride into his inheritance."

Pirthiraj passed his life in heroic exploits from the age of fourteen to twenty-three, when his life was closed by poison. The poison was given to him by his brother-in-law, in the shape of confection, to avenge an insult. He "partook of it as he came in sight of Komulver, but on reaching the shrine of Mama Devi, was unable to proceed. Here he sent a message to the fair Tarra to come and bid him farewell; but so subtle was the poison that death overtook him ere she descended from the citadel. Her resolution was soon formed; the pyre was erected, and with the mortal remains of the chivalrous Pirthiraj in her embrace, she sought 'the regions of the sun.' Such is the end of the Seesodia prince and the star of Bednore. From such instances we must form our opinion of the manners of the people." The ashes of Pirthiraj and Tarra Baie repose in a lonely gorge opposite the temple of Mama Devi, where the road leads to Marwar.

Though justly entitled to remembrance, there are few Hindoos, particularly on this side of India, who have heard the name of *Rupamati*. This Hindoo lady was as fair as accomplished, and gifted with more than a common share of poetic power. The circumstances of her life are tinged with the colours of romance, and would afford matter for an interesting novel. Rupamati was born in Malwa, at Sarungpore, an old town on the east bank of the Kali-Sindh River, 55 miles north-east of Oujein, and 80 miles in a direct line to the west of Bhilsa. Nothing is known of her parentage or early life. Malcolm declares her to have been a dancing girl of Sarungapore, and that she was more famed for her sense and accomplishments than her beauty. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Malwa had for a short period become an independent power under Baz Bahadur. This Afghan chief was young and gallant, very much addicted to hawking, and passionately fond of music. The beauty and natural qualifications of Rupamati made such an impression upon him, that he made her one of his wives, and forgot the cares of state in the pleasures of her company. The Hindoo lady was nothing loth to be led to the zenana of her sovereign, and be adored there as its favourite idol. There are the remains of a splendid palace at Mandoo, built for the residence of Rupamati, which attest the fondness of her royal lover. Seldom, in authentic history, have two persons been known, whose hearts were knit by the bonds of such fervent love and devoted attachment as existed between Baz Bahadur and Rupamati. They were both equally young, ar-

dent, and romantic. Thus endeared to one another, they were the happiest of mortals, to whom life was one long dream of joy. They passed the day in hawking, and devoted the night to poetry and music. For seven years the loving pair continued in the enjoyment of uninterrupted happiness. They were then rudely disturbed by the ambition of Akbar, who, in the year 1560, despatched a large force, under the command of Adam Khan, to occupy Malwa, and annex it once more to the imperial dominion. Baz Bahadur collected an army in front of Sarungpore to oppose the enemy; but his soldiers deserting him, he was obliged to fly, leaving Adam Khan to take quiet possession of that city. The treasure, the royal ensigns, the elephants, and the ladies of Baz Bahadur's harem, all fell into the hands of the Mogul general. Of Rupamati's fate there are several different accounts, but they all agree in the main fact that she put an end to herself to avoid falling into the hands of Adam Khan. There is one version which states that the women of the harem were placed by Baz Bahadur in the city of Sarungpore, with orders that they should be put to death in case of his defeat. Accordingly, after his flight, a party of soldiers entered the female apartment with drawn swords, and stabbed Rupamati and the other women. This was reported to Adam Khan, who had heard of the great beauty and qualifications of Rupamati, and had set his heart upon the capture of that lady. Distrusting the report made to him, the Mogul general sent his own men to ascertain the truth of the massacre. It turned out to be a fact; but in searching for the body of Rupamati, she was found to be still alive. On receiving a promise that she should be sent to Bahadur, she allowed her wounds to be dressed; but finding on her recovery that Adam Khan's real intention was to keep her for himself, she feigned compliance with his wishes, but killed herself by means of poison. There is another account which attributes her death to the dagger, and not to poison. But the most reliable account is that furnished by the Mahomedan historian Khafi Khan, according to whom "Rupamati fell into the hands of Adam Khan on the flight of Baz Bahadur; and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes, and lay down on her couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep, but on endeavouring to wake her

on the approach of the Khan, they found she had taken poison, and was already dead." It matters little whether she killed herself by the dagger or\* poison : suffice it that she was a high-minded woman, who did not choose to survive the loss of her honour, and who bore such an enthusiastic attachment to her lord that she deemed her existence insupportable without him. The end of her career has some resemblance to that of Cleopatra, but her history is more romantic as well as much more moral. To a great extent her experience may be compared to that of Sappho. Both were gifted with a high poetic vein, and both were ardently fond of the objects of their loves ; and the sad end of both proceeded from pining and separation. They have both left behind them the most impassioned poetry to cherish the memory of their names. The songs of Rupamati are still sung all over Malwa. There is no written collection of them, but they have become traditional among the people, and are many of them preserved by professional songsters and musicians, who, probably, are not aware of the source from which they have sprung. The songs are all composed in the Malwa dialect of Hindi ; and in their simple, natural style, form the genuine outpourings of a fervent heart. The following is one of her songs, called *Bâz Bhup-kalyân*, or the Song of Royal Happiness and Love :—

Friend ! let others boast their treasure—  
 Mine's a stock of true love's pleasure ;  
 Safely cared for every part,  
 'Neath that trusty lock, my heart ;  
 Safe from other women's peeping,  
 For the key's in mine own keeping ;  
 Day by day it grows a little,  
 Never loses e'en a tittle ;  
 But through life will ever go,  
 With Raz Bahadur, weal or woe.—*General Cunningham*

The following song was composed in the days of her early love, to express her grief at the absence of Baz Bahadur :—

*Pâni pran rahat ghat,  
 Bhitar hiyo chûkhat sukh-raj ;  
 Rupamati piyâ hamai dukhiya  
 Kahan gaya piyâ Bahadur, Baz !  
 The helpless soul, chained to the body,  
 Longs for its final home ;  
 And sad Rupamati cries, " Ah, whither  
 Doth Baz Bahadur roam !"*



It is said that on discovering Adam Khan's intentions, Rupamati stabbed herself while repeating the above verse, with a slight extempore alteration,\*to adapt it to the altered circumstances :—

*Tum bin jivra rahat hai,*

*Māngat hai sukh raj.*

*Rupmati dukhiya bhay,*

*Bina Bahadur Baz.*

Rest of her love, my eager soul

Longs for its last repose,

And thus Rupamati ends her grief

For Baz Bahadur's loss.

Contemporary with Rupamati was another Hindoo female, who is famed in Indian history under the name of Durgavati, generally pronounced Durgouti. This celebrated woman was the daughter of the Chandail, king of Mahoba, the ancient capital of Bundelcund. Durgavati was famed for her beauty and accomplishments, and her hand was sought by the Goand king of Gurrah-Mundlah, a territory now included in the British territory of Saugor and Nerbudda. But the Chandails were a tribe of Rajpoots who were extremely proud of their high lineage; and the Rajah of Mahoba feared to incur the odium of his nation by an alliance with an aboriginal king. He condescended to give his daughter in marriage on condition that the Goand prince who demanded her should, to save his character, come with an army of fifty thousand men to take away the princess. Unlike any of the hill chieftains who now rule at Ramgur, Rattanpore, or Sumbhulpore, and who have long been humbled in power and impoverished in means by the Mahrattas, the Goand Rajah of Gurrah-Mundlah at that period possessed large resources, and fulfilled the condition required of him; and Durgavati departed to reign over a country where her name is now more revered than that of any other sovereign it has ever had. The town of Gurrah stands on the right bank of the Nerbudda, about five miles below Jubblepore. It is at Gurrah that the traveller who now chooses to go home overland, *vid* Bombay, has to cross that sacred stream flowing through high, rocky banks, and enter Deccan. The ghaut there is lined with five stone steps, overhung by little picturesque temples. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the kingdom of Gurrah-Mundlah extended for 300 miles in length and 100 miles in breadth. The country was flourishing, and abounded in wealth. There

were then, it is said, "about 70,000 towns and villages well inhabited, which had the good fortune never to have fallen under the dominion of foreigners." Those who now pass through the country scarcely find any traces or vestiges of this high prosperity, and are inclined to accept the statement of Abul Fazil as nearer the truth: "That the adjacent country was under forest, harbouring great numbers of wild elephants." However the state of things may have been, it is said that, tempted by the riches of the country, Asaph Khan, an omrah in the service of Akbar, led an army against it in the year 1564. Her husband being dead, and her son a minor, Durgavati, with 1,500 elephants, 8,000 horse, and some foot, prepared to stem the torrent of Mahomedan invasion. Clothed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, and mounted in a howdah upon an elephant, with her bow and quiver lying by her side, and a burnished lance in her hand, the Ranee herself led on her troops to action. The love of national independence and the example of the queen inspired every breast with courage. They routed the Moguls in two successive instances, laying 600 of their horsemen dead on the field. The heroic queen was for attacking the enemy by night, before they recovered from their consternation; but her ministers did not second her resolution. To wipe out the disgrace sustained at the hands of a woman, Asaph advanced for the third time, bringing on his artillery that had been left behind on account of the badness of the roads. Durgavati waited to receive him in a narrow pass. The Mogul general, scouring the pass with his artillery, opened a passage into the plain beyond, where the queen's army was drawn up in order of battle. But prince Biâr, her son, a youth of great hopes, made such a resolute charge as to repulse the enemy twice. He was wounded in the third attack, and, becoming faint from loss of blood, was about to expire, when his mother ordered him to be carried to the rear. To many this afforded a plausible opportunity to quit the field. Their cowardice set such a bad example, that at last the unfortunate queen was left only with three hundred men. Nothing daunted, the intrepid lady stood her ground, till she was wounded by an arrow in her eye. In endeavouring to extricate it, part of the steel broke short, and remained behind; meanwhile, another arrow passed through her neck, which she also drew out; but nature sinking under the pain, a dimness came over her eyes, and she began to sway from side to side of the howdah. A trusty officer of her household now asked permission to carry her

from the field ; but she rejected the proposal with a noble disdain. " It is true," said she, " we are overcome in war, but shall we ever be vanquished in honour ? Shall we, for the sake of a lingering, ignominious life, lose that reputation and virtue which we have been so solicitous to acquire ? No, let your gratitude now render that service for which I lifted up your head, and which I now require at your hands. Haste, I say ; let your dagger save me from the crime of putting an end to my own existence." The officer burst into tears at her words, and begged that as the elephant was swift of foot, he might be permitted to leave the field, and carry her to a place of safety. The queen, finding the enemy crowd fast around her, and fearing to be taken prisoner, suddenly leaned forward, seized the dagger of her officer, and plunged it into her own bosom. Six Chiefs stood firm to the last, and, ashamed of being outdone by a woman, dedicated their lives to avenge her death.

In the words of Sleeman, " the tomb of Durgavati is still to be seen where she fell in a narrow defile between two hills ; and a pair of large rounded stones, which stand near, are, according to popular belief, her royal drums turned into stone, which, in the dead of the night, are still heard resounding through the woods, and calling the spirits of her warriors from their graves around her. The travellers who pass this solitary spot respectfully place upon the tomb the prettiest specimen they can find of the crystals which abound in the neighbourhood ; and with so much of kindly feelings had the history of Durgavati inspired me, that I could not resist the temptation of adding one to the number when I visited her tomb some sixteen years ago."

The memory of Durgavati lives in Goand story and Goand song. It was the fresh example of this heroic Hindoo female that must have, thirty years later, prompted the famous Mahomedan lady, known as Chand Bibee, to be present at the siege of Ahmednugger in full armour, with a veil over her face and a naked sword in her hand ; and who is the favourite heroine of the Deccan.

The Begum, who is famous in the annals of Indo-Mogul history under the name of *Jodh Bai*, was a Hindoo princess, the daughter of Rajah Maldeo, and the sister of Oody Sing, of Jodhpore, in Marwar. Her brother gave her in marriage to Akbar, and formed that matrimonial alliance with the imperial family which not only averted the imperial wrath that had been incurred by his father, but also procured him many of

those imperial favours that contributed to the aggrandizement of the state of Jodhpore. This event took place in the year 1569, and was execrated as the first instance in which the purity of Hindoo nationality has been sullied by connexion with the Islamite. Her beauty and other qualities made her the favourite sultana in the imperial seraglio. A few months after she had arrived there, she accompanied the emperor on a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Moinuddeen, at Ajmere. It was undertaken to secure the intercession of that celebrated saint for progeny. The royal pair broke their journey in easy stages of three coss, or six miles : that the Begum might not hurt her feet, carpets were spread on the road. That her *purdanashin* honour might not suffer, kannats, or cloth-walls, were raised on each side of the way. High towers of burnt bricks were also erected at each stage to mark the places where they rested in their imperial progress. In this manner did they arrive at their destination, where the emperor made a supplication to the saint, who at night appeared to him in his sleep, and recommended him to seek the interposition of the holy old man who lived on the top of Futtehpore-Sicri. This was Sheik Salem, to whom the emperor came, and by whom he was assured that his Begum Jodh Baie would be delivered of a son who would live to a good old age. The empress happened to be pregnant about the time, and remained in the vicinity of the old man's hermitage, till the promised boy was born, who was called after the hermit, Mirza Selim—the future Jehangeer of Indian history. In Futtehpore-Sicri they show you to this day the little roof of tiles, close to the original little dingy mosque of the old hermit, where Jodh Baie gave birth to Jehangeer."

It would be interesting for us to acquaint ourselves, if it were possible, with the domestic life of a Hindoo princess in a Mahomedan royal household. But no account has been left behind of the manner in which Jodh Baie exercised her influence over Akbar, or brought up her son Jehangeer. Though men are led by national instinct to choose their mates from among their own race, it would be well for mankind if they could get over the prejudice against foreign matrimonial alliances. The doctrine of miscogeneration is upheld by many legislators and statesmen as serving to merge the human race into one ethical species. Such, in some sort, was the policy inaugurated by Akbar, who formed matrimonial alliances with Hindoo families. It tended to assimilate the Moslem with the Hindoo;

and, if kept up, it would probably have never weakened the power of the Moguls. The fact is emphatically on record, that "the people of India owed much of the good they enjoyed under Akbar to Jodh Baie, by inspiring not only her husband, but the most able Mahomedan minister that India has ever had, with feelings of universal benevolence."

The exact year of Jodh Baie's death is uncertain. From the following account given by Tod, it appears to have occurred after the capture of Ahmednugger, in 1600 A. D.—"On the death of the queen Jodh Baie, Akbar commanded a court-mourning; and that all might testify a participation in their master's affliction, an ordinance issued that all the Rajpoot chiefs as well as the Moslem leaders should shave the *moustache* and beard. To secure compliance, the royal barbers had the execution of the mandate. But when they came to the quarters of the Haras, in order to remove these tokens of manhood, they were repulsed with buffets and contumely. The enemies of Rao Bhoj aggravated the crime of this resistance, and insinuated to the royal ear that the outrage upon the barbers was accompanied with expressions insulting to the memory of the departed princess, who, it will be remembered, was a Rajpootni of Marwar. Akbar, forgetting his vassal's gallant services in Guzerat and Ahmednugger, commanded that Rao Bhoj should be pinioned and forcibly deprived of his '*mouche*.' He might as well have commanded the operation on a tiger. The Haras flew to their arms, the camp was thrown into tumult, and would soon have presented a wide scene of bloodshed, had not the emperor, seasonably repenting of his folly, repaired to the Boondi quarters in person. He expressed his admiration (he might have said his fear) of Hara valour, alighted from his elephant to expostulate with the Rao, who, with considerable tact, pleaded his father's privileges, and added 'that an eater of pork like him was unworthy the distinction of putting his lip into mourning for the queen.' Akbar, happy to obtain even this acknowledgment, embraced the Rao, and carried him with him to his own quarters."

To perpetuate the memory of the empress Jodh Baie, Akbar erected over her remains a splendid tomb. It was to be seen on the artillery practice-ground at Agra till some thirty years ago, when the walls and magnificent gateways that surrounded the tomb were first taken away and sold by a thrifty government, and then the tomb itself was experimentalized upon for a practical lesson in mining. No palliation can ever be urged of an outrage upon the dead; far

less can any plea extenuate the act of blowing up into the air the remains of a woman no other than Akbar's favourite queen.

The emperor Akbar anticipated the *Fancy Fairs* of the nineteenth century, and celebrated them within the precincts of his court, under the name of Khoosroz, or the day of pleasure. In these fairs, the wives and daughters of the nobles, Mogul as well as Rajpoot, assembled and exposed for sale their artistic wares; and the emperor stalked forth in disguise like a royal wizard lured by the scent of female flesh and blood. On "one of these celebrations of the Khoosroz, the monarch of the Moguls was struck with the beauty of the daughter of Mewar, and he singled her out from amidst the united fair of Hind as the object of his passion. It is not improbable that an ungenerous feeling united with that already impure, to dispoil the Seesodias of their honour through a princess of their house, under the protection of the sovereign. On retiring from the fair, she found herself entangled amidst the labyrinth of apartments by which egress was purposely ordained, when Akbar stood before her; but instead of acquiescence, she drew a poniard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating, and making him repeat, the oath of renunciation of the infamy to all her race."

Aurungzeb had demanded the hand of the princess of Roopnagurh, a junior branch of the Marwar house, and sent with the demand a *cortège* of two thousand horse to escort her to Delhi; but the haughty Rajpootni rejected with disdain the proffered alliance, and appealed to the gallantry of Rana Raj Sing, offering herself as the reward of protection. She addressed a billet to that prince, saying, "Is the swan to be the mate of the stork; a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian?" and concluded her letter with a threat of self-destruction if she was not saved from dishonour. This appeal was seized on with avidity by the Rana, who, with a chosen band, rapidly passed the foot of the Aravalli and appeared before Roopnagurh, cut up the imperial guards, and bore off the princess to his capital. This is sufficient to exhibit the great influence of women, not only on, but also in, society.

Having been defeated in the battle of Oujein by the combined forces of Aurungzeb and Moorad, the Maharajah Jesswant Sing Raptore retreated to his own country. But his wife, a daughter of the Rana of Odipoor, disdained to receive her

lock, and shut the gates of the castle. Bernier, who was then in India, says, "I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband, Jesswunt Sing, after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat, instead of sending some one to condole him in his misfortunes, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not have so mean a soul; that he was to remember that being grafted into so illustrious a house, he was to imitate its virtue: in a word, he was to vanquish or to die. A moment after, she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; that they abused her; that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after, she was seen to change countenance, to fall into a passion, and break into a thousand reproaches against him." In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming, brought her in time to herself, and composed her by assuring her that as soon as the Rajah had but refreshed himself, he would raise another army to fight Aurungzeb, and repair his honour. By this story one may see a pattern of the courage of Rajpoot women. There is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, may not make men do or suffer."

To multiply anecdotes of Rajpoot female heroism and delicacy of sentiment would be easy: and we will conclude with one more instance, that of a Hindoo Lucretia. The city of Gunour, near Bhopaul, having been captured by Mahomedan perfidy, the Ranee of that place was marked out for a victim to Mahomedan lust. Denial would have been useless, and would have led only to compulsion, for the Khan awaited her reply in the hall below. The Ranee, therefore, sent a message of assent, and demanded two hours for unmolested preparation. The terrace of the palace had been fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials, and the Khan was summoned there in due time. Robed in the marriage garb sent to him by the queen, with a necklace and aigrette of superb jewels from the coffers of Gunour, he hastened to obey the mandate, and found that fame had not done justice to her charms. He was desired to be seated, and

passed his time in conversation full of rapture on his side. But soon his countenance fell; he complained of heat; punkas and water were brought, but they availed him not: and he began to tear the bridal garments from his body, when the Ranee thus addressed him:—"Know, Khan, that your last hour is come; our wedding and our death shall be sealed together. The vestments which cover you are poisoned; you had left me no other expedient to escape pollution." While all were horror-struck by this declaration, she sprung from the battlements into the Nerbudda beneath. The Khan, the founder of the family now ruling in Bhopaul, died in extreme torture, and was buried on the road to his capital. There is a belief that a visit to his grave has the effect of curing the tertian ague of that country.

No Hindoo female is entitled to the high degree of celebrity which belongs to *Ahuliya Baie*, the *Alia Baie* of Sir John Malcolm. The noble character she presents is one that would adorn any age or country. Indeed, *Seeta* and *Sacuntola*, *Kunti* and *Draupadi*, rank highest in the estimation of the Hindoos. But, to acknowledge the truth, they have all found great authors to blazon their names and hold them up to fame, and myth has flung the lustre round them to which is owing much of their celebrity. No such myth helps to surround with glory the name of the Mahratta princess, who, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, ruled for thirty years in the state founded by the genius of *Mulhar Rao Holkar*. Though it is now nearly three quarters of a century since she passed away from the land of the living to the domains of history, yet there has arisen none of her nation to make her his heroine. But while her own countrymen neglect to render her the justice that is her due, she has found a stranger and foreigner to perpetuate the memory of her good deeds, to bear the testimony of a contemporary to her merits and virtues, and to give her a niche in the temple of the Indian Clō.

*Ahuliya Baie* was born in the year 1735 A. D. Nothing more is known of her parents than that they were a family of the name of *Scindia*. Of middle stature, a thin form, and a dark olive colour, *Ahuliya* was never famed for that beauty which is prized most by a woman. It is said that when the beautiful but wicked *Anuntya Baie*, wife of *Ragoba*, and mother of *Bajeerow*, the ex-peishwa, was at *Dhar*, envious, perhaps, of the fame of *Ahuliya Baie*, she sent a female attendant to bring an account of her looks. The woman is



reported to have said on her return, "Ahuliya Baie has not beautiful features, but a heavenly light is on her countenance." "But she is not handsome, you say," was the only reply of her mistress, who felt consolation in this part of the report. But, though wanting in "sweet, attractive grace," she had a clear complexion and an agreeable countenance highly expressive of that goodness which marked every action of her life. Nature had amply compensated her for her slender frame and humble features by a quick and clear understanding, strong natural sense, a lofty mind, and noble virtues, which produce a greater effect than a handsome, external appearance, and bear out the truth of the saying, "Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set."

The mind of Ahuliya Baie was more cultivated than is usual with the sex of her nation. It has not been expressly told whether she learnt to read in early life, but the presumption is in favour of her having done so, as knowledge and a well grounded training must have greatly helped to make her the extraordinary woman she became. Her favourite study was the Puranas, which comprise all that is valuable in the political, social, and religious history of the Hindoos. It is the common belief of all orthodox Hindoos "that to peruse or merely to listen to the perusal of the Mahabharat or Ramayana will ensure prosperity in this world and eternal happiness hereafter; will give wealth to those who are poor, and children to the woman who is barren."

The hand of Ahuliya was given to Kundee Rao, the only son of Mulhar Rao Holkar. Kundee Rao died in the life-time of his father, leaving a son called Malli Rao, and a daughter named Mutchia Baie. Ahuliya became a widow before she was twenty years of age. On the death of her husband, she left off wearing all coloured garments, which are so greatly in fashion among every class of Hindoo females all over Upper India, and particularly in the Deccan. She always dressed in plain white clothes, according to the usage of Hindoo widows, without even an embroidered or coloured border; nor did she put on any ornaments or jewels, except a small necklace, and remained, amid every temptation, unchanged in her habits and character.

On the death of Mulhar Rao, Malli Rao succeeded his grandfather, but turned insane, and died in nine months. The death of her son made Ahuliya Baie the lawful inheritress of the sovereignty of the Holkars. Her daughter having been married to another family, had forfeited her claim to the succession.

But Gungadhur Jeswant, the minister of Mulhar Rao, urged the adoption of some child connected with the Holkar family. To this Ahuliya declared that hers was the exclusive right to succession as wife and mother of the two last representatives of the family, and that she was resolved at all hazards to maintain her claim. The chiefs and soldiery supported her cause. Ragobah, the uncle of the peishwa and the commander of his army, had been bribed by Gungadhur to oppose Ahuliya Baie. But she advised him against "making war on a woman, from which he might incur disgrace, but could gain no honour." To give effect to this remonstrance, she prepared also for hostilities, and made a politic display of her determination to lead her army in person by directing four bows, with quivers full of arrows, to be fitted to the corners of the howdah on her favourite elephant Scindia, Boslah, and the other chiefs, refused to support Ragobah against a woman and widow, and the peishwa peremptorily ordered his uncle to desist from opposition. Supported by her troops, the sovereign power, and the voice of the country, the cause of Ahuliya Baie proved triumphant. She succeeded to the administration of the Holkar government in A. D. 1765, when she was not more than thirty years old. On coming to the possession of the royal treasures, she is said to have appropriated them, by the performance of a religious ceremony, to the purposes of charity and good works. The ceremony consisted in placing a little water in her hand, and mixing it with some leaves of the toolsee plant, and then sprinkling it over the treasure, while a Brahmin uttered the usual consecration prayer. Her next act was to select Tukajee Holkar as the commander of her army, for fulfilling those duties which as a female she could not perform. Forgetting all ill-will, she also restored, on the ground of his former services and high character, the minister Gungadhur to his dewanship. Tukajee Holkar administered the countries he occupied, and at one time he was twelve years absent in the Deccan, a period more than sufficient to cool the royal zeal of most deputies. But he never grew shaky, and always retained his sense of obligation to his benefactress. His loyalty was rewarded; he lived honoured, and died regretted, and his family succeeded to the principality. He called Ahuliya Baie his mother, and she styled him "Tukajee, the son of Mulhar Rao Holkar."

The Baie personally administered the provinces of Malwa and Nemaar. Her great object was, by a just and moderate government, to improve the condition of the country and promote the

welfare of her subjects. Her first principle of government was "moderate assessment and a sacred respect for the native rights of village officers and proprietors of lands." She kept no troops with her, but trusted to the territorial militia, "aided by the equity of her administration, to preserve internal tranquillity;" and she relied on the army of the state, and "her own reputation," for safety against any danger from abroad. The tributaries of the Holkar family were, during her administration, treated with attention and moderation. Nothing rejoiced her more than to see bankers, merchants, farmers, and cultivators, rise to affluence; and so "far from deeming their increased wealth a ground of exaction, she considered it a legitimate claim to increased favour and protection." The Gonds and Bheels were to some extent reclaimed by her from their savage life and marauding habits. Conciliation and kindness were the means by which she sought to civilize them; but, in a few instances, she had occasion to show severity in order to inspire a dread into the minds of those savages and robbers. Intolerance is not a reproach of the Hindoo religion, but Ahuliya went so far as to be peculiarly kind and considerate to those of her subjects who differed from her in faith. There would be no end to a minute detail of the measures of her internal policy. It is sufficient to observe that her government is universally acknowledged to have been a model of good government. Her name is considered such excellent authority, that an objection is never made when her practice is pleaded as the precedent.

During her long reign, the territories of Ahuliya Baie were never invaded, except by Ulsee Rana of Odipoor. The Baie repelled his attack with such promptitude and vigour as to make him sue for peace, which was granted. The undisturbed internal tranquillity of the country was even more remarkable than its exemption from the attacks of external enemies. This was produced by her manner of governing the various classes; she was indulgent to the peaceable and industrious, but firm and severe, though not unjust and inconsiderate, towards the turbulent and predatory. In India the permanence or instability of the ministers and officers of a state often afford a criterion whereby the natives judge of their governors. Ahuliya Baie had the same minister, Govind Pundit Gunnoo, a Brahmin of excellent character, throughout her long reign. Her managers were seldom, if ever, changed. Kundee Row was for more than twenty years manager of Indore; "and it is the general tradition that he gratified his mistress less by the

regularity with which he collected the revenue, than the spectacle he presented her of a happy and contented population."

The agents and envoys of all the principal as well as petty rulers of India residing at her court, proclaimed the supremacy of Ahuliya in matters relating to peace or war, or to the foreign relations of the state. The Baie had her deputies at Poona, Hyderabad, Seringapatam, Nagpore, Lucknow, and Calcutta. Her correspondence extended to the most remote parts of India, and were carried on through Brahmins who were the agents of her pious munificence. She built many forts, and constructed a wonderful road at Jaum, at great labour and cost, over the Vindhya range, where it is almost perpendicular. Considerable sums were expended by her in religious edifices, durmsalas or resting-places, and wells, throughout the Holkar possessions. Her munificence was not limited to her own territories, but extended to all the famous places of Hindoo pilgrimage at Juggernaut, Gya, Benares, Kedarnauth, Dwarka, and Setbunder, where she built shrines, maintained establishments, and sent annual sums for charity. The present temple of Biscwara at Benares is one of her architectural structures. The temple of Mahadeva at Gya is another. Old Indore is situated on the right side of the stream. The present Indore, on the left bank, was built by Ahuliya Baie in 1767.

It is wonderful how a female could have coped with the labours she imposed upon herself, and which, for the space of thirty years, were unremitted. Ahuliya had the habit of rising one hour before daybreak to say her prayers and perform the customary ceremonies. She then heard the sacred volumes of her faith read for a fixed period, distributed alms, and gave food, in person, to a number of Brahmins. Her own breakfast was then brought, which consisted simply of vegetables; for although meat was not prohibited to her tribe, she had forsworn all animal food. Retiring after breakfast to have a short repose, she got up at about two o'clock, and dressing herself, went to the durbar, or court, where she remained till six in the evening. It is not a rule amongst the Hindoos of the Deccan to confine their females, or to compel them to wear veils. The system of veiling and locking up prevails in the provinces which have suffered most from the Mahomedans, and are tainted with many Mahomedanisms. In the ways and manners of the Mahrattas are retained many of the features of ancient Hindoo society. They instruct their females in reading and

writing. The management of the horse forms a part of the education of ladies of rank ; as much liberty is allowed them as they can desire, and also a considerable share in government. Ahuliya Baie, therefore, offended no prejudice when she took upon herself the direct management of affairs, and sat every day for a considerable period, in open durbar, transacting business. She heard every complaint in person, and was always accessible. She used to say that she "deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power." Few will dispute the principle, but very few, even among Christians, act like Ahuliya Baie, as if they so believed. The business of the day over, two or three hours were again devoted to *poojah* and a frugal repast, after which business recommenced about nine o'clock, and continued until eleven, at which hour the Baie retired to rest. This course of life, marked by prayer, abstinence, and labour, knew no variation, except on occasions of religious fasts and festivals, and on the occurrence of public emergencies.

Many of the acts and institutions of Ahuliya evinced a spirit of charity which had the truest character of wisdom and benevolence. She daily fed the poor, and gave them especial entertainments on occasions of festivals. In the summer months, when water is scarce in Malwa and the Deccan owing to the utter drainage of the mountain streams, men were posted on the roads to supply travellers with that element. In the cold weather, she distributed clothes to the naked and infirm. The very beasts of the field and the birds of the air shared in her compassion. Daily did the peasants working in the fields near Mhysir see their oxen stopped and unyoked to be refreshed with water brought by the servants of their humane queen. Modern Brahmoism may deplore her superstition, and modern economy may censure the impolicy of wasting the treasures of a state in remote lands ; but she did what a hundred millions of people approved, what preserved her country for thirty years in a state of profound peace, and what rendered her subjects happy and herself adored. To quote the words of one of her officers, given by Sir John Malcolm, "I know well what feelings were excited by the mere mention of her name. Among the princes of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to have become her enemy, or indeed not to have defended her against any hostile attempt. She was considered by all in the same light. The Nizam of the Deccan and Tippoo Sultan granted her the same respect as the peishwa ;

and Mahomedans joined with Hindoos in prayers for her long life and prosperity." They sainted the emperor Augustus in ancient Rome by building a temple dedicated to his worship. They have sainted Ahuliya Baie in Malwa by placing a figure of her "near the statues of the god Ramchundra and his wife the goddess Seeta."

The last years of Ahuliya Baie's life were clouded by a domestic incident of melancholy interest. She had a son who died raving mad, and caused her unmingled anguish. Her other child was a daughter, who was in many respects worthy of her mother. The girl, on being left a widow, declared her intention of performing suttee. Her mother besought her to live, pointed out her own solitary lot, and entreated her daughter not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth. But Mutchu Baie, although affectionate, was calm and resolved. "You are old, mother," she said, "and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life, I feel, will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed." Finding all dissuasion to be of no avail, Ahuliya gave her reluctant consent. She walked in the procession to the scene of the dreadful act, and stood near the pile supported by two Brahmins who held her arms. Though suffering great agony of mind, she preserved her firmness till the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command. Her shrieks now increased the noise made by the exulting shouts of the multitude gathered to witness the deed. She strove to liberate her hands, and run to the rescue of her daughter. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbudda after the bodies were consumed. She then retired to her palace, where, for three days, she was so absorbed in grief, that she did not utter a word, and hardly tasted any food. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented.

Ahuliya Baie died at the age of sixty, in the year 1795. She was worn out with care and fatigue, and is supposed to have hastened her death by a too strict observance of the numerous fasts prescribed by her religion. No comment is necessary on the stainless purity and sincere piety of her character, on her admirable judgment and temper, on the just and benevolent principles of her government, and on her tender care of the general weal. Let the facts speak for themselves. One remark

needs to be made: flattery, to which her sex always lends the most willing ear, was ever lost upon Ahuliya Baie. A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise, which she heard read with patience; but, after observing "she was a weak, sinful woman, and not deserving such fine encomiums," she directed it to be thrown into the Nerbudda, and took no further notice of the author. The wise Akbar did not silence the flatterer, and suffered the exaggerations of Abdul Fazil to stand upon record. But Ahuliya Baie certainly showed a wiser judgment and more correct taste.

The following is Malcolm's enthusiastic summary of this admirable woman's character:—"The facts that have been stated of Ahuliya Baie rest on grounds that admit of no scepticism. It is, however, an extraordinary picture, a female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance; a mind imbued with the deepest superstition, yet receiving no impressions except what promoted the happiness of those under its influence; a being exercising in the most active and able manner despotic power, not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint that a strict conscience could impose on human action; and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others. Such, at least, is the account which the natives of Malwa give of Ahuliya Baie; with them her name is sainted, and she is styled an Avatar, or Incarnation of the Divinity. In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears, within her limited sphere, to have been one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever existed; and she affords a striking example of the practical benefit a mind may receive from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its Creator."

It is strange that so great a name as that of Ahuliya Baie should have no mention in the pages of modern Indian history. Mill, perhaps, has purposely suppressed any account of her to guard himself against inconsistency, and prevent the latter part of his work from contradicting the statements in the earlier chapters. Thornton has passed over her name in utter silence, while he has taken prominent notice of the profligate Toolsee Baie. The late East India Company wasted a good deal of Indian money upon a work that grossly misrepresents the Indians, and that is nothing more than "a war's rattle throughout." India has not her historian yet, and to this circumstance may be traced much of that wrong impression which prevails respecting her sons. It is good

that the Hindoos of Bombay are zealous in the cause of Hindoo female education ; it is good that they have given a warm response to the suggestions of Miss Mary Carpenter ; it is good that Dr. Bhau Daji presides at the head of a Female Institution : but traveller and antiquarian that he is, he should undertake to make proper researches and compile a Boswellian biography of the great Mahratta lady who affords the noblest example of wisdom, goodness, and virtue. That which Akbar is among male sovereigns, is Ahuliya Baie among female sovereigns.

There is another woman of the Holkar family who has acquired celebrity in the annals of India—we allude to *Toolsee Baie*. But the difference between Ahuliya Baie and Toolsee Baie is the difference between gold and brass. Though it would be an insult to the memory of Ahuliya Baie to mention her name and that of Toolsee Baie in the same breath, yet the actions and death of the last lady demand some notice at our hand. This Mahratta princess was born about the year 1790. The circumstances of her parentage are quite mysterious. There was a priest called Adjeebah, who belonged to the sect of the Maun Bhow, founded by Krishna Bhut, and well known in the southern parts of India. The doctrines of this sect inculcate the sacredness of the Vedas, but deny that of the Puranas and Gitas. Adjeebah resided at Mhysir, and obtained great local celebrity for his sanctity. He had a rich disciple in Hureka Baie, the favourite mistress of Mulhar Rao, who made him rich, and allowed him a palankeen, horses, and attendants. It was under the roof of this holy personage that Toolsee Baie passed the years of her infancy. Indeed, the sect to which Adjeebah belonged was bound to celibacy ; but it may well be suspected that Toolsee Baie was the offspring of that irregular intercourse which is often carried on by men who pretend to have renounced all earthly affections and attachments. Ostensibly Toolsee Baie was brought up as the pupil of the professed mendicant. She was tutored in more than the common arts of her sex, and acquired sufficient learning to be looked upon as an extraordinary person in a country where women receive little instruction. Nature had endowed her with superb beauty, to which she added winning manners. She appears to have had considerable talent, and sometimes displayed great resolution ; but cruelty of disposition and looseness of morals formed those defects in her character on account of which her memory is now held in little respect.



Toolsee Baie was married, and lived with her husband in the Deccan. But a Mahratta adventurer, named Shamrow Madik, having seen and admired her beauty, conceived the design of pushing his fortunes by bringing her to the notice of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. Beauty in humble life is scarcely safe from the machinations of the seducer. By an eastern despot it is laid claim to as treasure-trove. Besides, the licentious passions of Jeswunt Rao Holkar were such as brooked no control; and the sacrifice of the honour of the females of their family was no unusual road with courtiers to his favour. The handsome wife of Gunpat Row was considered as the principal link between that minister and his prince. No sooner, therefore, was Toolsee Baie placed in the way of Holkar, than he was captivated by her charms. Her previous marriage was regarded as no bar to the gratification of the desires of the sovereign. In a few days she was conducted to his zenana, and her liege lord to a prison. But the lingering tenderness of the wife obtained the release of the husband, who was dismissed with a horse, a dress, and a small sum of money, to console him for his loss.

From the day Toolsee Baie became the mistress of Jeswunt Rao, she ruled the house of the Holkars, and exercised an influence and direction in all public affairs. On that chief becoming insane, she succeeded to the regency. Not only are the claims of females to such power readily admitted by the Mahrattas, but the example of Ahuliya Baie had created a precedent in favour of female administrations. Like her great predecessor, Toolsee Baie daily held her durbar, or court, but in a manner quite different from that of Ahuliya Baie. Instead of sitting openly at the court, she kept herself behind a curtain, and communicated with her ministers and officers through her confidant Meenah Baie, who remained unveiled on the outside. The reason commonly assigned for Toolsee Baie's being seated behind a curtain was her youth and beauty. But the real fact was, that she was at first not so shameless as to brave the world, and that she was afraid of losing her influence by becoming known as an unprincipled woman. Toolsee Baie at first gave her entire confidence to a buuniah named Ballaram Seit, and chose him to be her principal minister. But the man did not prove equal to the task of conducting the administration with vigour and wisdom. There was no regular collection of revenue, the government had not the power of reducing its army, and the finances of the state were inadequate to the support of the

establishments. Under a nominal regency, the state was alternately governed by two factions, the Mahrattas and Patans, who were constantly intriguing against each other, and filled the country with anarchy. To so high a pitch had the authority of one of the parties risen under an officer called Dherm, that the insane Jeswunt Rao, Toolsee Baie, and the young prince Mulhar Row, were not only put under restraint, but were actually carried to a thick jungle to be murdered. Fortunately a Mahratta chief of the household troops became apprized of their condition, and hastened to their rescue. He arrested Dherm and his associates, and brought them next morning prisoners to the tent of Toolsee Baie. She ordered their immediate execution, and they were carried in a cart to a spot about a mile from the lines, and put to death.

In the year 1811 Jeswunt Rao died. His death having put an end to the regency, Toolsee Baie, who had no child, adopted Mulhar Rao Holkar, a boy of four years old, the son of Jeswunt Rao by another concubine, and in his name continued to govern. Before two months had elapsed, an attempt was made to deprive her of authority. But the plot was defeated as soon as discovered, and all the parties concerned in it were put to death. To prevent the repeated mutinies of the troops for arrears of pay, and the danger that ensued from their conduct, Toolsee Baie offered to mortgage a portion of the Holkar territory to Scindia in return for pecuniary aid. But her negotiations were defeated by ministers and officers who were little attached to her cause or inclined to seek her interest. She had disgusted them all by her open and shameless profligacy with her dewan Gunput Row, which had become the scandal of all India, and brought disgrace upon the family of Holkar. Finding the whole army to have gone into a general mutiny, Toolsee Baie fled with her adopted son for safety into the fort of Gungraur. There she was surrounded by the turbulent Patans, who wanted to take from her the custody of the young prince, in the possession of whose person all her strength consisted. But a trusty commander of her household troops, called Jottebah Naick, made a vigorous effort to aid her on this critical occasion. He succeeded in scaling the wall at a place where it was low, and attacked the mutineers, who guarded the gates, with such fury, that they were all either killed or wounded. Toolsee Baie warmly welcomed the Naick, who found her sitting with a dagger in one hand, and the child Mulhar Row in the other, with intent to stab

him to the heart rather than allow him to be taken from her. On another occasion, when a hot cannonade had been opened, Toolsee Baie displayed great courage, till a shot struck the howdah of the elephant on which the child Mulhar Row was seated. This spread a general alarm, and Toolsee Baie instantly mounted a horse, and placing the prince on another with Gunput Row, commenced a flight which was continued over sixteen miles of ground.

Thus was the state of the Holkars plunged in turmoil and distraction, till events, which hastened on a crisis, occurred about the end of the year 1817. The British armies then advanced towards Central India, and Toolsee Baie made a secret endeavour to place the young Mulhar Row and herself under British protection. The step was fraught with good for an infant prince and an unpopular regent. But the peishwa was at that time organizing a general confederacy against British power, to which Gunput Row was gained over. The soldiery, too, were clamorous for war. Partly owing to the violence of her opponents, and partly to the influence of her paramour, Toolsee Baie was obliged to secede from her plan, and join in demonstrations of loyalty towards the paramount sovereign. But she waited for a favourable opportunity for effecting her purpose. This was afforded by the march of the British troops towards Mehidpore, which filled the court of Holkar with apprehensions, and led to the resumption of the negotiations which had for some time been broken off. But the Patans, who formed the larger portion of Holkar's army, were eager for war and its expected advantages. They were afraid that an alliance with the British government would put an end to the distractions that gave them importance; and this made them violent against all who proposed peace. Toolsee Baie gave them great offence by her desire to secure the protection of the English. She was suspected of an intention to come to terms; and so determined were the Patans to cut off all chance of pacification, that they enticed the youthful Holkar from an outer tent where he was playing, and placed a guard over that of Toolsee Baie. Gunput Row came to her relief; but finding that the prince had been separated from her, he at once saw the extent of the plot, and, turning back, mounted a horse to escape, but he was pursued by a party who came up with him in the bed of the river Seeptra. He was slightly wounded with a spear before he was thrown off his horse; he was then plundered, insulted with blows, and, after being subjected to

every species of indignity, conveyed a prisoner, amidst hoots and execrations, to the infantry lines.

The unhappy Toolsee Baie was not destined long to endure the torment of suspense as to her fate. The dawn of the 21st of December 1817 was the last she was permitted to witness. As the light broke, she was led from her prison, put in a palankeen, and conducted to the place of her execution. Her piercing cries awakened many from their sleep, but none moved a hand or raised a voice to save her. She was brought to the banks of the Seepra, dragged from her palankeen, and beheaded by a Mahomedan jemadar. The severed body was thrown into the Seepra without even the common rites of a Hindoo funeral.

None but a remorseless Mussulman could have imbrued his hands in the blood of a female. With him woman is a soulless being, and slaughter a meritorious act. It is morally and religiously repugnant to a Hindoo to shed feminine blood. The atrocities of the Sepoy Mutiny are instanced as disproving the mildness of the Hindoo character. But if it were possible to gain accurate particulars of the murders and massacres of that time, fifteen-sixteenths of those murders and massacres would be proved to have been committed by Mahomedan hands, and brought home to cruel and callous-minded Mahomedans. The tragical death of Toolsee Baie took place when she was hardly thirty years of age. She was a woman not only of great beauty, but of remarkable quickness of intellect. Few surpassed her in a fluent and persuasive eloquence. She rode with great grace, and was always, when on horseback, attended by a large number of the high-born ladies of the land. It is true that her career was marked by cruelty and licentiousness, on account of which the beauty and fascination of manners which held captive Jeswunt Rao Holkar, failed at her latest moments to call forth any sign of commiseration. But every court has its secret tales of gaities and profligacies; and Toolsee Baie would not have met with a violent end, had not Mahomedan intrigue and covetousness made her destruction desirable.

Turn we now to one of the saddest tales chronicled in the annals of India—that of *Kishen Komari Baie*, or the Virgin Princess Kishen. She was born in the year 1792. Her father, the Rana of Odipoor, was the highest in rank among all the princes of Rajpootana. Her mother was of the Chawura race, the ancient kings of Anhwulara. Sprung from the noblest

blood of Hind, the princess was young and surpassingly beautiful. To beauty of face and person she added an engaging demeanor, and was justly proclaimed "The Flower of Rajasthan." "I could have no doubt of the beauty of Kishen Komari," says Malcolm, "after seeing her brother Juvana Sing, the present heir to the Musnud, whom she is said to have exactly resembled. His complexion is very fair, and his features are fine; and though they have that softness which characterizes Hindoo physiognomy, they are full of animation and intelligence." The hand of Kishen Komari had been pledged to Bheem Sing, of Jodhpore; but he did not live to fulfil the nuptials. The Rajah of Jeipoor then sent the heralds of Hymen to the court of Odipoor. His proposals were about to be accepted, when Maun Sing, of Marwar, also advanced his pretensions, founded on the princess having been actually betrothed to his predecessor. Thus was Kishen Komari wooed by the rival chiefs of Jeipoor and Jodhpore, both inferior to her father in dignity, but exceeding him in power. Each suitor urged his claim, and each threatened war in case of rejection. The Rana was in a dilemma, and withheld his consent from either party. To push their claims, each suitor assembled under his banners, not only his native chivalry, but the predatory hords of India. These overran the kingdom of Odipoor, and brought it to the verge of ruin. The rival suitors also threatened to aggravate the miseries of the Rana. His pride as a sovereign, and his feelings as a parent, were deeply wounded, and he was left without an alternative. One fearful solution of the difficulty remained to him. It was to remove the lovely object of war, and seal the peace of Rajwarra by her death. The diabolic act was urged by the blood-thirsty Ameer Khan. But neither arguments nor threats could prevail upon the father to consent to such a sacrifice. It was persisted in, and the fiat was at last passed that Kishen Komari should die; but there was no man to undertake the atrocious deed. Maharajah Dowlut Sing, a kinsman of the Rana, was first sounded, "to save the honour of Odipoor;" but, horror-struck, he exclaimed, "Accursed the tongue that commands it! Dust on my allegiance, if thus to be preserved." Next a natural brother of the Rana was called in, to whom the dire necessity was explained. He accepted the poniard; but when in youthful loveliness Kishna appeared before him, the dagger fell from his hand, and he returned more wretched than the victim. The fatal pur-

pose thus revealed, the shrieks of the frantic mother reverberated through the palace as she implored mercy or execrated the murderers of her child. The maiden herself, however, became a willing victim to save her father, family, and tribe from the toils which surrounded them. The steel was changed for poison; and as the messenger presented the chalice in the name of her father, she bowed and drank the contents, sending up a prayer for his life and prosperity. The raving mother poured imprecations on his head, while the lovely victim, who shed not a tear, thus endeavoured to console her: "Why afflict yourself, my mother, at this shortening of the sorrows of life? I fear not to die! Am I not your daughter? Why should I fear death? We are marked out for sacrifice\* from our birth. We scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again. Let me thank my father that I have lived so long!" Thus she conversed, till the nauseating draught refused to assimilate with her blood. The bitter potion was again administered, and again it was rejected. It was repeated for the third time, and for the third time nature refused to aid the horrid purpose. But cruelty, as if gathering strength from defeat, made another and a fatal attempt. The *kasoomba draught*, made of flowers and herbs of a cooling quality, and mixed with a powerful opiate, was now presented to Kishna. She received it with a smile, wished the scene over, and drank it. The traitors to manhood and humanity accomplished their object. Under the effects of the deadly poison, Kishna slept a sleep from which she never awoke. "When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial altar, the salvation of her country yielded a noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of a father's fame to sustain her resignation." But the lovely Kishna fell a victim to craven fear and a false sense of honour.

On the particulars of Kishen Komari's death becoming known, the valley of Odipoor was filled with funeral lamentation. The youth and extraordinary beauty of the victim excited a feeling which was general throughout the country. Expressions of pity at her fate were mingled with execrations on the weakness and cowardice of those who could purchase safety on such terms. The wretched mother did not long survive her child. Nature was exhausted in the ravings of de-

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\* Alluding to Rajpoot infanticide.

spair; she refused food, and her remains in a few days followed those of her daughter to the funeral pyre.

Though years have passed since the barbarous immolation, it is never related but with a faltering tongue and moistened eyes, "albeit unused to the melting mood." The pages of Shakespeare abound with female characters; but there is none comparable to the noble and magnanimous Kishen Komari, who, though not more than in her sixteenth year, consented to a sad exit from the stage of life, "to save her native country from being overrun by the armies which would have advanced to the plains of Odipoor, to contend in the usual vulgar fashion for that one thing which neither force can gain nor gold can buy—woman's love." The following extracts from Captain Abbot's poem of the "Thakoorine" give utterance to the feelings of the Rajpootnee ere she drank

That cup which ne'er was nam'd, but crept  
Gloom to the bearer's soul—that slept  
In deepest mystery, known to one,  
The house's lord—and her whose doom,  
From time to time, in Thakoor's eyes,  
Required the gloomy sacrifice ;

Full well I know,

Father, how pure the virgin snow  
Of Thakoor fame must be. Thou ne'er,  
For me, dishonour's brunt shalt bear,  
As the first Thakoorine, whose breath  
Falter'd 'twixt infamy and death,  
Father, my choice is made ! Yet ere  
I braid in Doorga's knot my hair,  
Oh ! let me once, once only, view  
The glad, green earth, the heav'n's pure blue ;  
Once more, from 'neath the old, lov'd tree,  
Gaze o'er Nerbudda's waters free,  
Envy each wave, bright dancing past,  
And look, and know that look my last.  
Then one fond glance to heaven I'll fling,  
To wood and wild my anthem sing ;  
Take the last draught, the oblation make,  
Nor count it bitter, for thy sake !

Wreath, wreath the bowl with flowers for me ;  
Let not my last, deep draught be sad ;  
The butterfly, the summer bee,  
The woodland bird is glad—is glad.  
Like them in smiles would I be clad,  
(Creatures of one, bright, sunny clime,)

Till the cold wave my couch be made,  
Cut off in virgin prime.  
Wreathe, wreathe with smiles the bowl for me,  
Bring clusters from each laughing flower ;  
*Lord* of the future, death shall be  
My vassal, till the appointed hour ;  
Then, seek nor tomb nor cypress bower,  
Emotion's wealth a smile may shrine ;  
But muse thou o'er some lone, frail flower,  
Cut off in virgin prime.

It is only some fifteen or twenty years ago that the famous Mahratta lady *Baiza Baie* lived among us, and the Gazettes of the day often mentioned Her Highness's name. There are many people yet living who have seen and known her. *Baiza Baie* was born towards the end of the last century. She was the daughter of *Shirzee Rao Ghatkay*, a Mahratta leader and minister of great notoriety in his day. Her brother *Hindoo Rao* must be remembered by the sexagenarians of Delhi. If *Malcolm* inferred *Kishen Komari* to have been beautiful from the comely features of her brother, one may conclude *Baiza Baie* to have had little pretensions to a good physiognomy, judging from the portrait of her brother, which hangs on the walls of the Delhi museum. In that portrait, *Hindoo Rao* appears to have been a stout gentleman of the regular swarthy colour, but with a pair of very animated eyes.

*Baiza Baie* was married at an early age to *Dowlut Rao Scindia*. Her nuptials were celebrated with a splendour and magnificence which have been seldom displayed by the princes of India. So great were the expenses of the marriage, that they exhausted *Scindia's* treasury, and left him for a while without any means to pay his army. *Baiza Baie* was a woman of imperious disposition and masculine temper. *Scindia* had a great regard for her, and never formed any determination without her advice. The Maharajah died in the year 1827, leaving no son, and having adopted none. Her Highness *Baiza Baie* thereupon assumed the sovereign authority, and sat upon the throne of *Gwalior*. The ambitious lady meditated introducing a member of her own family as her successor, and diverting the succession to that channel. But she was constrained to abandon this design, and adopt a boy, who was the nearest relative of her deceased husband. *Mugut Rao*, for so the boy was called, was only eleven years old at the time of his adoption. During his nonage, the *Baie* acted as regent, and conducted the administration ; but on arriving at maturity, *Mu-*



gut Rao aspired to the actual possession of the authority which he had been selected to inherit. He fretted under any further restraint, and making his escape from the palace, took refuge with the British Resident. The Baie was unwilling to part with her power, and struggled for its retention. Both parties preparing to settle their differences by an appeal to arms, the British Government interposed its influence to prevent the civil war. It declared itself in favour of the pretensions of Mugut Rao, who was seated on the guddee, and was proclaimed sovereign under the name of Ali Jah Junkojee Scindia, in the year 1833. Her career ceasing, Baiza Baie, after some months of hesitation, retired to Agra with all the wealth she had accumulated, and an army of retainers. To prevent her from disturbing the peace of Gwalior by her intrigues, she was required to remove to Furruckabad, in the neighbourhood of which Bajee Row was living. Her Highness was long a resident in the British territories, and a pensioner on the British Government. The state of Gwalior at last agreed to allot her a large annuity on condition of her retiring to her jagher in the Deccan. Baiza Baie, having been deserted by most of her retainers, gave a reluctant consent to the terms. During the Mutiny of 1857 she is said to have escorted the family of Scindia, and fled, in the direction of Siprec, from the hands of the rebels. She has since died.

The following extracts from Mrs. Fanny Parks's "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the East" would, we think, prove interesting to our readers, as they illustrate life and manners in the zenana of a Hindoo monarchy :—

"We found Her Highness Baiza Baie seated on her guddee of embroidered cloth with her granddaughter the Gaja Rajah Sahib at her side; the ladies, her attendants, were standing around her; and the sword of Scindia was on the guddee, at her feet. She rose to receive and embrace us, and desired us to be seated near her. The Baiza Baie is rather an old woman, with grey hair and *en bon point*. She must have been pretty in her youth; her smile is remarkably sweet, and her manners particularly pleasing; her hands and feet are very small and beautifully formed. Her sweet voice reminded me of the proverb, 'A pleasant voice brings a snake out of a hole.' She was dressed in the plainest red silk, wore no ornaments, with the exception of a pair of small, plain bars of gold as bracelets. Being a widow, she is obliged to put jewellery aside, and to submit to numerous privations and hardships.

" Her countenance is very mild and open ; there is a freedom and independence in her air that I greatly admire, so unlike that of the sleeping, languid, opium-eating Mussulmanees. Her granddaughter, the Gaja Rajah Sahib, is very young ; her eyes are the largest I ever saw ; her face is rather flat, and not pretty ; her figure is beautiful ; she is the best little wee creature you ever beheld. The Mahratta dress consists of only two garments, which are, a tight body to the waist, with sleeves tight to the elbow ; a piece of silk, some twenty yards or more in length, which they wind around them as a petticoat, and then, taking a part of it, draw it between the limbs, and fasten it behind in a manner that gives it the effect both of petticoat and trousers. This is the whole dress, unless at times they substitute angiyas, with short sleeves, for the tight long-sleeved body.

" The Gaja Rajah Sahib was dressed in purple Benares silk, with a deep gold border woven into it. When she walked, she looked very graceful, and the dress very elegant. On her forehead was a mark like a spear-head, in red paint : her hair was plaited, and bound into a knot at the back of her head, and low down ; her eyes were edged with surma, and her hands and feet dyed with henna. On her feet and ankles were curious silver ornaments—*toe-rings* of peculiar form, which she sometimes wore of gold, sometimes of red coral. In her nostril was a very large and brilliant *ū'hut* (nose-ring) of diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, of the particular shape worn by the Mahrattas ; in her ears were fine brilliants. From her throat to her waist she was covered with strings of magnificent pearls and jewels ; her hands and arms were ornamented with the same. She spoke but little ; scarcely five words passed her lips ; she appeared timid, but was pleased with the bouquet of flowers, just fresh from the garden, that the lady who presented me laid at her feet on her entrance. These Mahrattas are a fine bold race. Amongst her ladies in waiting, I remarked several fine figures ; but their faces were generally too flat. Some of them stood in waiting with rich Cashmere shawls thrown over their shoulders. One lady before the Maharaj leaned on her sword ; and, if the Baie quitted the apartment, the attendant and sword always followed her. The Baie was speaking of horses, and the lady who introduced me said I was as fond of horses as a Mahratta. Her Highness said she should like to see an English lady on horseback : she could not comprehend how they could sit all crooked, all on one side, in the side-saddle. I said I should be too happy to ride into camp any

hour Her Highness would appoint, and show her the style of horsemanship practised by ladies in England.

"The ride having been promised, I came mounted, and entering the precincts of the zenana, found myself in a large court, where all the ladies of the ex-queen were assembled, and anxiously looking for the English lady, who would ride crooked! The Baie was seated in the open air. I rode up, and dismounting, paid my respects. She remarked the beauty of my Arab, felt the hollow under his jaw, admired his eye, and desiring one of the ladies to take up his hoof, examined it, and said he had the small, black, hard foot of the pure Arab; she examined and laughed at my saddle. I then mounted, and putting the Arab on his mettle, showed her how English ladies manage their horses. When this was over, three of the Baiza Baie's own riding horses were brought out by the female attendants; for we were within the zenana, where no man is allowed to enter. The horses were in full caparison, the saddles covered with velvet and kinkhaub and gold embroidery; their necks and heads ornamented with jewels and chains of gold. The Gaja Rajah in her Mahratta riding-dress mounted one of the horses, and the ladies the others; they cantered and pranced about, showing off the Mahratta style of riding. On dismounting, the young Gaja Rajah threw her horse's bridle over my arm, and said, laughingly, 'Are you afraid? or will you try my horse?' Who could resist such a challenge? 'I shall be delighted,' was my reply. 'You cannot ride like a Mahratta in that dress, said the princess; 'put on proper attire.' I retired to obey her commands, and returning in Mahratta costume, mounted her horse, put my feet into the great iron stirrups, and started away for a gallop round the enclosure. I thought of queen Elizabeth and her stupidity in changing the style of riding for women *en cavalier*; it appeared so safe as if I could have jumped over the moon. Whilst I was thus amusing myself, 'Shabash! shabash!' exclaimed some masculine voice; but who pronounced the words, or where the speaker lay *perdu*, I have never discovered.

"Now," said I to the Gaja Rajah, 'having obeyed your commands, will you allow one of your ladies to ride on my side-saddle?' My habit was put on one of them; how ugly she looked! 'She is a black doctor!' exclaimed one of the girls. The moment I got the lady into the saddle, I took the rein in my hand, and riding by her side, started her horse off

in a canter. She hung on one side, and could not manage it at all. Suddenly checking her horse, I put him into sharp trot. The poor lady hung half off the animal, clinging to the pommel, and screaming to me to stop; but I took her on most unmercifully, until we reached the spot where the Baiza Baie was seated. The walls rang with laughter; the lady dismounted, and vowed she would never again attempt to sit on such a vile crooked thing as a side-saddle. It caused a great deal of amusement in the camp."

*Ranee Chunda* is also a modern character, remembered by many persons yet living. The histories of Rajpootana, Malwa, and the Deccan, abound with many names of illustrious females, and the history of the Punjab is remarkable for the instance of *Ranee Chunda*. This lady was one of the junior wives of *Runjeet Sing*, and the mother of *Maharajah Dhuleep Sing*. *Ranee Chunda* was young, and her son a suckling infant, when *Runjeet Sing* died. In September 1843, *Dhuleep Sing*, then only five years of age, was brought out from the zenana, and proclaimed the ruler of the Punjab. His reign was inaugurated by *Heera Sing*, during whose ministry *Ranee Chunda* meddled with no affair, and exercised no power. On the fall of that *Seikh* chief, her brother *Juwahir Sing* became the head of the administration; but before long he fell a victim to the resentment of the *Khalsa* army, when *Ranee Chunda* came forward to assume the reins of power, and began to act as regent-mother. She now daily sat in *darbar* and transacted business. In the beginning of November 1845, she appointed *Lall Sing* minister, and *Tej Sing* general-in-chief. *Lall Sing* was a Brahmin of handsome appearance, and the paramour of the *Ranee*. It was the ascendancy that he had gained over her that paved his way to the ministry. This is yet the age of "world's heroes," and not of "God's heroes." History winks at the turpitude of warriors and the moral delinquencies of statesmen. It dwells only on the glories of great men, and extols *Alexander* for his victories, and *Napoleon* for his political craft. True, that *Sir Henry Hardinge* termed *Ranee Chunda* "the *Messalina* of India;" but we have nothing to do with her private character,—her frailties and immoralities. Our business is to elucidate her public history, and to describe her as a woman of energy and talent, who may well silence the detractors of *Hindoo* females.

Freed from the iron sceptre of Runjeet, the Khalsa army became so very domineering as virtually to exercise the sovereignty of the Punjab. They made and unmade kings, and gave the throne to the highest bidder. No amount of virtue or talent that Ranee Chunda could have brought to bear upon her administration would have staved off the dangers with which an insolent and rapacious army had beset the throne of her son. It shows, therefore, great political sagacity to have planned foreign invasions, and precipitated that army into a war with the British in order to find employment for them abroad, and prevent the overthrow of her government. The present French emperor diverts the attention of his nation by sending a French army to conquer Algiers, to befriend the cause of Victor Emanuel, and to set up a king in Mexico. The Ranee Chunda averted the plunder of Lahore by sending the Khalsas to loot Delhi and Benares. That her real intention was not to cope with British power, but to destroy the demoralized Khalsas, is clearly visible in the many acts of treachery that were willingly committed by the Seikh generals in the first Seikh campaign. It was to provide, then, for the security of her own and her son's power that she hastened the departure of her troops for the invasion of the British dominions. This, as was foreseen, terminated in the defeat and destruction of half the Seikh army. It also placed the Punjab at the entire disposal of the victorious British; but Lord Hardinge spared the country of the five waters from annexation by retaining Dhuleep Sing as a puppet upon the throne, and nominating a British Resident who became in effect the successor of Runjeet Sing. The Maharanee was allowed an annuity of a lakh and a half of rupees to keep her from meddling in state affairs. But her ambitious spirit could ill brook the obscurity of private life. In a little time she became dissatisfied at this deprivation of power. Her positive anger was incurred, when, in spite of her remonstrances, her paramour Lall Sing was conveyed to the British territories, and consigned to oblivion on a pension of 2,000 rupees a month. From this time she became animated with a spirit of bitter hostility to British ascendancy, and brooded over measures for its subversion. "In May 1848, a conspiracy to corrupt the troops at Lahore was discovered and traced to her machinations, and two of her agents were convicted and executed. The investigation con-

ducted on this occasion disclosed the startling fact that she had been engaged for some time in a conspiracy against us, and that all the chiefs of the Lahore durbar, with the exception of two, had agreed to co-operate with her for our expulsion. It was likewise asserted that Khan Sing, who accompanied Mr. Agnew to Mooltan, was himself deeply implicated in the plot, and had engaged to raise the province as soon as he had obtained possession of the citadel. She had extended her intrigues to Cabul, to Candahar, to Cashmere, to the Sikh protected states, and even to the princes of Rajpootana; and had endeavoured to organize a confederacy against British authority as ramified as that which Bajee Row had projected thirty years before. The whole body of Sikh troops in the durbar army was ripe for revolt. There did not exist a chief or an officer who was not eager to shake off the yoke of the foreigners, and again to enshrine the national idol of the Khalsa supremacy." To prevent her from intriguing, the Maharanee had been placed under restraint at a place called Shakoopoor, a few miles from Lahore, and her annual allowance of 150,000 rupees had been reduced to 4,000. But now that she was found planning a vast and general confederacy against the British, it was thought by Sir Frederick Currie that there could be no peace or security while the Maharanee continued in the Punjab fomenting disaffection. He therefore, by an unexpected and adroit movement, which anticipated all opposition, caused her to be conveyed across the Sutledge, and transported thence to Benares,—the great state-cage for all state-prisoners of our day. Here she was placed under the care of the warder of the dethroned princes and princesses of India.

The banishment of Ranee Chunda was a step which was disapproved by her whole nation, and gave them great offence. This was publicly avowed, when, after the battle of Ramnugger, a paper was transmitted to Lord Dalhousie from Shere Sing's camp, containing the Sikh justification of the revolt, in which, among other causes, stress was laid upon the banishment of their Maharanee. But before many months elapsed, Ranee Chunda gave the slip to her enemies, and sought an asylum in the court of Nepaul. Her flight from the hands of the English reminds us of the escape of Sevajee from the hands of Aurungzeb. The British Government insisted upon her being surrendered, but the Nepaul Government refused to do it on the ground of breach of hospitality, and

promised to keep her in surveillance themselves. Finally, the annihilation of the Seikh power and the annexation of the Punjab removed all apprehension as to any troubles which she might foment. In her absence as a refugee at a distant court, Ranee Chunda was forgotten by the public of India.

The *Ranee of Jhansi* is the last and latest Hindoo female character that we have to sketch. Ten years ago, her name was in every mouth and in every print in India. The Ranee of Jhansi was the widow of a Bundela chief, called Gungadhur Rao, who died in 1854, having adopted a son on his death-bed as his successor. It was during the time of a Governor-General who upheld the doctrine of lapse, and cherished the policy of annexation, with a view to concentrate all power in the hands of the paramount sovereign, and consolidate an empire from the mountains to the sea. In furtherance of this policy, the Raj of Sattara was absorbed, and the state of Nagpore extinguished. But undeterred by these examples, the Ranee of Jhansi applied for confirmation of her son's adoption, and demanded the sovereignty on his behalf. But Lord Dalhousie was against the perpetuity of succession by adoption, and the continuance of native dynasties; and he annexed the state of Jhansi to the British dominions. Thus summarily ejected from power and consigned to poverty and obscurity, the Ranee quietly bore her grievances; but she smarted under disappointment, and bided an opportunity for revenge. This happened three years afterwards, on the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny. During that fearful period, she instigated the native troops quartered at Jhansi to rebellion. They rose on the 4th of June 1857, and besieged the officers and other Europeans who had fled for refuge into the fort. Unable to hold out against overwhelming numbers, the garrison offered to surrender and evacuate the place. The terms of capitulation were formally granted; but breaking their promise, the sepoys fell upon the Europeans, and shot or sabred both men, women, and children. Only a single person escaped from the hands of the rebels. The atrocity of the Jhansi massacre was brought home to the Ranee, who, unable to control her exasperated feelings, sanctioned the diabolic act which has tarnished her memory with an indelible stain. On the extinction of British authority, the Ranee assumed the reins of power and established her rule at Jhansi. To strengthen her position, and arm herself for the defence which she was sure she would be one day called upon to make,

she dug up some 20 cannons that had been buried in the fort at the time of her predecessor Ramchand Rao, organized a force, and collected under her standard an army of 14,000 men. Before a twelve-month elapsed, the tide turned in favour of the British, and the Ranee was committed to a life and death struggle for her throne. The conquering army under Sir Hugh Rose came, and invested, and opened fire upon Jhansi by the 25th of April 1858. The city was attacked on all sides. The besieged made a stout defence. Their artillery practice was remarkably good: from some batteries they returned shot for shot. It was singular to see women hurrying along with ammunition, and working in the batteries. The palace was defended by 3,000 men. The body-guard of the Ranee were conspicuous for their desperate defence. But neither female genius, energy, foresight, nor example, could prevail against the resources and indomitableness of British power. The city was carried on the second day, and the fort fell on the third; but the Ranee escaped capture by the devotion of some of her sowars. She made her retreat with 2,000 followers, and flung herself across the road to Calpee. Here she made a fresh stand for a few days, but was dislodged on the 26th May. From Calpee the Ranee made her way to Gwalior, and joined the rebels there, still retaining her importance. On the fall of Gwalior, she directed her flight towards Sipree, in the neighbourhood of which her advanced guard came in contact with the English brigade stationed in that town. Finding it impossible to cut their way through, the rebels gave battle at a place called Morar. In this action, fought on the 17th June 1858, the Ranee was killed, her army dispersed, and four of her guns were captured by Brigadier Smith. Such is a short sketch of that Hindoo female who has made herself memorable in the annals of modern India under the name of the Ranee of Jhansi. That she was a woman of high spirit and conspicuous talent can never be denied. History may stigmatize her as a rebel, but cannot withhold from her her due. Her energy and administrative ability would have been objects of unqualified admiration had her memory not been stained with rebellion. Had she remained faithful to the paramount power and shown humanity to innocent ladies and children, she would, in all probability, have been rewarded with the restoration of her Raj, and would have left behind an unsullied memory.

Let the reader gather his own moral from the sketches we have drawn of Hindoo female celebrities. The superficial ob-



server generally applies his own standard to the customs of other nations, and laments the degraded condition of the Hindoo female. He particularly laments her want of liberty, and calls her seclusion imprisonment. But most erroneous ideas have been formed of the Hindoo female from the pictures drawn by those who have never left the banks of the Ganges. The most careless traveller cannot pass the boundaries of Hindoostan Proper without having the dissimilarity of customs and manners prevalent among the Mahrattas and Rajpoots forced upon his attention. Nothing is more unfair than to form notions from the doctrines of Menu inculcated in a primitive age, to confine our observations to the women of the Gangetic valley, and to found our conclusions upon data gathered from low life. To form a right estimate, Hindoo women should be judged by their characteristics in all ages and in all parts of India. Not more are Miranda, Desdemona, Rosalind, Imogen, and Ophelia, the creation of one brain, than are the Bengalinees, Khottanees, Rajputnees, and Mahrattanees daughters of the same family with a general resemblance and an individual difference. Under the influence of the same religion and memories, they present the same grand features of character, with shades of distinction that have arisen from difference in local habitation. Generally the Bengallee woman is made to illustrate the whole class of Hindoo females, and she is represented as a degraded being, unable even to read. But let the reformer turn his eye towards Rajpootana, and see there the daughters of the lowest chieftains taught to read and write, the Hindoo women distinguished by high sentiments and refined feelings, and high-born ladies acting as regents during the minority of their sons, and *de facto* guiding the helm of the state. "I have conversed for hours," says Tod, "with the Boondi queen-mother on the affairs of her government and welfare of her infant son, to whom I was left guardian by his dying father. She adopted me as her brother; but the conversation was always in the presence of a third person in her confidence, and a curtain separated us. Her sentiments showed invariably a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which I had many. I could give many similar instances." Let the philanthropist next turn his attention towards the Mahrattas, and see Hindoo women among them preserve many of the traits of the genuine Hindoo nationality. "The females, both of the Brahmin and Sudra Mah-

rattas," says Malcolm, "have, generally speaking, when their husbands are princes and chiefs, great influence, and mix, not only by their power over individuals, but sometimes, as has been shown, personally in affairs of the state. If married to men of rank, they have usually a distinct provision and estate of their own; enjoy as much liberty as they can desire; seldom, if ever, wear a veil; and give feasts and entertainments on births and marriages, and on particular anniversaries. The power which the Mahratta ladies of the families of Scindia, Holkar, and the Puar enjoy, has been described. They have always had great influence in their secret councils; and usage has latterly given them a considerable and increased share in the government; and in some cases they have been the acknowledged heads. They are usually instructed in reading, working, and arithmetic. The management of the horse always constitutes part of their education, which is directed to qualify them for the duties to which their condition makes them liable to be called. In a long conference I had with Bheema Baie, the daughter of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, she expatiated with much eloquence on the duties inculcated as those of a Mahratta princess, when the interests of her family and nation were at stake. It was, she said, an obligation for such in extreme cases (where she had neither husband nor son) to lead her troops in person to battle. The young lady appealed to Letchina Baie, a respectable matron, for the truth of her assertion; and it was confirmed with a qualifying remark that the case must be extreme, which called for such a departure from female habits. Bheema Baie rode with grace, and few excelled her in the management of the spear. The Mahratta ladies of rank may be generally described as deficient in regular beauty, but with soft features and an expression that marks quickness and intelligence. They have almost all, when called forth, shown energy and courage, and some of them great talent."

It is only in the Gangetic valley, and particularly in Bengal, that the Hindoo female has deteriorated and fallen off from the ancient practices of the Hindoo nation. Innovations that generally follow conquest by an alien invader, have operated to change the customs and manners of the Bengalee women, and affect their character for the worse. But even yet Bengal has its instances of distinguished women. There was the Ranee Bhubanee, of Rajshahye in the last century. Her extensive zemindaries formed in the aggregate a small

kingdom, the affairs of which, during the minority of her son, she administered with a vigour and beneficence that have gained for her a political reputation. Her pious works—which in the phraseology of our day are known under the name of public works—were divers and numerous. The Doorga Bari temple and the Panchkosi road at Benares are her works. The memory of Raneé Bhobanee is cherished by a large part of the population of Bengal. Then there was the Raneé Sunkoree, who built the famous temple of Hansasoree, at Bansbaria, near Hooghly. There was Raneé Katyani, who has recently passed away from among us, and whose benefactions amounted to twenty lakhs of rupees. There was Rasmoney, who became heiress to a large estate, and managed it with masculine energy and skill. In the late famine of 1866, in Bengal, many Bengallee ladies distinguished themselves by their benevolence and charity. The widow of the late Baboo Mutty Lall Seal subscribed a respectable sum to the Famine Relief Fund. Her example was followed by a lady of one of the rich Mullick families.

The cultivation of the mind and the arts of polished life always flourish in the ratio of a nation's prosperity, and from the decline of the one may be dated the deterioration of the other. The ignorance of Bengallee women and their exclusion from society are to be traced to the prevalence of Mahomedan fashions and Mahomedan opinions, when the Mahomedans were the rulers of the land. Because the Mahomedans imprisoned their wives and daughters in the zenana, the Bengallees did so likewise. Because the Mahomedans cared little for the education of their females, whom they regarded as born only to subserve the pleasures of man, the Bengallees fell into the same train of thinking from the pressure of surrounding opinions. In Mussulman estimation, music is considered disgraceful for a lady of rank; dancing the same: such things are left to *nautch* women.

Mulka Begum made enquiries concerning the education of young ladies in England; and on hearing how many hours were devoted to the piano, singing, and dancing, she expressed her surprise, considering such nautch-like accomplishments degrading. Just as Young Bengal has imbibed *Anglicisms* in the present age, so did the Bengallee women imbibe *Mahomedanisms* in a preceding age.

But however the corruptions and evils may have arisen, we are not, like enthusiasts and bigots, blind to their existence

around us. We candidly acknowledge them as evils, and as such heartily wish for their removal. None are more impressed than the people themselves with the conviction that it is to female virtues that we must look, not only for the happiness of our homes, but also for the creation of that national character which has always led to national greatness; and none are more inclined to give liberty to their women, to educate them as rational beings, to remove the affix of *dossee*, or slave, from their names, and to emancipate them from the evils of polygamy and widowhood.

## ART. II.—ON THE GROWTH OF RICE IN EAST BENGAL.

*Liebig, Natural Laws of Husbandry, English Edition, by Blyth, 1863.*

**T**HE fundamental basis of the theories of the School of Agricultural Chemists who follow Liebig, regarding the science of growing corn, is the so-called Mineral Theory. Its propositions may be shortly stated as follow:—

1. Plants obtain solely from the soil in which they grow the fixed elements of their food, as the earthy phosphates, silica.

2. The supply of these in that part of the soil reached by the roots is limited.

3. If corn crops are continually consumed off the soil, exhaustion inevitably results.

4. The resources at command of the farmer to counteract such exhaustion are—(a) the direct re-placing of the necessary elements by manure; (b) deep ploughing, whereby soil in fact virgin is made accessible to plants; (c) rotation of crops (or fallows), whereby time is given for chemical or other action to restore to the upper stratum of vegetable humus fresh supplies from below of the earthy phosphates, &c.

These principles underlie the practice of English corn-farming. The tenant is usually strictly bound not to take more than a stated number of white crops from the land, not exceeding for instance on good land more than two in four years. He is only allowed to sell straw on condition of applying a compensating quantity of extraneous manure. He is allowed perhaps to take an extra corn crop if he feeds a certain number of sheep with artificial (cake) food on the land: the whole scheme being founded on the principle that the tenant “shall not take out more than he puts in.” This theory is so strictly forced on their tenants by most English landlords, that all attempt at experiment, and hence at improvement, is precluded. In the eyes of the vulgar English landlord, agriculture has reached its tether.

Baron Liebig's later writings have been elaborations of these views. He has added many complications, such as that plants cannot assimilate the mineral elements in a crude form, and that many manures operate by producing nascent physical

combinations of elements previously in the soil ; that the exhaustion of soils often arises from the exhaustion of the sub-soil. Omitting these refinements, Liebig proclaims broadly the principle that every soil must be exhausted by consuming continually corn-crops off it, unless the mineral elements carried away by the corn are identically re-placed by manure.

These may be called the principles of the fashionable Agricultural Chemist : but even among chemists there is a respectable minority who doubt if this mineral theory contains more than a portion (at most) of the truth. They doubt if the elements known to chemists are ultimate elements : they do not doubt but that the vital force in plants can effect resolutions which Liebig cannot : they therefore think it quite possible that a growing plant may supply itself with phosphorus and silica out of air and water in which Liebig can find none. They also point out to Liebig the undiminished fertility of Rhenish Bavaria since the time of Charlemagne ; and Liebig in his reply admits that the process of exhaustion may, under certain circumstances, be a very protracted one. The English advanced practical farmers have also steadily rejected the mineral theory : they have rather worked out for themselves a form of the struggle-for-existence theory : they assert that on a tolerably retentive, even poorish clay, they can grow "corn for ever" if they can only keep the land clean, especially from grasses and sedges, which, as allied plants, compete most closely with corn. They oppose Liebig at every point : they talk of ploughing as a necessary evil only to be resorted to in extremity, and they till mainly by the cultivator, the scarifier, and the hoe.

Bengal offers too striking an apparent exception to all Baron Liebig's theory to be overlooked. The same fields, without any rotation of crops, without any manure, without ever getting a deep ploughing, have grown corn unfailingly for probably two thousand years at least : and much of such land has produced two crops annually. Liebig meets this obvious difficulty in the following words :—

"We know most positively that the corn-fields in the valley of the Nile and the basin of the Ganges remain permanently fruitful, simply because nature has taken upon herself to restore the last condition of productiveness to the soil in the mud deposited by the inundation of these rivers which gradually raise the land.

"All the fields that are not reached by the river lose their productiveness unless manured. In Egypt the amount of the

"crops to be expected is calculated from the height of the water of the Nile : and in the East Indies a famine is the inevitable consequence whenever there happens to be no inundation."

Baron Liebig never has seen Bengal, and this passage appears to us so very wide of the mark that we should not have selected it for particular comment had we not found to our surprise that it is the theory by which many English residents in Bengal explain to their own private satisfaction the fact that the Bengali ryot can grow a corn-crop, frequently two, every year while the Scotch farmer can only get a corn-crop every other year. As the question lies at the very root of the subject, it ought to be cleared if possible.

As a first objection to Baron Liebig there stands the fact that the transplanted rice (*Rowa vide infra*), even in South-East Bengal, is grown on fields that are never inundated by river-water. The Rowa in Mymensingh, in great part of Comilla, Noakhali, Chittagong, and Dacca, depends entirely on rain-water. Liebig says truly that a deficiency in water is followed by famine in Bengal, but we maintain that the cause of the famine is the deficiency in the water and not in the earthy phosphates held in the water and deposited by it over the fields. The area of land adjoining muddy rivers does not constitute a large portion of the total area even of East Bengal ; and when you are hardly fifty yards from the river among the rice you find yourself in still clear water. In short, water, however muddy after flowing but a few yards through standing rice, loses its velocity and deposits the mud in solution there. The banks of the rivers are, as usually in deltas, the most elevated spots. The body of water is doubtless always moving south, but in a rice field, in the height of the rains, there is no perceptible current. That water moving so exceedingly slowly should deposit anything is inconceivable. We feel no doubt but that an excellent crop of rice (*Amon*) might be grown if it were for experiment watered with distilled water, provided enough distilled water were given. It might be objected to this argument that the rivers of East Bengal are continually shifting, and that the whole country has been river inundated within 2,000 years, and much of it within 200 years. This is partly true, but the country left, when a river shifts its path, is a mass of sandy chure : no land is so bad for *Rowa* ; and it is only after many hundred years and the growth of heavy vegetation on it, that such lands appear to become stiff enough to make prime rice-

land. Probably within not very remote times a great part of Furreedpore, Vicrampore, and Manickgunge, has been Ganges inundated, more so perhaps than any other part of East Bengal ; and it is exactly these districts that form the sandiest land in this part of the country, and in them hardly any Rowa is grown, only the inferior Owsh and Amon. It will be remarked that Baron Liebig has a suspicion himself concerning the correctness of his theory for Bengal, for he begins, " We know most positively,"—a phrase suspiciously reminding one of the "it is easy to see" which a French writer on Mathematics invariably prefixes to all his ticklish assumptions.

Before proceeding to hazard any competing explanation to Baron Liebig's, it may be convenient to introduce a very short sketch of the practice of growing rice in East Bengal.

The Hindoo reckon "several hundred" sorts of rice, adapted for land of different qualities and situations as regards water, and requiring different management ; but for our very general purpose we will classify them as three, *viz.* Owsh, Amon, and Rowa. It will be understood that there are numerous varieties and qualities of each, and also other kinds of rice which are intermediate between Owsh and Amon or between Amon and Rowa.

Owsh is the spring-rice sown mostly about April, harvested mostly in July and August. There are varieties of Owsh sown much earlier (in February) on the churs: there are varieties of Owsh sown on land never inundated, and other varieties which from earing to harvest stand in water.

In cultivating for Owsh, the following will be a common tilth. In April, just before sowing, as soon as the showers have loosened the soil, whether there has been a cold weather crop or whether the land has lain untouched since the December harvest, the ryot ploughs the land across and across, very shallow: but he thoroughly pulverizes the surface. The harrow then draws the weeds to the side of the field, where the more careful cultivator burns them and places the ashes on the land. The Owsh is then sown broadcast, and finally the smoother (*maw-ee*) put over the field. The whole of May and the first-half of June this crop requires most laborious weeding, and during this time the ryots can be seen squatted over the country patiently hand-weeding with a short spud. The showers at this season cause the weeds to grow very fast, especially the grasses, and many sedges of the genus *Cyperus*: and on the laborious weeding out of these depends the crop.



The varieties of Owsh are the lowest classes of rice, and the crop is the least valuable of rice-crops. Owsh rarely is the only crop of the year except on churs. Much, however, of the land in Manickgunge and Furreedpore grows no rice except Owsh.

Amon is the floating, *i. e.* deep-water rice. There are endless varieties, and one used in Sylhet will, it is said, keep its head above water if the water rises 18 feet. It may be remarked in passing that rice will not grow under water, and if swamped, it is done for. Amon is sown mostly from April to June, and reaped in November and December. It is sometimes sown simultaneously with Owsh, *i. e.* on the same land, or more often sown broad-cast among the Owsh after the Owsh has undergone its first weeding. In these cases, the Owsh being gathered by sickle, the Amon is left growing. Amon is the rice to grow on all flooded lands, and is of course often grown where no Owsh is grown before. In these cases the land is prepared as above described for Owsh, but usually a month later: and the Amon is sown broad-cast on it dry.

Where Amon follows Owsh, the weeding for the Owsh suffices for the Amon: in other cases it requires hand-weeding on its own account so long as the field remains dry. But Amon is subject to another subsequent pest after the land is inundated in Oori, or wild rice. The Oori, or wild rice, can hardly be distinguished before it flowers, except by a ryot, from many cultivated Amons. Oori is sometimes, on the edge of bheels, &c., cultivated for fodder, rarely for corn. The grain of Oori is by no means valueless, but Oori has the unfortunate peculiarity that the moment the grain is ripe, the Oori scatters it: it is hardly possible to harvest it, and for the same reason it is a most permanent weed in Amon in East Bengal. All through the early part of the rains the ryots proceed partly in boats partly up to their necks in water through their fields of Amon to pull up the Oori, which they carry in bundles off the land. Oori being so closely allied to, merely a variety of, Amon, is therefore the worst enemy that Amon has. Amon produces rice of the second quality.

Rowa is the autumn rice. It is transplanted out about August, harvested in December or January. There are many sorts of Rowa with different names, the most important being the fine Rowas which are the highest quality of rice grown in East Bengal. Rowa depends essentially on rain: it is grown on lands either never inundated or only inundated in August to the depth of a few inches. The land, when in its wettest state,

is worked with a Bengali harrow into a uniform state of liquid mud to a depth of six inches to a foot, the field being generally surrounded with a low bank of earth. The Rowa is then planted in tufts in the liquid mud, having been previously raised in nurseries. The bank round the field prevents the water running away very quickly, and catches all the late showers, and on this allowance of water the Rowa comes to harvest; but all the fine sorts are said to require a retentive soil, as if the soil is sandy the water slips away in spite of the bank. Rowa produces, as has been said, the finest kind of rice and the most valuable of all rice-crops, and it has a further enormous advantage—it never requires weeding: it ripens in a very short time after being transplanted out, and when planted out, it is a foot high, so that the weeds cannot get up under it: they are choked. What weeds are seen under Rowa are only little flowering short-lived annuals, and do not perceptibly injure the corn. We should guess that in this watery south-east division, the area of Rowa grown is two-thirds that of Amon, the crop being far more valuable. In official enquiries it seems unknown or is perhaps confounded under the name of Amon, from which it differs in every particular, except that it ripens about the same season, usually a month later. Rent of Rowa land is, on the average, double that of Amon land. To complete annual rotation of crops, the field remains bare of rice from December to April, and the most general plan is to leave it fallow; but in some districts as in Vicrampore and Manickgunge, a cold weather crop is not unfrequent, usually some kind of gram or mustard. It is difficult to get it off in time if Owsh is to be sown, and the people in general seem hardly to think its value worth the trouble growing it.

In the above sketch there should have been given some estimate of the quantity of seed-rice employed and of the crops ordinarily obtained; but we have been unable to collect any trustworthy statistics. The only people who seem to be able to give any good information on these points are those directly interested in the produce. Farmers in England have up to the present time successfully resisted every attempt to collect agricultural statistics. A further difficulty in Bengal is the total uncertainty regarding all measures of area, the same words, "Khanee," "Pakee," and "Bigha" representing a different area in two adjoining villages; nay, in one and the same village, two zemindars will measure each by his own nul, and the Pakee of one will be nearly half as much again as that of the other.

We have some reason to think that the Hindoo ryot sows from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 bushels of rice to the acre, which is not large for broadcast sowing; and that six maunds of dhan to the Calcutta bigha is a very fair crop of Amon; the Rowa crop being much larger, the Owsh crop, considerably smaller. This will represent perhaps for lands that grow two crops of rice in the year an annual cereal yield by weight per acre equal to that of the wheat-crop in England.

This is a highly successful result: let next be considered certain causes and circumstances which contribute thereto, or which more or less interfere with it.

The Bengali ryot assumes that if he keeps his Owsh or Amon clear of weeds, he is sure of a crop. (We omit here the question of water which the Bengali ryot regards as he regards the question of sun.) In this opinion he agrees with the go-a-head English farmers above quoted, and like them he depends mainly on repeated weedings in spring. At this point, however, a suggestion may perhaps be given to the Bengali ryots. The great modern improvement in English corn farming is in the method of cleaning the stubbles in autumn: corn after corn in olden times was found always to get the land foul (*i. e.* with twitch, black-grass, &c., the arch-enemies of corn), and the modern experimenters only grow "corn after corn for ever" by laying out labour on the stubbles in autumn. The effective method of doing this is first to cut the field into narrow strips (Cands) of about 4 feet broad by a series of double furrrows; then a simple scarifier, *i. e.* a flat bar of iron is drawn so as to shave along two to three inches below the surface of the soil. This operation is performed in the driest autumn weather, when all the fragments of creeping roots thus cut are subsequently "roasted up" by the sun. In this way the biennial and perennial grasses are crushed, and the noxious creeping grasses severely cut up and destroyed. Some still bolder experimenters, instead of using a scarifier for this purpose, hoe the stubbles by hand, a far more expensive, but very efficacious process; two men, one stepping close behind the other, proceed along the lands, carrying each a hoe of such breadth that the two will pretty well cover the breadth of the land. Many good English farmers, if the plant of turnips fails, nevertheless insist on having the turnips hoed when there are none to hoe.

The effect of all this autumn tilth is that the quantity of noxious weeds that appears among the corn in spring is comparatively small, and the hand-weeding of the young corn is thus reduced within manageable bounds. The suggestion which we ven-

ture with great humility to the Bengali ryot is that it might be found economical (nothing but actual experiment could decide) to scour the Owsh and Amon land in the cold weather, say January, with a simple scarifier or hoe in order to lessen the frightful labour of hand-weeding the young rice in the hot weather. We do not suppose that weeds would be exterminated by this or any plan, but we cannot but think that if the creeping grasses and the Cyperaceæ were all cut off at two or three inches beneath the surface of the soil in the clear dry weather of January, they would appear the next spring in less strength among the corn. We may give the caution in passing that the plough would not do for his purpose: the plough will hardly go except after a shower, and then it turns over and buries the creeping weeds instead of shaving them and leaving them to be roasted up. For short ploughing, as has been said, according to the go-a-head English corn-grower is a barbarous process at all times, and promotes, above all other processes, the growth of weeds. The Bengali plough, as is mentioned below, is however more of a cultivator than a plough: and in some districts it is not uncommon to plough the dry rice stubbles in January after the stubble is burnt with the object of diminishing the weeds. We have no doubt but that the simple scarifier (and much more the hoe) proposed would be far preferable for this operation to the plough. In suggesting a hoe or a simple scarifier, we are suggesting an implement the cost of which is within the means of the ryot. Many of the implements which have been pressed on his attention are utterly beyond his means.

In support of our suggestion, we may quote the fact that the Bengali ryot is aware that the growth of some cold weather crops, as of mustard, is always followed by a superior rice-crop: the mustard acts as a cleaning crop, both because it admits of easy hoeing, and by choking to a considerable extent the weeds under it. The Bengali rotation of late rice, mustard, and then Owsh, is thus exactly parallel to the English rotation of wheat July harvested, then white turnips fed off in February, then barley. This rotation was only practicable in the south of England, where the harvest being early, a smart man could get his white turnips sown early in August: but it was a favourite venture many years back even with old-fashioned farmers to try to "steal" this crop. And we quote this fact, especially because the success of this rotation clearly shows that the excellence of the barley was not due to any

rest the land got (on the Liebig theory), but to the capital autumn tilth the land got from the two or three hoeings bestowed on the turnips. And this is the explanation which we advance of the fact that taking an extra cold weather crop in Bengal without any manure improves the subsequent crop.

Having made this suggestion for the diminution of the plague of creeping grasses and Cyperaceæ, we may confess that we have none to meet the pest of Oori. It would doubtless be prudent to abandon its cultivation altogether: it can be but of small value: and then persistent extirpation, as it is an annual, might be expected to be effective in restricting the nuisance within bounds.

The Bengali ryot always attributes any failure in his crop to the water. The Owsh depends almost entirely on the abundance of showers in the hot weather. These rarely fail in East Bengal, and the Owsh crop being the least valuable of the three, we rarely hear much whether it is better or worse than usual.

For the Amon it is necessary that the water rise steadily, and it is necessary for a good crop that it do not sink away too early. It is very little important whether the water rise a cubit higher or lower than usual: the Amon can adapt itself to that, and the loss of a cubit of straw is not worth consideration. But if the water rises a couple of cubits very rapidly, it will swamp and ruin the Amon; and if it falls back at all in the middle of the season, the Amon gets yellow-stalked, and the yield is spoilt. It is not essential to Amon that the water should remain up very late, but it may be assumed that the longer the water remains the better the Amon is, both in quantity and quality. During two out of the three years that we have been in Bengal, the Amon has been seriously injured by storms of wind after the water which protected it had sunk away, and before it was ripe. By the storms of the third week of October 1866, and of the first week of November 1867, the Amon was blown down in many places, so that the unripe heads of the corn fell into the mud. We are told this is a very frequent cause of partial failure in the Amon crop, and we have heard it said that the Amon in 1867 was diminished one-fourth by this cause; but we can express no opinion on this estimate.

For the Rowa, late rain is essential: it matters little the gross quantity of rain or how short the rain may be before August: the fields are always wet enough for planting out by August. The Rowa essentially requires enough rain to keep it moist

through September : for a good crop it requires showers throughout October—if in November also, so much the better. In 1865, the rains ceasing early in September, the Rowa generally failed ; in 1866 and 1867, the rain being continued late, the Rowas were excellent ; in 1868, there was no rain from 1st October to 30th November, and the Rowas were very middling.

The Bengali ryot has little idea of “ farming for a bad season,” but we will venture to speculate on some plans by which it might be hoped to meet to some extent irregularities in the water-supply.

The Owsh is of least importance : the best support that can be given it to contend with deficiency in water is undoubtedly manure. The Bengali ryot usually gives it ashes. And all the manure he has at command is bestowed either on a winter crop or on the Owsh, and is rightly so bestowed. The question then arises, can he increase the amount of manure at command ? The only practicable plan we see for him would be to tie up his cows and bullocks by day as well as by night. This appears to us not at all likely to be found an improvement. The English advanced farmer keeps his cattle in yards it is true, but this is not done wholly for their manure. It is done partly to shelter the animals from the weather, partly to hasten their fattening, and as to the manure many of the advanced farmers cart it out on to the very pastures which the beasts might have fed, for it is found, that nothing pays better for manuring than pasture. Manure has an unexplained effect in keeping the grass fine. If the village commons of East Bengal were mown instead of fed, and given no manure, they would soon go down into mere jungle-grass. In short, we believe the manure is much better bestowed on them than on the Owsh. We think the Owsh must be left to the season.

Next, as to the Amon. It is clear that if this crop could be thrown forward a month, it would hardly ever fail. We suggested once that it might pay to plant out Amon from nurseries at the moment when the field first became flooded. We found that some Hindoo proprietors had suggested the very same thing to their tenants, but we cannot find any example where it has actually been tried. We were told that the ryots only advanced as an objection, the labour of transplanting, an altogether insufficient objection. It would no doubt, be an operation requiring considerable smartness on the part of the ryot who would have to be watching for the very moment when he could work his field : if he let the moment slip, he would

lose the crop altogether. On the other hand, as in Rowa, this plan would save much spring-weeding and completely avoid Oori. On the whole, we do not believe it is a plan generally practicable, but there are many particular lands where it might be worth a trial.

Lastly, as to the Rowa, the most valuable part of the rice crop, we see no improvement practicable except a greater promptness in planting it out at the earliest opportunity. As in the case of Amon, the harvest would be a certainty if it could be thrown a month forward, but the Rowa cannot be transplanted out till the field is thoroughly wet and can be worked down into mud. We do not pretend to think any great revolution of improvement remains to be invented, but we are confident we have seen numberless instances where we have observed the ryot transplanting out three weeks later than he might have done. The Bengali ryot appears to us to assume that the rain *ought* to last through October, and not to wish to take any care to be prepared for the contingency of its ceasing in September : three years out of four such care would be thrown away, and he would get no better harvest than his supine neighbours, and the Bengali will not undertake any extra exertion to meet the less probable case. But in this exercise of promptness lies nearly the whole secret of practical farming ; the seizing of a favourable opportunity, ploughing when the land is just "right," &c. In agriculture opportunities are rarely accorded twice.

To take a particular instance. During the past season, 1868, the rains in Mymensingh were very heavy the last three weeks of June. As regards the Rowa lands in which the Rowa was not preceded by Owsh, we can find no sufficient reason why the Rowas might not have been all planted out in July instead of in August. Had this been done, the rain having entirely failed in Mymensingh in October, the crop would have been one month earlier and fifty per cent. better. There would have been little risk in getting in the Rowa earlier, for if October had proved wet, it would not have injured it. In the nurseries the Rowas could, if necessary, be easily got forward by artificial watering for a month before the rains set in.

The favourite remedy proposed to provide against want of water both for Amon and Rowa is manure. But whence is the manure to come ? As regards Amon, too, the crop rarely fails, because the plant is not strong enough. The more frequent cause of failure, as we have seen, is its being laid wholly or par-

tially by storms. It is certain that the application of manure would increase the damage from this cause: it is just possible that sowing some salt with the Amon might keep it up better: that is at all events found a specific for keeping corn up in England, but we are not aware that the *rationale* thereof has been very satisfactorily explained, and trying it on Amon would be only one experiment more. As regards the Rowa, we do not think working manure into the liquid mud in which it is planted out is an experiment that promises well, even if, as has been before said, the manure were forthcoming, and not wanted for any other purpose.

Those who have been most earnest to improve Bengali Agriculture have pressed specially upon the ryot the use of English ploughs, harrows, and drills, in place of his own weapons.

First, as to ploughs. In preparing for Rowa no person could possibly use an English plough. As to the tilth of dry ground, the English plough cuts deeper and turns the furrow simply over: the Bengali plough stirs up the surface only after the manner of a cultivator. The advanced English farmer is partial to cultivators, and when he ploughs, he can never get a man to plough fleet enough to please him. It is also objected to the Bengali plough, that it goes slowly, and that its form is badly adapted for making its way through the soil. As to its slowness, that matters little where you plough with a yoke of oxen: as to its form, it must be remembered that a plough which goes easily stirs the ground little; you cannot have mechanical work effected at one end of a machine unless applied at the other. On the whole, the Bengali ryot gets a very fine though shallow tilth for his spring-corn sowing. We doubt whether it can be much improved, and whether the old wooden plough will be superseded in a country without a pebble.

Next, as to the harrow. No English harrow again could be used in a tilth for Rowa. As to the dry weather tilth, it seems to us that the English cast-iron harrow would do better than the Bengali machine, where you can find the fields large enough. This brings us up to the question of Morcelling. There can be no doubt but that the fields in East Bengal are in general far too sub-divided for economy of tilling. This is not, however, in East Bengal a consequence of laws of inheritance: the people understand well enough how to share out among co-parceners the rent of an undivided field. But a talookdar often divides one of his own fields, because he finds that he can



let the two pieces for more rent than he can the one undivided field. The same cause operated in Ireland to produce cottier tenantry. The only remedy would appear to be some principle of association among the ryots, by which two or more ryots or even a whole village might rent lands on a limited liability principle. But customs are not easily altered.

Lastly, as to the drill. Even in England, with dear labour and the most perfect drills, it is a question whether dibbling does-not pay: in many seasons and on wet lands it certainly does. In East Bengal, Rowa must be planted out by hand, and the small fields oppose an insurmountable objection to the use of drills for Owsh or Amon. We believe that if broadcast sowing is superseded, it will be by the larger employment of transplanting rather than of drills.

Having thrown cold water on the suggestion of so many others, we may add that in our opinion the chief direction to look for advance is that by which the steps to the present amount of success have been taken, *viz.* the continual improvement of varieties of rice, and the careful adaptation of each that is best for particular land. Rowas are very little grown in Furreedpore, Vicramapore, and Manickgunge; because the land is said to be too sandy, not retentive enough. But perhaps some of the inferior Rowas now used in parts of Dacca might succeed in these sandy districts, or, if not, some day there may be brought out a hardier variety of Rowa which shall thrive even in sandy land. And for the best lands which now produce the finest Rowas, yet more fruitful varieties of Rowa may possibly be produced by variation under domestication. We doubt if irrigation in East Bengal will ever be of any general advantage: there is plenty of water: the point is to select such varieties of rice and adopt such plans of husbandry as may utilise best the water as it now comes.

In attacking so boldly Liebig's theories, we must not be understood to mean that soil has nothing to do with the growth of corn; on the contrary, we consider land sound for corn to be essentially required for all corn-growing experiments. But we doubt whether the agricultural chemists have found out exactly the office of the soil. We suspect its mechanical capacity as a mere retainer of moisture is one of its most important offices both in England and in Bengal. With regard to the general theory of exhaustion, we may state broadly that we have never yet seen an exhausted clean farm in England. Many and many a foul farm have we seen which would require two or three years expen-

sive and judicious "bringing round" before much corn could be got off it.

Neither must we be understood to undervalue manure ; but the highest art in farming is to grow continual corn-crops without manure, and that the Bengali ryot succeeds in doing to the confusion of the theorists. And his process is fundamentally identical with that pursued by those irrepressible farmers in England, who will succeed in growing corn after corn without (or with exceedingly little) manure, after Baron Liebig has demonstrated the impossibility of so doing.

It would be quite foreign to the purpose of this article to enter on political questions : but Bengali agriculture and its improvement depend greatly on such considerations. Since the passing of Act X. no sane landlord can allow either by lease or occupancy any permanence of tenure to a tenant ; and the continual, often annual, change of tenancy is necessarily a great bar to all improvement, especially cold weather tilth. Another far more fatal bar to improvement is the almost universal custom among landlords of taking extra rent if the crop proves good, not because of anticipation of improved crops in future, but merely because the ryot is "able to pay" more. The landlords assert that this system is beneficial to the ryot because he gets a *corresponding* remission in bad seasons, concerning which we have some doubts. The custom is, we presume, entirely illegal. It is needless to expend argument to show that any such custom must in the highest degree tend to render the ryot careless about his crops ; why should he sow that others may reap ? Whilst this state of things continues, it is, as it seems to us, unreasonable to abuse the ryot because he is not eager to try every experiment that is suggested to him.

The conclusion, we fear not very practical, which we have reached at present, is that we have not very much to teach the Bengali ryot in the art of farming for rice.

### ART. III.—MR. HUNTER AS A PHILOLOGIST.

*The Annals of Rural Bengal*, by W. W. Hunter, B. A., M. B. A. S., of the Bengal Civil Service. London : Smith, Elder, and Co., 1868.

*A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia, with a Dissertation. Based on the Hodgson Lists, Official Records, and MSS. By the same author.* London : Trübner and Co., 1868.

WE were not surprised at the cordially eulogistic reception which Mr. Hunter's first work received at the hands of the public and the press both in England and in India. His imaginative power, his capacity of forming in his own mind a definite picture of the past, his graphic and vivid delineation of the picture so formed, his kindly enthusiasm for races whom he believed neglected or misunderstood, his graceful style, all combined to throw a charm round the work by which he first won public attention. The uncongenial nature of the soil from which sprang this delicate growth, and the incongruity of its surroundings added to the attraction it exercised. On the arid plains of Indian officialism, amid the rugged forms of minute and resolution and report, there suddenly germinates a prose poem, like a violet among the amorphous growths of volcanic Aden. Whether he sketches a Sonthal village, or brings on his stage the adventurer or the administrator of the last century, we read Mr. Hunter with pleasure. He has endeavoured to vivify facts, to give them vital meaning. Whether the dead bones have been strung together without a single anatomical blunder, and clothed upon with the exact likeness of the flesh they really wore, is another matter. That he has made the attempt to animate them is no mean honour to Mr. Hunter.

We were the more sorry to find him in his second work leaving the field of imaginative history for the pastures new of philological research, because we could not fail to perceive that the weakest portion of his earlier volume was that devoted to a sketch of the Santálí language. But the foible of humanity, which consists in the strong ever priding himself upon his weakness, was too well known to us to permit surprise to

minge with our sorrow. We had hoped that some friendly critic, more competent than ourselves, would gently chide the erring historiographer and lead him back to duty ; but none has yet appeared. Such notices as we have seen of the philological portions of Mr. Hunter's work have been written in terms of uncompromising eulogy. But in these cases the writers have mostly refrained from any examination of the book, the very title of which, indeed, at first alarms. One writer asserts that "there are not ten men in the world competent to criticize Mr. Hunter's attainments as a student of the non-Aryan languages of India." Were this true, we should be presumptuous indeed ; and speech, on the topic we propose to treat, would, on our part, be not "silvern," but most brazen. The writer from whom the above passage is quoted admits, however, that he can make no pretence to estimate the worth of the linguistic portion of the "Comparative Dictionary," and, let us trust, he is as little able to estimate the number of those competent to criticise it. Unless we greatly err, there are not only ten but ten thousand able to value the merits of the work. To do so demands nothing beyond a knowledge of the general principles of philological investigation and some acquaintance with the main results already attained by the searchers in that field. Courage then, and let us look the giant in the face : peradventure he may prove a cloud-giant.

At the outset a reviewer is somewhat puzzled by the inconsistency of Mr. Hunter's own expressions as to the value which he sets upon his labours. While in some passages he speaks of himself as a mere compiler and is quite penitential as to the blemishes which mar the usefulness of the "Dictionary ;" in others he is as self-complacent over the work as Leporello over his "lista," and we picture him unfolding his treasure in triumphant song :

"Un catalogo egli è che ho fatto io ;  
"Osservate, leggete con me."

Let us first attempt to estimate the actual mechanical work which the compilation of the vocabularies entailed on Mr. Hunter, and the success of the work in this purely mechanical point of view.

Excluding the heading in English, French, German, Latin, and Russian (of the entry of four of which languages we altogether fail to perceive the use), Mr. Hunter's vocabularies embrace 139 languages or dialects. Of these, 104 are merely reprints,

with the most trifling and unimportant emendations\* and additions, of lists published by Mr. Hodgson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The Arabic, Bask, Finnic, Chinese, Amoy, and Japanese lists were supplied to Mr. Hunter in a complete form. The materials necessary for the Javanese and Malay vocabularies are readily available. In Magyar, Turkish, Circassian, and Georgian, Mr. Hunter's labours seem to have been confined to consulting one work of admitted inaccuracy. The source from which the Brahui is derived he does not state, and is manifestly at a loss to know what to do with that in many respects remarkable form of speech. The Cachari and Manipuri lists are due to Colonel McCulloch, those of the Karen dialects and Toungh-thu to the Ava Missionaries. The imperfect vocabularies of the less known dialects of Central India, with Hislop's lists at hand, involved no great labour. In point of fact, our author has done little more than string together lists supplied in a complete form by others. Nor can we find that he has in a single instance added to the extent or accuracy of our knowledge of the vocabulary of any one dialect. The result of what Mr. Hunter is pleased to call his "researches",—*researches*, he assures us, extending "from Asia Minor as far north as Iceland and the shores of the Arctic Sea," is in truth singularly scanty; so much so that we are at a loss to understand how Mr. Hunter can have been so overwhelmed with work as to be, in his own words, "unable to overtake" parts of the Sanskrit vocabulary, the whole of which could easily be written in half an hour.

But the "Dictionary" with its attached dissertation pretends to a higher position than that even of a careful compilation in juxtaposition of materials supplied by others. Mr. Hunter writes:—"I felt that having once undertaken to bring out my "researches in four months, it would have been mere cowardice "to keep back, through fear of a few verbal slips,—ideas that "have long been working in my mind, and which I believe "capable of doing good for millions of men." We wish we could think so; but we fear that in this case the better part of valour would have been discretion. The profound and accu-

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\* Mr. Hunter is singularly unfortunate in selecting an instance of his emendations. We find in the Garo list, at page 458, vol. xviii. pt. i. of the *Asiatic Society's Journal* "rung-ning-chi" quite correctly given for "rung-ning." Mr. Hunter can hardly have invented the erroneous reading "rung-ning" for the purpose of correcting it.

rate learning of a Strangford perishes with its possessor for want of a record. Mr. Hunter, however, remains to us—and we need not apprehend on his part a reticence—a modesty so much to be deplored. An inspired philologo-philanthropist, his motto seems to be—

“Occupet extremum scabies ; mihi turpe relinqui est,  
Et quod non didici, sane nescire fateri.”

As a philologist Mr. Hunter claims to have deserved well of the world, mainly as having facilitated the acquisition of the tongues of the non-Aryan tribes of India and its borders, and so having opened the door to a better understanding of these races ; but in a less degree, also, as having contributed facts and even indicated theories calculated to help the advance of the study of language in the abstract. We will briefly discuss the validity of Mr. Hunter's claims in these two distinct aspects.

In the capacity of a practical linguist (if we may use the phrase without disparagement of those scientific labours whose practical value is too often misunderstood), Mr. Hunter must rely on his “Dictionary” to establish his title. For, though, in the skeleton *Santálí Grammar* appended to his earlier work, he mentions, among the sources on which it is based, his own researches, we fail to trace in that very slight sketch a single form of speech or fact of grammar which is not contained in the “Introduction to the *Santál Language*” of the Rev. J. Phillips. The claim of the “Dictionary” in this point of view may be stated in Mr. Hunter's own words. “These vocabularies,” he writes, “notwithstanding their defects, will henceforth “enable every frontier administrator to hold direct communication with the races committed to his charge.” This appears to us a curiously confident assertion. Let us examine the linguistic panoply furnished by Mr. Hunter to the enthusiastic frontier administrator, and let us take a language where the list of 186 words is complete, a condition which many of them fail to fulfil. Armed with these 186 words transliterated\* in a manner con-

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\* See pages 18 and 19 of Mr. Hunter's “Dissertation.” The lower the position of a race in the scale of civilisation, the more obstructive to verbal communication are errors of pronunciation on the part of the person wishing to communicate. An Englishman is, as a rule, very slow to catch the sounds and accents of a foreign language. But he will make himself tolerably intelligible to a native of some education, while his inability to distinguish between cerebral and dental letters, and his lazy half-enunciation of the vowels, will make his speech mere Greek to a cultivator.

tensely imperfect, with an incomplete and not altogether intelligible due to the pronunciation of the vowels,\* without even a skeleton grammar to guide him in manipulating his scanty supply of vocables, the officer thrown among a half-savage tribe is qualified, Mr Hunter would have us believe, to hold direct communication with the race committed to his charge. We can only say we would much rather Mr Hunter tried the experiment than ourselves.

But even this overstates the case in regard to several languages. For instance, the administrator would find himself somewhat at a loss among the tribes of Central India, to whom the Gayetan, Rutluk, Naikudé, Kolami, Madí, Mudiá, and Kori dialects pertain, when he discovered such a rent in his philological harness as the absence of all verbs whatsoever. Indeed, the most remarkable of the "sporadic affinities" revealed by Mr Hunter's lists is to be found in that anomalous vocable "*caret*," the insertion of which wherever a word is unknown and when a blank space would be more appropriate, only serves to give an air of spurious completeness to vocabularies really imperfect. A mere defect of form in the original work of Hodgson, it is less pardonable in what professes to be a carefully revised compilation.

In this practical point of view the lists are needlessly swollen by languages such as Santálí, Burmese, and the Tamulic group of Southern India, whose grammars and vocabularies are accessible to every one in the fullest form. Even for scientific purposes it would have been quite sufficient to insert one, or at the most two, of the Tamulic group, as *types*; the relations *inter se* of the languages composing it being perfectly well ascertained. Again, Pakhya, Darhi, Denwar, Kuswar, Tharu, and Chentsu, are simply dialects of Hindi, and their inclusion in the "Dictionary" can only be due to carelessness, or inability to recognize the true character of these forms of speech. We shall further on see reason to infer that it is due to the latter cause. But the omissions are as remarkable as the admissions. We look in vain for Khasia, Kuki, or Andamanese. Yet vocabularies of these

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\* In the "notanda" at commencement of the "Dissertations," the following guide to pronunciation is supplied us. —

"a=a, as in *cut*; a=a, as in *card*.

"i=ee, as in *meet*; í=ee, as in *thee*.

"u=oo, as in *boot*; ú=oo, as in *booth*."

\* To our ear the "ee" in "meet" is precisely the same sound as in "thee," the "oo" in "boot" as the "oo" in "booth."

languages exist, and should certainly find place in a work professing to be a "*vade mecum*" for the British Indian administrator when brought into contact with wild tribes.

"But while the original purpose of Mr. Hunter's researches" (we cite his own words) "was a purely practical and administrative one, he is not without hope that they may yield some "philological fruit." The labourers in the philological field may be divided into two classes. The first consists of those who devote themselves to a detailed study of one group of languages analysing the frame-work and structure and the relative position of the languages belonging to it. The second includes those who take a wider sweep of generalization, and endeavour to harmonize, under comprehensive laws, the phenomena exhibited by the various groups, the elaborate examination of which they leave of necessity to students of another turn of mind. But Mr. Hunter seems ambitious to belong to both these classes. For, while in his sketch of the *Sántál* language in his first work he claims to throw light on the position and affinities of an individual form of speech, in the "Dissertation," which accompanies his "Comparative Dictionary," he surveys the whole great family of language, and believes that he has thrown light on the higher problems of comparative philology.

We propose to investigate the value of his works in both these aspects, and to take his chapter on *Sántál* first. Our critique of this may appear to some a critique of detail and to want breadth of view. But if by a careful analysis of Mr. Hunter's statements and inferences we can shew that in his treatment of the individual language he proves himself wanting both in knowledge and judgment, we shall have established good ground for doubting his trustworthiness as a guide when he comes to investigate a wider field.

Mr. Hunter's dissertation on the *Sántál* language is contained in pp. 157 to 181 of his *Annals of Rural Bengal*. His very first statement, "that the Sanskrit alphabet exactly represents all the sounds" of the *Sántál* is not strictly accurate. Mr. Puxley in his vocabulary gives three sounds which are not expressible by Sanskrit letters, and one of these is noticed by Mr. Phillips. The fact, however, that the Sanskrit alphabet so nearly fits the *Sántál* tongue is certainly remarkable. But before theorizing on the subject, it would have been desirable if Mr. Hunter had shewn how far this co-ordination was true of the original basis of the *Sántál*. For it is clear that the language has now been markedly modified by long contact with the Bengali.



Our author then proceeds to assign *Sántál* its place in human speech according to structure.

And here we are struck with astonishment at the profound want of familiarity with the labours of others manifested by Mr. Hunter. "At present," he writes—and we must remember he writes thus in the year of grace 1868,—“languages are arranged in four divisions: *first*, the monosyllabic, uninflected type, or Chinese; *second*, the monosyllabic (biliteral) inflected type, or Indo-European; *third*, the triliteral inflected type, or Semitic; *fourth*, the residue, such as the Turanian and African, with the dialects of America and Australia.” But “new lights have come from Germany,” and Mr. Hunter introduces us to a certain August Schleicher as having “sketched a systematic arrangement of languages which must sooner or later supplant the unscientific one described above.” Why, this unscientific arrangement has been abandoned years ago by all philologists; and the scheme of Schleicher, as expounded by his “*vicesacer*,” is nothing but the morphological classification first laid down by W. Von Humboldt, and now generally adopted! Indeed, we fancy no one would be more surprised than the compendious “high-worthy” Herr himself to find it proclaimed that there was no philologist but Schleicher, and that Mr. Hunter was his prophet.

To shew the correctness of our statement on this point, we extract and place in parallel columns Schleicher's systematic arrangement as expounded by Mr. Hunter and the “morphological classification” originally due to Humboldt, as set forth (not by any means as a new thing) by Professor Max Müller in his Lectures on the science of language delivered in 1861.

<i>Schleicher's Systematic arrangement as interpreted by Mr. Hunter.</i>	<i>Morphological classification, as stated by Professor Müller.</i>
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“Speech belongs to one or other of the three following types. *First*, the isolating languages, consisting of mere roots, incapable of forming compounds and not susceptible of inflectional change. The Chinese, Annamitic, Siamese, and Burmese, exemplify this class. *Second*, compounding languages, consisting of the first of roots which undergo no change, but which, unlike the first, are capable of forming compounds and susceptible of inflection by means of the addition,

“As all languages, so far as we can judge at present, can be reduced in the end to roots, predicative and demonstrative, it is clear that, according to the manner in which roots are put together, we may expect to find three kinds of languages, or three stages in the gradual formation of speech:—(1.) Roots may be used as words, each root preserving its full independence. (2.) Two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds one root may lose its inde-

"insertion, or prefixing of sounds that imply 'relation.' To this family belong the Finnic, Tataric, Dekhanic, and Bask, the speech of the aborigines of America, the South African or Bantu dialects, and, in general, the greater number of languages. *Third.* inflecting languages, consisting of roots that under-go change in inflection, and which are also susceptible of inflexion by means of prefixes or suffixes. The Semitic and the Indo-European form two widely separated families of this class."

pendence. (3.) 'Two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds both roots may lose their independence. What applies to two roots, applies to three or four or more. The principle is the same, though it would lead to a more varied sub-division. The first stage I call the *Radical Stage*. This stage is best represented by ancient Chinese. Languages belonging to this first or radical stage have sometimes been called *Monosyllabic* or *Isolating*. The second stage I call the *Terminational Stage*. This stage is best represented by the Turanian family of speech, and the languages belonging to it have generally been called *Agglutinative*, from *gluten*, glue. The third stage I call the *Inflectional Stage*. This stage is best represented by the Aryan and Semitic families, and the languages belonging to it have sometimes been distinguished by the name of *organic* or *amalgamating*."

This at the outset is a rude shock to our faith in Mr Hunter, and we ask ourselves whether the man who comes to his task so little prepared by previous study that he can mistake an old law formulated by a compendium-writer, for a new discovery, is really a trustworthy guide through the infinite ramifications of human speech. We sorely mistrust such intuitive philologists.

We have no fault to find with the place assigned to *Sántálí* in the scheme of languages. But that place was perfectly well known to philologists long before Mr. Hunter introduced us to the "new lights from Germany." We may notice, however, that in attributing to the root in languages of the third class, "a self-inflecting power of expressing moods and cases by changes within itself," Mr. Hunter treads on very doubtful ground, and that his remark, that "each of the great families of the human race has exhibited more or less political and social activity in proportion to the formative powers of the language which it speaks," has already been anticipated by Max Müller in his "Letter on the Turanian Languages," where he groups all forms of human speech into "Family," "Nomad," and "State" languages.

The analogies between Sanskrit and Sántálí discovered by Mr. Hunter seem to us of very doubtful authenticity. Let us take the so-called Sántálí adjective "joto," meaning "all." Mr. Hunter assumes that "joto" is contracted from ja-uta, according to a well known rule of Sanskrit grammar, and bases an ingenious theory on this assumption. But such a contraction is altogether foreign to the genius of Sántálí which, on Mr. Hunter's own shewing, belongs to the second class of languages, where the root is incapable of change. And in fact this "joto" is nothing more or less than the Bengali (Sanskrit) relative "jata" or "yata," spelt with a long o, with which the Bengali pronunciation of the vowel *o* is often confounded. Thus, for instance, we find in Puxey's Vocabulary "*dhorom*," religion, the Sanskrit, and Bengali "dharma." That Sántálí should have borrowed a relative such as "yata" will not surprise us when we find that the simpler relative pronouns "who" and "what" are represented in Sántálí by "jáhán-e" and "jáhán," and that these, as well as the relative construction in grammar, have been adopted bodily from the Bengali. The idiom "joto pakháre" (= "on every shelf") finds parallel in such phrases as "jituí jaldí," = "as quickly as possible," and so on.

Again, at p. 175, Mr. Hunter concludes his comparison with a "more doubtful set of resemblances," and places side by side certain so-called Sántálí words into which the root "man" enters and the corresponding Sanskrit words. A glance at this list will shew that these so-called Sántálí words, *e. g.*, "mán-janam," are, for the most part, Sanskrit formations transported bodily into the Sántálí vocabulary at some late period. Nor do we think that Mr. Hunter's speculations connecting the Bengali "paune" and "pawá" (not "*poya*") with the Sántálí "ponea" (four) will convince any one who remembers that similar forms are in common use, not only in Bengali but in all the Sanskrit-derived vernaculars of modern India. As recently pointed out at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society, both "páo," "paune," "sawá," "árhái," and "sárhe," are Prákrit forms immediately deducible from the purest Sanskrit. The substitution of a form derived from "páda" for one based on "chatur" finds an exact parallel in our "quarter." We should as little think of speaking of a "fourth" of a pound, as a Bengali of asking for a "chaturthāṣṭha" of a seer of ghee.

A similar ignorance of what has already been achieved by scholars and a similar crudity in his own contributions appear to us to mark the linguistic portion of the "Dissertation"

which prefaces Mr. Hunter's Comparative Dictionary. A trustworthy table of non-Aryan phonetic changes is promised in the forthcoming "Comparative Grammar" which is to contain, among other things, "an examination of the interchanges of *g*, "*h*, *ph*, and *f* strangely analogous to the digamma discussions " which have gathered round the glosses of Hesychius.\* But meantime Mr. Hunter brings forth out of his treasure things new and old, to appease, or stimulate, the appetite of the scientific world. For instance, he brings to notice the possible interchange of *l* with *zh*, *sy*, *s*, or other sibilant. This change is already known to scholars and is illustrated by Max Müller† from the very set of forms selected by Mr. Hunter as his first example, viz., the various forms of the word for "four." Mr. Hunter's second example is certainly new to us. But the stone thus contributed by him to the cairn of induction is, we are afraid, likely to prove a "lapis offensionis." He compares the Chentsu *loddi* for water with *jhodi* in Gayeti and *jodi* in Khond. But, as we noticed above, Chentsu is a mere Hindi patois, and as in that dialect *nan* (nine) becomes *lo*, and *nā* (a boat) becomes *lá*, so *lodi* is simply *nadī* (a river), and on turning to the list of words for river we accordingly find "*loddi*, *ladi*," as the Chentsu word. We do not maintain with the learned Böhtlingk that it is dangerous to write at all on languages of which one does not possess the most detailed knowledge; but we think we may not unreasonably require in one who aspires to tell us something new about the non-Aryan tongues, such elementary proficiency as would prevent the inclusion among that class of no less than six mere dialects of Hindi.

In the paragraph succeeding that which contains the curious blunder just pointed out, Mr. Hunter writes as follows:—"China has hitherto been looked on as a language standing by itself, devoid of ethnical kindred or linguistic alliances. But in spite of its inexactitudes, this book proves that China has given its speech, not merely to the great islands of the Southern Ocean, but to the whole Eastern Peninsula, to Siam, to Tenuasserim, Burmah, in a less degree to Central Asia, to

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\* By the way it seems from this that to his other arduous labours of recent years, Mr. Hunter must have added the acquisition of Greek. If the records of the Civil Service Commission are to be trusted, he knew nothing of that language in 1861.

† See pp. 140—141 of his "Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages."

"many of the Himalayan tribes and to some of the pre-Aryan peoples of the interior of India." Passing by the singular inaccuracy of thought revealed by such phrases as "ethnical kindred," applied to a language, and "given its speech," we are compelled to observe that this assertion is as remarkable in its way as that noticed above, in which Mr. Hunter announced himself as the interpreter of the new German discoveries. The connexion of Chinese with the languages which surround its habitat has been a subject of investigation for years. Max Müller in his "Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages," after comparing the forms of one of the very words selected by Mr. Hunter, the forms for "*three*," remarks—"This brings together 'Chinese, all the T'ai (except Kassia), eleven Gangetic dialects, and one Lohitic;" and in the same work he puts the question—"Does this common ground, where the differences of Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian languages are neutralized, correspond with that stage in the growth of language where the vital powers of the Chinese were arrested, or is there still an interval not bridged over by any traditions of language, between this one patriarchal utterance and the common inheritance of the 'three sons of Feridun?" He himself evidently inclines to the former theory.

That Mr. Hunter should have overlooked the speculations in the same field of Mr. Fryan Hodgson; to whom he is so deeply indebted for the materials of his vocabulary, is simply unaccountable. We quote one passage, but this conclusive, from a paper of Mr. Hodgson's, which will be found at pp. 121 *et seq* of Vol. XXII, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society. "For my part," writes that distinguished philologist, "I apprehend that the true characteristics of the Chinese and Tibetan languages have been a good deal obscured by book-men, Native and European; and though it be somewhat premature to venture an opinion before I have completed my pending investigation of the Gyárun and Horpa tongues, I still must say that I suspect few competent judges will rise from the attentive study of this,\* and my two prior series of vocabularies, *without feeling a conviction that the Indo-Chinese, the Chinese, the Tibetans, and the Altaians, have been too broadly contradistinguished, and that they form in fact but one great Ethnic family, which includes, moreover, what is usually called the Tamulian element of Indian population as well as nearly every element of the population of Oceanica.*"

\* The vocabularies of Sifan and Horsok.

We are not careful to follow Mr. Hunter through the few "sporadic affinities" pointed out by him. Some of these have been pointed out by sounder scholars than himself. The field, however, is still far from exhausted. What we object to is Mr. Hunter's utterly unscientific method, a method by which anything could be proved. To quote Max Müller once again. "The phonetic changes in the Turanian dialects sometimes seem greater than those admissible between Aryan languages. Castén in his "Dissertatio de Affixis Personalibus," considers  $k=t$ . He says that a final  $t$  may be softened into a breathing, and this breathing again be hardened into a  $k$ . He frequently considers  $t$  and  $n$  interchangeable, and seems to hold the plural terminations  $t$ ;  $k$ , ( $h$ ),  $je'$ ,  $san$ ,  $san$ , and  $la$ , identical in origin. In his Syriane Grammar he derives  $jas$  from  $as$ , and compares this final  $s$ , with Lapp.  $h$ . and Finn.  $t$ . Changes like these may appear fanciful, and if transitions of gutturals into dentals, aspirates, and sibilants, were admitted as general principles applicable to every word at random, there would be an end to all scientific etymology. But there is a vast difference between the historical and the unhistorical application of such principles. If we know that languages are historically connected, as for instance Latin and French, we can state as a fact that *lacryma* can be changed into *larme*. We may even go a step beyond and say that  $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\nu$ , tear, and *larme* are all derived from the same root. But if on the strength of this we were to assume that  $\delta\alpha\kappa$  could always be changed into *lar*, and hence identify the Turkish plural *lar* with the Thibetan plural *dag*, we should no longer be on historical ground, nor should we be working 'in the spirit of Bopp's system.'

Mr. Hunter's method is the very reverse of this. He seizes any word, compares it in two languages at random, finds that by changing one or more letters one form can be twisted into the other, and hence boldly constructs a phonetic law for the whole family of language. In quite the same spirit is his insisting upon the identification of the Bengali *gáon* or *gánw* with Chinese and Garo, and deliberately rejecting the true derivation from the Sanskrit *grāma*.

This tendency to the rashest of generalization, to clutch at the most shadowy of resemblances, the flimsiest of arguments, is peculiarly apparent in the concluding portion of the "Dissertation" where Mr. Hunter collects his evidence of the existence in ancient times of an aboriginal race throughout India. Thus he

catches at such forms as Dhimálí, Sántálí, Bangálí, to prove that the root *li* "affords the generic term *homo* to a whole series of tribal names." As for Bangálí, it is simply formed from Bangál as Hindústání from Hindústán. The names of the other two races mentioned are Dhimál and Sántál, not Dhimálí and Sántálí; nor does Mr. Hunter state what on his theory the residues Dhimá and Sántá represent. In fact this derivation of Sántál is inconsistent with his own subsequent connexion of the word with Chaudála. Mr. Hunter connects with this root *lai* and *lái* in Sántálí; but he has misstited the real meaning of those terms. To prove the possibility of the change of *u* or *a* into *o* in non-Ary languages he compares Uriya and Orissa, Sántál and Sonthal. "Orissa" and "Sonthal" are only English mis-spellings!

The above and similar devices may be pardoned to a would-be philologist to whom, above all others "l'étymologie est une science où les voyelles ne font rien, et les consonnes fort peu de chose." But in the following instance we cannot acquit Mr. Hunter of disingenuovsness in his use of authorities. Among the extracts from the *Asáru-l-Bilád* of Zakaríya al Kazwíní given by Sir H. Elliot, in his first volume of the History of India is the following: "Kúlám, a large city in India. Mis'r bin Muhahlil,\* who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies, they choose another from China. There is no physician in India except in this city. The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from the backs of fishes. The inhabitants do not eat fish nor do they slaughter animals, but they eat carrion. They manufacture clay vessels, which are sold in our cities like those of China; but they are not the same, because the clay of China is harder than that of Kúlám, and bears the fire better. The vessels of Kúlám are blackish, but those of China are whiter than all others. There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height, exceeding even a hundred cubits. Brazil wood, ratans, and kaná, also grow here in abundance. Rhnbarb grows here, the leaves, of which are the Sázañ-l Hirálí, Indian leaf, and are held in high esteem as a medicine for the eyes. They bring here various sorts of alpe-wood, camphor, and frankincense. Aloe-wood is also brought hither from the islands beyond the equator where no one has ever gone and seen the tree.

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\* A traveller who went to China about 331 A. H. (942 A. D.)

“ Water comes into it from the north. There is a mine of yellow sulphur here and a mine of copper, the condensed smoke of which makes excellent vitriol.”

Mr. Hunter treats this extract as follows :—“ The inhabitants, we are told, ate carrion, as the aborigines did in Sanskrit times and do in our own ; they were as destitute of temples or visible idols as the Veda itself describes them ; their land was rich in teak ; their only articles of commerce were the spontaneous produce of the forest, with the characteristic black pottery which still forms their sole manufacture.” Thus Mr. Hunter evolves from a description of a highly civilised people, dwelling in a “ large city,” famed for having the only physicians in India, scrupulously respecting animal life, producing a pottery sold in the cities of the west and only inferior to that of China, and engaged in commerce with “ the islands beyond the equator,” the picture of the nearly naked, omnivorous savage of the jungles of Central India. The misquotation is as illogical as it is perverse. Does not Mr. Hunter see that if his interpretation of Mis'r bin Mulahlil's account were true, it would prove a great deal too much ? The most staunch believer in a homogeneous pre-Aryan race would hardly date its *floruit* so far down as the 10th century of the present era.

After this we are prepared for anything. Accordingly, we find Mr. Hunter careering through Arab geographies and English Gazeteers, pouncing on every “ kal,” “ kol,” or “ col,” and claiming it as his own, and in his haste annexing words with such obvious derivations as Kulalpur, Kalyánpur, Kalyán, Káhalgánw (Colgong), and others. A similar process finds the root *kol* in Gour, Gwari, Goa, Orissa, and for aught we know in Colchester or Colney—Hatch. Mr. Hunter then proceeds to prove the connexion of “ Ho” and “ Kiranti,” one of his series of identifications. His proof is nothing but assertion backed up by random extracts from “ Dr. Keith Johnston's Index.” If this is a fair specimen of the general evidence,” we are quite ready to dispense with “ proofs” in detail.

The estimate which we have been reluctantly driven to form of Mr. Hunter's linguistic labours will thus be seen to fall very short of that adopted by his indiscriminating eulogists, who, we feel convinced, have been misled by the apparent magnitude of the task undertaken, and the author's own exaggerated statements both as to the real severity of his labours and the value of the results, whether practical or theoretical, deducible from them. We have, we believe, been able to shew that with Hodg-



son's lists extant in a printed and readily accessible form, the mere mechanical labour of compiling the pretentious Dictionary was at once reduced by more than two-thirds; that the original research involved in the remainder was infinitesimal; and that the labour even such research entailed would have been far more usefully directed to supplying the deficiencies and correcting the inaccuracies of one or two of the many languages still imperfectly known to us than in adding to the number of the vocabularies.

We have also seriously discussed the claim of the Dictionary to practical value as enabling the administrator to hold intercourse with the "races entrusted to his charge." We are not quite sure, however, whether it is seriously put forward by Mr. Hunter. If it be so, he can never have witnessed the British tourist's hopeless isolation on the continent, albeit armed with the quadrilingual dialogues of Murray. Murray's dialogues are no secure defence against the predatory tribes of Italy and the Rhine. Would the Dictionary be more efficacious against those of the North-East Frontier? Why, in this point of view, the very outside of the book is enough to condemn it! Is it too big and too gorgeously bound?

In this field also Mr. Hunter would have done more for his beloved non-Aryans by one such monograph as those of Hodgson on the Bodo and Dhimal languages, than by any mere collection of skeleton lists.

We have, further, analysed the validity of our author's claims to distinction as a philological explorer. In the "General Conclusions," which form the third part of the Dissertation prefixed to the Dictionary, he himself seems thus to state those claims.

"The points I have endeavoured to establish are :—

"1. That India is partly peopled by races distinct from the Aryan population, races whom we have scarcely studied, and whom we do not understand.

"2. That while some of these races have preserved their ethnical identity in sequestered wilds, others have merged as helots or low-castes into the low-land Hindus.

"3. That our ignorance of the first section brings forth incessant risings and frontier wars, and that our imperfect acquaintance with the second forms a serious blot in our internal administration.

"4. That these races are capable of being politically utilized, and by proper measures may be converted from a source of weakness to a source of strength.

" 5. That they are also capable of being scientifically investigated and of furnishing trustworthy materials to European philology.

" 6. That indications are not wanting that these now fragmentary peoples form the débris of a widely scattered primitive race, and that from the northern shores of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea, traces are here exhumed of ethnical revolutions and the ebb and flow of human speech, far more ancient and on a grander scale than the pre-historic migrations of the Indo-Germanic stock."

The first four of these heads do not concern us here. That the languages of the non-Aryan races of India (not the races themselves) are capable of being scientifically investigated, we take leave to think, must have been not unknown to Mr. Hodgson many years ago. The sixth conclusion is vaguely and metaphorically expressed. We take it to mean that there are not wanting indications of connexion between the languages of India, China, Burmah, and High Asia. This speculation we have shewn to be by no means a new one, and we have endeavoured to shew that neither by his knowledge nor by his method is Mr. Hunter likely at present to throw much true light upon the problem.

We cannot, therefore, look forward without anxiety to the appearance of the "Comparative Grammar," the publication of which appears to be contemplated at no distant date. In what Mr. Hunter in this province of knowledge has already thought fit to make public we trace such ignorance of the labours of others, such absence of the true scientific spirit, such want of accuracy in details, and, we grieve to say, such a tendency to disingenuous wresting of facts to support foregone conclusions, that we fear any further hasty essay in the same direction will only tend to injure the fame which he has earned by his historical labours. If, however, he thinks that he can really advance the cause of linguistic science, let him, in respect of the "Comparative Grammar," listen to the advice of Horace:—

" Nonumque prematur in annum,

" Membranis intus positis : delere licebit

" Quod non edideris ; nescit vox missa reverti."

And meanwhile let him make himself acquainted with what has already been achieved by Klaproth, Rémusat, Castrén, Hodgson, Müller, and others of whom he speaks "as familiarly as maids of thirteen do of puppy-dogs," but of whose researches he seems lamentably ignorant.

#### ART. IV.—OUR VALLEYS IN THE NORTH-WEST HIMALAYAS.

TO make the *Mofussilite*, the *Pioneer*, the *Delhi Gazette*,—journals and works of travel,—yield, with the assistance of personal experience, a connected sketch of some of the loveliest portions of our territories, our valleys in the North-Western Himalayas, may be novel, but will not, we trust, prove wholly uninteresting or uninteresting. The hot summer is fast coming on us, and indeed, by the time this will appear in print, and be in the hands of the readers of the *Review*, will have closed on us with all its Indian severity; and the great world of Indian butterflies and Indian swallows,—those who are idle, those who are rich, those who require relaxation, and those who can obtain leave,—will be on the wing for the cool regions of the north,—the hills of snow and the valleys of verdure of the North-Western Himalayas. At such a season, then, we have every hope, that however faulty may be our execution of a faultless subject, our article will be most welcome—and welcome, if not in the higher degree of creating a strong desire of wandering up the heights, and roaming along the valleys described, at least, with many of the aforesaid swallows and butterflies, as a guide and companion. The extracts from different journals will be found rather numerous, but we allow them to usurp even direct sketches from our own pen for several and very good reasons. One good reason is that the said journals will naturally take a great interest in us, and proclaim the fact of our appearance far and wide with all the numerous contrivances only at the command of journalists; indeed, they will manifest more interest thus for us than if we had written an entirely new narrative, brilliant, faultless, and perfect in style and execution. And another very good reason, one with which our said idle butterfly or swallow readers will cordially sympathize, is that the method of extracting saves us much pen as well as brain labour in this (already begun) most relaxing hot weather. Our method of treating our subject will also be eminently idle, so that none of our readers need fear on taking it up, that he must make up his mind to go through a “great tribulation” in the shape of a cut and dry methodical article of fifty odd pages of close type, full of statistics, archæology, dry history, and the like. We shall have none of these. We shall leave them for formal *Gazetteers* like Thornton (whom, however,

we hope to quote), or professed statisticians like Martin, who has written so comprehensively on the Colonies. Our aim will be, in as few words as possible, to introduce our readers to our valleys in the North-West Himalayas, and leave them to make the most of the pleasant subject. Of these valleys, *Cashmere* is by far the largest, and has its own points of surpassing interest,—its delicate manufactures, its lovely women, its antiquities, and its *shikār* (besides its Isle of Chenars); but it lies not in our own territories; and one of the objects of the present article is to create an interest for the lovely scenes in our own dominions, which we generally forsake for the (by no means superior) beauties of the (called ironically, we presume) Happy Valley. Further, *Cashmere* has been already well treated by many writers (and it would be cruel in us to rob them of the sale which their works may command), whereas our own valleys have been taken up only ephemerally by journals here and there, and few and far between. Still further, and the crowning reason of all, leaving *Cashmere* alone saves us a great deal of unnecessary labour when we feel ourselves so lazily inclined.

In the term “North-Western Himalayas” we include an immense extent of country,—all the mountainous country covered by the great River Indus and its several branches, not excluding the River of Cabul. The surface, covered by these rivers, extends thus from Cabul on the west to Simla (or still further) on the east, and from the Pangkong Lake on the north to the Kangra Valley on the south,—an extent unsurpassed in the world for its rugged, defiant grandeur, its elevation, its extent of snow-covered peaks, its glaciers, its impetuous torrents, its wild animals affording game to the sportsman, its *flora*, (? its mineral wealth), and finally, its soft and serene and lovely valleys. This region has not been inaptly termed the Switzerland of Asia—only it is a Switzerland on a grander, more extended, and more comprehensive scale. The Indus with its Cabul and Indian tributaries form seven large rivers in all—the Indus, the Cabul River, the Jhelum, the Chenâb, the Ravee, the Beâs, and the Sutledge. Most of the larger rivers form valleys in the course of their wanderings in the upper regions. The Jhelum, for instance, in its upper course, forms the Valley of *Cashmere*. The Ravee and the Chenâb, however, run too short a course, and have no valleys worth mentioning in connection with their names. The Beâs in its upper portion forms the Koolloo Valley; flowing lower down, it gets entangled among the lower ranges west of Mundeë, whence it

emerges into the plains. The Sutledge has a tortuous, entangled course in its upper parts, but enters upon a valley to the westward of Simla, in Sukeyt and Belaspore. Besides these two valleys of the Beâs and the Sutledge, we may include two others of some extent: one lying wholly within these regions to the west of the Beâs Valley, the Valley of Kangra; and the other almost out of the North-West Himalayas, to the east of the Sutledge Valley, the Valley of Dehra, or Dehra Doon. These, then, are our valleys of the North-West Himalayas—the last not strictly so, being on the outskirts. We have here, then, four valleys, each of considerable extent, some of surpassing beauty (one of them, Kangra, has been compared to Cashmere, with injustice to the latter, but *Koolloo*, in some parts, by just as much exceeds Cashmere as Kangra falls below it), with sport in abundance, and all with more conveniences and comfort in the way of travelling (being in our own territories and with nearer supplies of provisions) than can be procured in Cashmere. They are made use of to some extent by holiday-seekers and travellers; but not to that which is their due. Dehra Doon is over-run each season with visitors proceeding to the “hills north of Dehra,” but Dehra Doon is strictly a winter valley. The Valley of the Sutledge is almost entirely unfrequented, and forsaken for the upper and more rugged reaches of the river. The Valley of Kangra, like Dehra Doon, is settled and cultivated, and should also, with Dehra Doon, and perhaps the Sutledge Valley, rank more as a place for winter residence than summer pastime. The Koolloo, or Beâs Valley, is the one *par excellence* a summer valley. Proceeding, then, according to the usual plan of reserving our *piece de resistance* for the last, we proceed to take up, first, the most uninteresting, Dehra Doon, and after that Kangra, then the Sutledge Valley, and finally the Beâs Valley.

The Dehra Doon needs no particular description: it is too well and generally known. It is shut up on the south from the plains by the Sewalik Range, rising to a height of 3,000 feet; its length is about 45 miles; and its breadth half that. Numerous mountains to the north and east rise to the height of 7,000 or 8,000 feet; of these are Mussoorie and Landour, our well known sanatoria. Two small rivers, the Asun and the Sooswa drain it; it is almost clear of jungle; the country is well cultivated, and there are several tea-gardens. The tea-plant here, as in the Kangra and Koolloo Valleys, is of the Chinese variety, with small leaves and a

scanty supply. The station of Dehra Doon lies in this valley, and is perhaps too well known to need any description. It is large, well-laid out and thriving, and lies directly in the way from the plains to Mussoorie or Landour. Mulberry trees and bamboos grow here to an amazing size. The small village of Rajpore lies at the foot of the Mussoorie Hill. A beautifully laid out drive of ten miles leads from Dehra Doon to Rajpore. The Sewalik Range generally presents features of great interest to the botanist and the palæontologist. Shooting may be had to a partial extent towards the north; but the field has been so well cleared out during the last quarter of a century, that much difficulty is experienced in meeting with game. Here is an old veteran *shikarri's* opinion on the subject:—

“Ah, Sir, if you had only been in these hills forty years ago, you would have bagged four dozen bears and tigers every day. They were so numerous, particularly the leopards and tigers, that we never used to graze our cattle in the jungles. Wild dogs, too, abounded, and they generally hunt in packs.”\*

The following are some traditions regarding some remarkable natural phenomena:—

“Not far from the place stood a village in ancient days, in which two brothers resided, *giants*. To shew their feats of strength, one of them raised the upper stone before me upon the other; the younger brother took it down; and so they continued for hours, until at last the eldest came off victorious, as the younger brother left the stones as you see them. I remarked a hole close to the base of the large stone, and, on enquiring the cause was told that about three years ago, a little boy herding cattle, whilst sitting, resting himself on the big stone, remarking a crack in the ground, inserted a stick, which struck something that sounded like a metal pot, went home and told his father; at night he came, dug, and found buried there an iron vessel full of money and jewelry. The story got wind; it reached the Tere Rajah's ears. The lucky, or rather unlucky, finder was immediately summoned to the capital, asked to give up the treasure, or submit to a fine of 500 rupees. He declared he had found nothing, but paid the fine in preference to being put into irons. I recollect perfectly hearing the story from the *paharees* of the treasure being found. I now actually saw the spot from whence it had been dug. Instead of the story related of the “Giant Brothers” being true, I should think it

more probable that the stones piled upon each other must have been placed there as a mark by the party who concealed the treasure, and who probably died soon after, taking the secret of the hidden treasure with him to the grave.

"Money and jewels in silver and gold are frequently found by the hill men. Here and there, along the banks of the River Aglor, may be seen terraces about fourteen or twenty feet square, built of enormous masses of rock, said to be where the head men of the villages used to collect and discuss any momentous affairs regarding themselves or of the nation. There they are, and call forth surprise to imagine how they could have raised such tremendous stones, weighing *tons*, without mechanical aid! The hill men say they were only built by GIANTS! The present race could not do it."\*

The Sunsar Dhara is a remarkable spot, which is thus described by an eye-witness:—

"In the commencement of this day's march, we enjoyed a sight of uncommon beauty, which was rendered more striking by being concealed by a jutting point of rock till we approached very near and ascended a little bank, when it burst suddenly on our view. It was a fall of water from an excavated bank, with a cave or grotto at each extremity, forming together an arch of about 100 feet in perpendicular height, with a subtended base of 80 or 100 yards. Through every part of the impending summit the water oozed out in drops, which fell in showers into a basin, whence it was carried by a small stream into the river below. The lofty trees and luxuriant shrubs which overhung the brow threw a partial shade over the picture, while the sun striking full upon the cascade, was reflected in the sparkling globules, giving a richness and brilliancy to the scene which words are incompetent to express. Upon an inspection of the grotto to the right, we were struck with new and more singular appearances. It is a cavern, about six feet in height, ten in depth, and fourteen or sixteen in length, and is a natural excavation, the walls and roof of which are rock. The water filters through the top, from which pendant shoots like icicles are disposed in all the different stages of petrification: the small ramifications form variegated beds of moss serving as conductors for the water when it first begins to crystallize; and, from a tube or pipe, they become, by repeated incrustations, a

\* *Delhi Gazette*, 1868.

firm consolidated mass. The various colors produced by the vegetation, changing with the different shades of light, give to the outer surface the appearance of mother-o'-pearl; but when the petrification is complete, the inside has a great resemblance to alabaster.\*

Let us pass over from this account of the Dehra Doon Valley with the following general description furnished by a writer who has evidently much of the poetic vein in him :—

“ You stand on the sunniest, happiest spot enclosed within the weird valley of the verdant Doon. This is the Swiss Canton of the east,—the Villafranca of Hindoostan. You have here Italian skies, and the climate of the cherished nook seems to have stolen all its many charms from Arcadia. Everything here seems to have living life indeed—life that is always in its greenest hour. Look on those trees, those meadows, those lawns, those flower-gardens, those orchards, those waving corn-fields, those wide-spread tea-gardens ! Are they all not, in freshness, in the very pleasantest aspect-time of their development and their growth ; and viewing them, are you not transported in fancy to another and perhaps a dearer land ? Look at those onward, ever onward rushing canals ; they have been brought here by the great art and device of man, snatched up from the erratic courses of rivulets issuing from the belly of the grandest mountains upon which God's greatest handiwork can plant his dominant foot,—at those innumerable splendid dwelling-houses and fairy cottages hid among trees,—and regale your senses with the intoxicating aroma of flowers that rival those of Persia or Cashmere ! O realize all this, and say if you feel not, that if there be an Elysium on earth, *it surely is this ! it surely is this !* Let your eye follow yonder grazing flock : see the cows, and the calves, and the sheep, and the lambs, and the goats, and their kids that spread and capriciously disport themselves away along that beautiful green plain ; many of them are from a northern clime, for they feed and graze here as they would at home ; *there*, are some happy youths with no sorrows to load them with care, their lively, buoyant air and rosy cheeks, blooming in health, flying their kites, and skipping and jumping like very Spartan lads, *here* among the brambles, *there* among the flowers, *here* after the beautiful butterfly, and *there* with their guns, after the pheasant stealing

\* Thornton's Gazetteer.



through the copses of the thick avenues leading to their houses or in the wooded glen adjoining. 'Ah, fond admirer, this is Dehra! Here many and many of our veterans have retired them down to rest, deeming it a fitting and a suited spot to spend the remainder of their days, to thread out the small fold of yarn yet left them in their loom of life. See yonder aged General! Though time by his iron pressure has bent and stooped the veteran's back in homage to the Mother of us all, and though the tyrant and relentless exactor with a grey brush from his casket has touched that old man's hair, yet still a noble figure of the species is rushing fast on to decay! There are two daughters by his side: seem they not to have robbed Venus of her beauty and her burning blushes; and might not the roses covet a tinting from their cheeks? All and everything here seem eternally environed by gladness, by sunshine, and by happiness. Nature seems to treat the spot to naught but smiles and verdancy undying; while contentment and plenty seem to have kicked out *want* from their dominions. Away, to the east and to the west, inexplorably, spreads the classic belt of forest of the Doon. Close by is Hurdwar, where the Ganges, as a goddess, by the mild Hindoo, is most adored; whence she rushes mightily along, just bursting from the mountains to these sickly, enervating plains; where there is forest too, and sport, and shooting, that might madden to a depth of uncontrollably great gladness and joy, the bounding, thumping, wishing, flushing, anxious heart of a Nimrod; where there is a temple to the Sun, to the Moon, to great and holy *Jogees*; where *our* miserable and mortal frames would not be permitted rest; where to the Hindoo mind and belief the gate of Heaven, once in a sweeping decade of years, or *koomb* time, opens out its colossal jaws to receive the souls of the good as they swim up there through *Gunga Maie*.

"Now again look round upon that rugged girdle of low mountains—the Sewaliks. Do all these curious geological outlines not contribute to bring conviction to your mind, that nature designed to close in this valley to happiness and pleasant revelry, evermore? Here, are we not shut in from the withering Sahara blasts from the plains? Surely this is a retreat where a poet might live on in halcyon days—where he might seek the genial shade of the giant oak—where he might sip the purest drink on earth from cool streams—where he might philosophise in grottoes—where he might muse through shady and through leaf-strewn groves—where he might

pluck the blue bell, ruffle the rose, or gather the lilies at his feet !”\*

The next in the order of arrangement is the Kangra Valley, one which has been often likened by its more enthusiastic admirers to Cashmere, but, as we think, unjustly. When we say that Kangra cannot be compared to Cashmere, we do not at all detract from the lovely situation and the natural beauties of the former ; and this will be seen more in detail lower down. There are spots, it is true, such as Bhagsoo (Dhurmsalla) and the road leading to it from Kangra town, and the eastern ridges flanking the valley, over away at Haurrabagh and Footakâl, equal, we believe, to any that may be found in Cashmere ; the views of the Snowy Range from parts of the valley, or Kangra, or Dhurmsalla, are superb ; but the Kangra Valley is tropical in its extreme summer heats ; instead of the cool temperature of the Cashmere Valley, we have in May, and even earlier, the burning and scorching heat of an oven. This will always prevent it from being compared to Cashmere. But the tourist can always escape the intense heat of the valley by a few hours' ride to Bhagsoo (Dhurmsalla) or other points high up near the Snowy Range towards the north. The peculiarity of Kangra lies in this. You have an extended valley, well cultivated, long settled, and with several old towns, almost historic, with tropical verdancy, with many indications of a temperate climate. The Snowy Range almost overtops the valley in a way not met with elsewhere, and the intense heats of the lower portions of the valley can always be exchanged for a snow-bath. At the same time, supplies of all kinds are cheaper, and you are nearer the plains than in Cashmere. For these reasons we are inclined to think that Kangra will be still more appreciated in the future than it has ever been in the past. And if the tourist wishes to have a glimpse of scenery rivalling anything to be seen in Cashmere, he can always proceed by an easy journey into Koolloo, or the Beâs Valley. Much has appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* for last year, as well as this (1869), on Kangra ; and we shall use some portions of the accounts in the form of extracts ; but it is no injustice to the several writers to say that they had little love of the picturesque in them, or, if they had it, they have not put it down. They are more studious in describing routes and tea-gardens than the natural features of the country. Our own recollections of these

serve us very well, but we shall often have to impress in our description the glowing and true words of a lady\* with whom the love of the beautiful in nature appears to have been a passion more than a calm and sober feeling.

The several routes into the valley are, first, from Hoshiarpoor, north of Jullundur; next, from Noorpoor, north of Amritsur; and lastly, by way of Simla and Mundy. There are very few who use either the Noorpoor or Simla routes. A few now and then find their way in by Noorpoor, a settlement of Cashmerian weavers and traders, whence to Kangra is only a good day's ride, being two ordinary marches over a fine level road, with Chumba on the left and Dhurmsalla high up in front. The route from Simla is still less used. The first portion of it lies through the Sutledge Valley, which will be described hereafter. The portion from Mundy is a made road, passable even for carts, along Nadown, Soojanpoor, and Joalamookhi. Mundy is a town the description of which we leave for the portion included under the Sutledge Valley. Nadown and Soojanpoor are thus described:—

“On approaching Nadown, the country opens very considerably, and the cultivation, very spare among the sea of hills I had been crossing, became more luxuriant in appearance in proportion to the quantity of water available for irrigation. Nadown is a town of considerable pretensions, with good paved streets and some presentable houses ..... Close to the Dhurmsalla is a ghât, or broad flight of steps, down to the river bank, that would shame all the Calcutta ghâts put together. It is some fifty or sixty feet broad, and consists of about twenty-five steps.”†

“No situation can be more picturesque in itself than the situation of Soojanpoor, with the overhanging palace of Teera to its east; and I should imagine that few of its kind could surpass it during the rains, with the bed of the River Beas full to its brim, the surrounding hills, especially those on the opposite side now parched and arid with the long drought, covered with green vegetation.”†

Joalamookhi is thus described by the same traveller:—

“The town that has sprung up around, or rather below, the shrine to which pilgrims come from all parts of India, attracted

\* Mrs. Horvey: *Adventures of a Lady in Tartary, Thibet, China, and Cashmere.*

† *Delhi Gazette*, 1869.

by the (to them) wonderful sight of naphtha in a state of constant ignition issuing from sundry perforations in the solid rock. A well paved street leads up to the temple built over the springs, and the whole town seemed to consist of nothing but shops, the owners of which no doubt drive a thriving trade during fair time ..... High above the town, built on the slope of the hill, are the ruins of a small fort ..... I endeavoured to obtain something like authentic information as to the antiquity of the shrine and the date of the discovery of the naphtha springs, but altogether in vain.”\*

A still better description may be found in Mrs. Hervey's volumes —

“Joalamookhi is famous for its temple, and takes its name from the fire which perpetually issues from fissures in the rocks which are enclosed in the temple. The village is large, and might be more properly termed a town. The streets are narrow and paved with stone. As Joalamookhi is built on the slope of a hill rising 500 or 600 feet above the town, the streets are all more or less steep, and the stone paving is generally in regular steps. The houses are of solid construction, and consist of two or three stories. I went to see the famous temple. It is enclosed within high walls, and is situated at the north end of the town. The cupola is richly gilt, and the doors are of massive silver elaborately wrought. Two hideous tigers in golden effigy stand on a pedestal facing the entrance. On entering the sacred precincts, I saw three or four places whence issued a lambent flame of a pale red colour. It is certainly a most extraordinary phenomenon, and I have never heard of a similar instance. The flames must arise from some gas in the rocks ..... Myriads of devotees make a pilgrimage from the most distant parts of India to worship at this shrine.”†

Often even *Bengallee* pilgrims are to be found here ; and what should seem still more surprising is, that the Chief Priest of the Temple is actually a *Brahmin from Lower Bengal*. So much at least he has confessed personally to us.

The route to Kangra from Hoshiarpoor is the one generally used, and although nearly forty miles long, lies through a most interesting country. Immediately on leaving Hoshiarpoor the country becomes hilly. Sometimes the path winds through ridges of wooded knolls or hills, at other times along quiet valleys

\* *Delhi Gazette*, 1869. † *Adventures of a Lady*, &c.

and beds of water-courses. There are steep ascents and corresponding descents. There are rich plains luxuriantly cultivated, or studded with *topes* of mango trees. The Beâs is met with flowing in a calm, deep, and rapid stream, and is crossed by a bridge of boats. And here a peculiar hill custom of the unmarried girls of the country coming out to regale the traveller with their rude but not unharmonious melodies, in bands and troops is met with. There are several serais and staging bungalows on the way for passengers. About a mile from Kangra there is a good view of the fort, standing on an isolated steep hill, the base of which is washed by the Bân-Gunga. A tunnel, cut through a hill, is also passed on the way. The following are several of Mrs. Hervey's descriptions of this route :—

"The whole of the country is wildly beautiful, and very different from the scenery one usually meets with in the hills or plains of India."

And again :—

"The surrounding country—half hill, half dale—is most luxuriantly cultivated. The hills are beautifully wooded, and nothing but the most refreshing verdure meets the eye on every side. The road often resembles the pretty lanes in England, and the hedge-rows are covered with bright blossoms."\*

The following is a more sober and detailed, though not so graphic a description of this route :—

"*Hoshiarpoor to Kangra*, about fifty miles. Soon after starting, we proceed through Bahadurpoor, a very old town, with its streets paved with bricks on edge, and in former times surrounded by a high brick wall with fortified gateways, but now fast falling into ruins. Passing under the ancient entrance and crossing the sandy bed of a mountain torrent (the native city of Hoshiarpoor is to our left), we make a short cut across the fields, and soon come out on to the Cart Road. At the village of Mooklealla, on our left, is the old track through the Nari ravine, a dreadfully sandy one. We commence the ascent of the low range of Sewaliks to Mungowal (first change of coolies here), whence we proceed for some distance tolerably level, although the road is most dreary for want of vegetation of any description. Then descending, we reach the little oasis of Guggurite (second change of kuhars here), where there is a small but clean dâk bungalow with an establishment of servants, and where food can be pro-



\* *Adventures, &c.*

cured ; there is also a very good serai, but not kept in anything like proper order

"Semmel, dwarf date palms, bamboos, and ciriss trees, seemed to thrive here. Capital views of the Snowy Range (Dhoola Dhar) are now obtainable ; also of the valley of the Sohab, in which deer (herron), rabbits (kherghose), partridges, (teettur), pigeons (kaboottur), barking deer (kukkur), are to be had in fair quantities. Crossing the Sohab (now a dry bed), and passing the Mohooruckpoor post office, a hut on the roadside, we ascend and come into the region of cheel trees, and passing Lohara, soon reach Kcendoo, where is the third change of kuhars. A few miles beyond this, we cross the first range of the lower hills, whence some charming views are afforded us ; thence descending (changing kuhars for the fourth time at Bugglee) to the Valley of the Beâs, and crossing the river by a very good bridge of boats, a slight ascent brings us to the next dâk bungalow (establishment kept up, &c., food procurable) of Delree (fifth change of kuhars), pleasantly situated on the bank of the river, and overlooking it. There is a tehsil and thannah, and roads to the sacred city of Joalamookhi, Nadown (capital of the native state of that name), Soojanpoor, and Teereh, where there is a large level plain nearly the same size as the one at Belaspoor, branch off from here. Changing coolies at Burkhundi (sixth time) and Dowlutpoor (seventh time and last), we pass through a tunnel, called a surung by natives, cut in the rock, and soon after the old fort of Kangra appears in sight, then the town. Crossing the Bân-Gunga stream, and passing just below the citadel, we come to the cemetery (on the left) and post office (on the right) ; and ascending a tolerably steep incline, we catch a glimpse of the church and cutcherry, and soon after reach the dâk bungalow, where there is an establishment kept up in the ordinary manner. The journey from Hoshiarpoor occupies about 21 hours. The road throughout is in capital condition, but would be all the better and safer for a little more widening, and also for a stone barrier on the outer edge to prevent carts or cattle from tumbling over the side."\*

Kangra is a very ancient city, and was the capital of the powerful hill chieftain of the surrounding country before the Seikhs conquered it. Sir Henry Lawrence in his early days, when only a Major, made it classic ground by his beautiful tale of the *Rose of Kangra*, a work almost forgotten now, but which de-

\* *Delhi Gazette*, 1868.

serves to be remembered for the genius of the author already then evident. It is divided into the fort, the upper and the lower town. The fort is deemed almost impregnable, being built on a steep, almost perpendicular rock, accessible only on one side. Immediately under the fort lies the lower town, which has a large bazar nearly half a mile in length. The upper town lies to the north of the fort and on a spur somewhat higher than the fort. The public buildings, such as the staging bungalow, the cutcherries, &c., each on a separate hill, intervene between the fort and the upper town. The Mission Church just above it is a striking and beautiful object, and is entirely built of stone. There are numerous streets (all ascents and descents) and bazars in the upper town, and there is a celebrated so-called (very ancient) "golden temple." Its cupola is brightly burnished after the fashion of the temple at Amritsur, and altogether it is a place of some pretensions. There are the tigers in stone, too, at the gateway. The total population must be pretty large for these hills. From the fort, the mission, and several other spots, most magnificent views of the Snowy Range above Dhurmsalla to the north, stretching in a blank, unbroken, stupendous wall east and west, may be seen. White with perpetual snow, and titanic, they wake feelings of sublimity and grandeur, which may not be expressed in words. Lord Elgin, when at Kangra, is stated to have expressed his admiration of the view. The elevation of the upper town is about 3,000 feet above the sea level. The following is another brief description:—

"*Kangra* (known as Kote Kangra by the natives) is 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, once the capital of a race of powerful hill chieftains who lived in a state of oriental (*i. e.*, ragged) splendour, and made war upon their neighbours whenever it was required to replenish the treasury, is now garrisoned by a detachment of British troops, by whom it was taken from the Seikhs, who had dispossessed the original owners of it. It was supposed to be impregnable, but was won with a very slight loss of life. The native streets are all paved with rounded stones, and after a shower of rain present a remarkably clean appearance. From the arch-way near the church, and also from the back of the dak bungalow, capital views of Dhurmsalla and Bhagsoo, with the back-ground of the Snowy Ranges of Chumbi and Lahoul, are to be had, and below us lies Bhowan, with its gilded temple. There is a new cart-road being made from Noorpoor to Palumpoor. This will enable carts to come all the way from Amritsur into the very heart of the beautiful Kangra Valley

and, with a small branch from Kangra, will also be available for wheeled traffic from Jullundur and the neighbourhood. By this means merchandize brought from beyond our frontier by pack-animals to Palumpoor can thence be transported to the plains in a safe and easy manner; and this should be another inducement to traders to make use of this route. There is a mission house, also church, cutcherry, and tehsil; and roads lead off to Noorpoor, Dhurmsalla, and Dalhousie. Subjoined is a list of the marches to the latter place, viz. :—

" Kangra to Muttaur (half stage)	...	3½ miles.
" Dhurmsalla (whole stage)	...	7 "
" Shapoor (ditto)	...	10 "
" Sihuntah. (ditto)	...	12 "
" Thavaree (ditto)	...	13 "
" Dalhousie (ditto)	...	14 "

"The road is available for laden mules and ponies. At Kangra my camp-equipage, horses, and remainder of my servants, overtook me, they having been sent on some days beforehand (they were 13 days on the march from Amritsur to this): the servants who accompanied me came by train to Wuzcer Bholah; thence by eckka in almost as quick time as I did."\*

From Kangra there are numerous routes down into the valley lying immediately to its east, and these routes increase into a perfect net-work when combined with those coming down from Dhurmsalla. For seeing the best parts of the valley we would recommend the start to be made from Dhurmsalla, and not Kangra, and in the proper place we will set forth the route generally followed. But let us proceed to Palumpoor, the new settlement, and have a hasty peep into it :—

"*Kote Kangra to Palumpoor*, 19 miles. In two stages, changing at Mallam. (Kuhars 4 annas 6 pice, coolies 3 annas, mules 6 annas a stage; these rates, I may here add, hold good as far as Beijuath, &c., must always be paid in advance, I suppose, to give the chowdry the opportunity of plundering the unfortunate men of the two pice each which he exacts from them.) The road at starting descends to the Valley of the Ban-Gunga, which stream we soon after cross by a stone bridge. Neat stone walls line either side of the path, adding greatly to the prettiness of the scene all round us. Crossing a second bridge, and ascending the rise just beyond, turning round, we obtain a capital view of the gilded dome of Bhowm temple, cutcherry, and fort



of Kangra in one direction, and in the other Dhurmsalla, with its church and houses looking like card-board ones at this distance off. A short distance further on we strike the new cart-road from the plains *via* Noorpoor to Palumpoor, and thence to Beijnath, now in course of construction; along this and the old path we proceed alternately, according as the former is finished or not, as several bridges being now in hand, and not yet ready, traffic cannot altogether flow over it. Passing the villages of Baratch and Nugrotch (whence there is a road to Dhurmsalla), we are not long in reaching the changing station of Mallam. For some time the old fort of Pathyar, perched on a hill on our left, has been a principal object in the landscape; it is now in ruins, having been destroyed by the Seikhs when they were the paramount power. At Mallam another road from Dhurmsalla joins ours. With the usual ups and downs of a mountain-road we proceed along, obtaining occasional views of the new cart-road, and soon after passing the village of Perroor, the houses of which, built of stone, have a very neat appearance, we come to a fork in the road. Taking the turn to the left (the right one leads to Burwaneh and Beijnath), we descend to the Negal stream, over which a large bridge of 160 feet span is in course of construction, and, when finished, will save the present descent and ascent each side of the stream, and enable carts to proceed along. Soon after, we pass the collection of villages called Sidlepoor, and run into a third road from Dhurmsalla, at the edge of a tea-plantation; then skirting the high banks of the Negal for some distance, we come to Googur, and a sharp descent and ascent brings us to Palumpoor, where there is a capital dâk bungalow, but no establishment yet; your own servants and provisions will be required. Two or three tea-plantations met with on this march, and with their bungalows, built on the neighbouring eminences, add greatly to the natural beauty of this pleasant valley.\*

*"Palumpoor.*—The growth of the last two or three years, owes its origin and present well-being to the fostering care of Mr. Forsyth, the late eminent Commissioner of the Jullundur Division. It is designed to be the emporium of a trade with Yarkand, Kokand, and other frontier tribes generally, if they can be induced to avail themselves of the facilities of trade that are being freely offered to them. It may also be called the "tea city," as

it lies in the very centre of the tea district of the Punjab, and is quite the head-quarters of the planters, whose estates come up to its very doors. A church, a school for teaching English and the vernacular, a dispensary, and a very fair bazar, are in course of erection. A circuit house (properly cutcherry), dāk bungalow, post office, and serai, are already built. The tehsil has been sanctioned, and will soon be up. The main road leads through the bazar, past the school-house and dāk bungalow, terminating close to the church; it is 30 feet wide and about half a mile long, and (undulations of the ground excepted) as straight as an arrow; it is lined on both sides, at the upper end, with a rustic barrier and flower-beds, and with its conduit running down on one side, makes a delightful picture. The other roads in the station are to be 20 feet wide. The small forest of cheel trees surrounding the place adds greatly to its prettiness; add to this the views of the planters' houses, generally built on the surrounding high spots of ground, and above and at the back of them the dark pine-clad hill sides, and you have as charming a piece of scenery as it is possible to imagine. Roads branch off to Burwanel, Beijnath, Dhurmsalla, and Kangra. As far as I could make out, the bazar people did not seem to be very satisfied with their prospects, as the trade of the place itself is not anything at all likely to yield them much support; and although during the few days of each fair a goodly quantity of coin is in circulation, still something more is required for the remaining months of the year. If it is really intended to carry out the original idea of opening out a trade with the tribes beyond the frontier, and of making this the head-quarters thereof, further inducements of a substantial kind must be held out by way of encouraging native merchants to come up and settle here or else send their agents. A good plan would be to send up a Pioneer regiment, with a full complement of European officers, as the expenditure by them and on their account, no slight thing, would soon attract shopkeepers. The men could be employed in building barracks for two or three companies of European troops, who would be greatly benefited by a sojourn in this neighbourhood, the climate being very good; also in opening out a more direct road to the frontier, i. e., *via* the Thamsar Pass and across the Valley of the Chenab, following in the main the present foot track; this would save two or three marches, and shorten the time for coming and going over the present route *via* Koolloo. Other means might be also adopted to make them useful and to keep them up, till sufficient time had elapsed to enable the trade to

consolidate and exist by itself; but without a good, direct, and safe road to the frontier, I don't believe this will ever be realized."\*

"Palumpoor is a settlement of about three quarters of a mile in extent, on one of those smoothly rounded ridges that abound in these parts, sloping gradually and most pleasantly from north to south. It is now open to the east, with here remnants of the cheel forest showing that the whole must at one time have been uniformly covered by the pine. On the west the trees are still thick, and form no doubt a good shelter against the cold westerly and north-west breezes from the neighbouring mountains. A fine broad road, planted on either side with shrubs, that are to form hedge-rows, and with trees that may form an avenue if cared for long enough, leans down the backbone of the ridge from the church site down to the lower end, whence it continues in a less pretentious form to Burwaneh, Teereh, and on to Simla."†

A stage beyond Palumpoor, this route meets that coming down from Dhurmsalla, at a place called *Beijnath*, a very ancient town. The route and place are thus described:—

"*Palumpoor to Beijnath*, 11 miles. Road descends soon after starting, and then ascends, passing through two or three tea-plantations; soon after we come to Banowree Village on the left, then cross the Ohah stream, then by Periarkay and Kokanoo, and soon after the Poon River is reached. A short distance is Piproleh, from whence a sharp descent to the Binnoo stream and ascent on the opposite side brings up to the well built dāk bungalow lately erected by order of Major C. Paske, the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra; there is no establishment attached to it yet, so that your own servants and provisions are requisite accompaniments. There is also a very good serai about a couple of hundred yards off."\*

"*Beijnath* is celebrated for a temple dedicated to Baba Beijnath, in which Adam is supposed to have been born and ministered therein. A great *mela*, or festival, is held annually in his honour about the third week in February. This place being holy, I need hardly add that the inhabitants are therefore the biggest set of blackguards of the neighbourhood. I have invariably noticed in my travels through Hindoostan that wherever a fort, or *keela*, formerly existed, or a temple or sacred spot now exists,

the people in their immediate proximity are a frightful set of rascals: query, the former from old plundering traditions, and the latter from their extreme holiness and laziness, preferring in both cases to *prey* than to work? The dāk bungalow is built on the site of an old fort and barradurree, and there are the remains of an old well into which a Ranee (of pre-historic times) is said to have thrown herself from grief on learning that her husband (the owner of this fort) had been killed in one of his foraging expeditions. It is also said that the victorious Rajah having threatened to loot the place, and with the usual accompaniments destroy everybody in it, she preferred destroying herself to falling into his clutches and being disgraced. As usual with deserted ruins, the ordinary rumour of buried treasure prevails, yet no one seems inclined to try for it, although the amount is represented as something fabulous.”\*

And again :—

“ Beijnath is a place of pilgrimage and of some importance in the Hindoo theogeny. It derives its name from a temple with well founded pretensions to antiquity, and may lay claim to an almost unequalled position on a most picturesque bend of the Binoa. There are indeed two sacred buildings, one dedicated to Shibnath, the other to Beijnath. Both bear strong resemblance to the Jain temples of Rajpootana and Guzerat, but the glories of heathen worship have departed from Shibnath, whose shrine, overgrown with moss and lichens, would long since have crumbled to pieces had it not been built more substantially than are shrines of later days. Monkeys alone appeared to frequent it. The other is a much larger structure, within a walled enclosure, with sundry smaller ‘chapels’ in the courtyard.”†

The road from Kangra to Dhurmsalla, about 9 miles, can best be described in Mrs. Hervey’s words :—

“ The road from Kote Kangra to Dhurmsalla is very tolerable, occasionally level, and occasionally a steep ascent or descent. The country throughout this march is wild and lovely. The road is often a mere lane, hedged with white roses and eglantines, the sweet-scented flowers of which are in full bloom, scattering perfume and fragrance on every side. The cultivation is very rich, and the hills are luxuriantly wooded. Several hill-streams are crossed, some of which are deep and rapid.”‡

Her description of Dhurmsalla is of the briefest :—

" Bhagsoo (just above Dhurmsalla, and where the Commissioner resides) is estimated at 7,000 feet of elevation above the sea-level. It is delightfully cold there, much more so than at Simla, and the proximity of the snow is probably the reason. Mountains covered with snow rise immediately above the little village; they are apparently from 12,000 to 15,000 feet in elevation. A dense black forest lies just above Bhagsoo, and looks dark and gloomy in the distance."

Dhurmsalla is the name given to the place where the Goorkha lines are. There are several officers' bungalows, and a splendid mess-house. The staging bungalow is also situated here. The chief part of the settlement, however, lies much higher, and is called Bhagsoo. Not far from the Commissioner's residence there is a very decent bazar with several Parsee shops, and a good view may be obtained both of the pretty church beyond a ravine and the snowy hills immediately overhead. Gnarled oaks may here be met with in abundance, and flowers such as we see only in England or in conservatories. On entering the route to Kangra from the plains, the houses are generally observed to be tiled with slates. Slate is very largely quarried for tiling purposes a few miles to the east of Dhurmsalla, and must be a most profitable investment. The colour is a deep purple, and looks exceedingly rich. A few miles to the east, too, are the cinchona plantations, well worth a visit. It was here (Bhagsoo), in Colonel Lake's arms, that Lord Elgin breathed his last. His remains were interred in the churchyard, a most romantic spot, and a splendid marble monument now has been erected over them. The sacred spot is well worth a visit from the passing traveller.

From Dhurmsalla the way lies through the Holta tea-estate (about two marches) on to Beijnath. It is a made road, but in some parts, as when descending or ascending ravines, or crossing the beds of rivers, very trying. The view of the tea-cultivations from the Holta bungalow is exceedingly pretty. Miles of the valley are spread out before you in gentle undulations, all covered with a uniform verdant cultivation. As we have stated before, it is only the small China variety that is cultivated here. The Assam plant has been tried, but will not grow. The cultivation of rice and wheat, too, is carried on very largely by the native ryots, here termed zemindars. They are an independent and sturdy set, well-to-do, and have often even fruit

orchards of their own. They irrigate their lands very freely. Mrs. Hervey describes this portion of the road as follows :—

“ On my left the high range of hills were capped with snow, and appeared only two or three miles distant from the road. Everything looked so fresh and green, and near the villages I observed many fruit trees covered with beautiful blossoms. In some native gardens I noticed plantain trees, and red and white roses growing in great luxuriance. The sweet-scented flowers reminded me of England. Many of the hedges which grow near the hamlets by the roadside were of eglantines in full bloom, and the delicious fragrance perfumed the air for miles around.”\*

At Beijnath, beyond Holta, the roads from Dhurmsalla and Kangra meet. Beijnath has been described ; the route from it to Harrabagh, in the Munde Rajah's territory, is as follows :—

“ *Beijnath to Haurrabagh* (in the Munde territory), distance 15 miles. At starting the road runs through the main street of the village, and a short distance commences a stiff climb, which brings us to a second step in the valley ; a few yards from where we reach the top, we enter the territory of the Rajah of Munde. Looking back, we see Mr. Fitzgerald's tea-plantations and bungalows on the left of the road, while to the right lies the dāk bungalow and village of Beijnath : beyond them is the old fort of Patlyar. Continuing onwards, a turn in the road brings us in sight of the Shapoor Sheepoor forts up above us on the right, now in ruins. After passing the Sookhabagh tea-plantation, belonging to Wezeer Gosaon, of Munde, we leave the fort of Karupoor above us on the left, and in front is the Haurrabagh Range, covered with a forest of cheel trees, in a portion of which is the camping ground. There is to be a dāk bungalow and a serai built here on the same pattern as at Beijnath, but only the materials are now being collected, and it will be another season before it is fit for occupation. There is a Shibdwalla in the village, built about 130 years ago by the Rajah Shumsheer Sing, and still in a very good state of preservation. During February and March the mountain-sides in these lower hills present a very grand appearance at night time, as the villagers set fire to the grass, and a rolling sea of blaze sweeps over them in waves, rising and falling in brightness, as bare rocks or other impediments come in the way. There are several roads branching off from here ; but not having been very far along any of them, I merely give

the subjoined skeleton memo. relating to them. One thing in connection with them I do know, and that is, that there is a most sapient order extant, almost prohibitory of travelling in Koolloo, at all events to the effect that "travellers proceeding in that direction are requested to give ten days' notice to the tehsildar at Sultanpore of the route they intend proceeding by, the probable dates on which the principal points will be reached, the number of coolies required, number of servants and followers to be fed, likewise cattle or goats if any accompany you; and if this rule is not complied with, detention and inconvenience will be the result." So that wet or dry, sudden indisposition or not, you are obliged to go on, or a further delay of another ten days will happen, if from either of these circumstances it should be necessary for you to halt—at least that is the way in which the above notice is understood to run by the tehsildar. Seeing that most travellers through the hills seldom require more than thirty coolies, I don't quite see the utility of the above order. Of course, beyond that number, a day or two's notice may be necessary, but ten days would suffice for the Governor-General and all his staff, *pony* included. To add to the absurdity of the whole thing, the Lieutenant-Governor's name is dragged in as giving special sanction to it. Now, any one who knows His Honor, is perfectly aware that his sentiments are far too large and liberal-minded for any such mean order to have emanated from him, as it can only be directed at the non-official class, in order to keep them from poking their noses in where they are not required. To one in the commission, the order is so much waste paper, as where is the native subordinate of Government who would dare to refuse him begarries or russud even at an hour's notice? No doubt travellers are obnoxious to any native subordinate of Government of a well regulated cast of mind; they are apt to take notice of irregularities, and what is worse, occasionally report them in quarters where they are likely to be taken up and enquired into. I should feel inclined to say that this regulation was drawn out under the auspices of the acting Deputy Commissioner (as a facetious friend of mine calls the head native of a Deputy Commissioner's court) at the instance of his "*bais legue*" in the Koolloo District. By the way, this same friend of mine (not Mrs. Harris though) also says that when travelling through the districts, it is far better to have a letter of introduction from the head native of a Deputy Commissioner's court to all tehsildars, thannadars, and lumberdars, than from the Deputy Commissioner himself, as more attention

is paid to it; the source of honor and "*tulluh*" flows from the former, who gives the appointments away, and is consequently feared and dreaded, while the latter is merely required to sign the appointments to render them legal. I have myself known a Deputy Commissioner's order for attention to a traveller quietly passed over, and a greater amount of incivility shown than if it had not been given: in fact impertinence and insult resulted from its possession.

"Returning from this long digression, I subjoin the list (quite skeletons, as I said before) of the routes, viz. :—

"(1.) Haurrabagh to Koteghur *viâ* Plach and Kepu, crossing the Beas River, Jalori Pass, and Sutledge. From there you are five miles from Simla. Route available for laden mules and ponies.

"(2.) Haurrabagh to Rampoor *viâ* Plach, crossing the Bhusleoh Pass and Sutledge River. From thence to Mussoorie (through Bussahir and *viâ* the Rupin Pass), about 24 marches. Available for ponies for six marches above Rampoor. Pony must swim the Sutledge at Rampoor,—rather a dangerous feat be it observed.

"(3.) Haurrabagh to Lahoul *viâ* the Nuktee Davee Pass, up the Valley of the Ool and through Chotah and Burrah Bhagal. Not available for ponies, only fit for pedestrians.

"(4.) To Sultanpoor, the capital of Koolloo *viâ* Major Paske's new road, halting at Damrain (cross the Booboo Jote Pass) and Karnoon. Thence *viâ* the Hampta Pass into Spiti, or "Peetee," as the inhabitants call it. Not available for ponies."\*

At *Sookhabagh*, before we come to Haurrabagh, the Kangra Valley ends, and the Munde Rajah's hilly territory begins, marked, too, with the first arrack shop one meets with in these parts, where also, we believe, gambling and other vices are carried on. The view of the entire valley from this point is unequalled. We have never seen anything to compare with it. Mrs. Hervey thus describes it:—

"At this height, the actual inequalities I had met with on the road between Kangra and Beijnath appeared as naught, and the tract of land before me, seemed like a vast plain, surrounded on all sides by hills, with one small break only, which diversified it of the character of a *bond fide* valley. On one side the high hills, capped with snow, heightened the peculiar style of beauty, which was the attractive feature of the scene, in my



eyes at least. The wide expanse of apparent plain was green with rich fields of cultivation, and picturesquely dotted with luxuriant clumps of trees, many of them covered with the clustering blossoms of embryo fruits.”\*

The magnificence of this view can be understood when we say that it takes in the *entire* valley, 50 miles long by 30 broad. Haurrabagh is quite out of the valley on the road to Mundee south-east, and Koolloo north-east. It is an opening in a magnificent pine-forest. The new route for Koolloo by the Booboo Pass, which avoids the great ascents and descents of the Mundee Hills, is carried on from near this place.

“The road ascends at starting through a forest of cheel trees to the low pass called the Haurrabagh ka Deôtha ka Gulla, from a small temple on the left hand side. From near this point it is intended to start the new direct road into Koolloo, the lockspit of which (subject to sundry modifications) has been cut right through, and along which pedestrians can proceed. It will descend to below Gooma, then rising through a fine grassy forest of deodar (*cedras deodora*) passes above Silsowar to the Juttinger Pass or Gulla: from here it runs down through a forest of ban (oak) trees, which abound in great quantities in this part, to the River Ool (a feeder of the Beâs), which it crosses by a very fair bridge on the Sanga principle. It then rises to Damrain (proposed stage, with dâk bungalow and serai). From here it ascends to the Booloong ka Gulla, and thence it will most likely be carried at an upward gradient all the way up to the Booboo Jote, or Pass, as circumstances and the nature of the ground will permit. From thence it will descend to Karnaon (proposed stage, dâk bungalow, and serai), and from there to Sultaupoor, where a third dâk bungalow and serai is to be erected. The inclination throughout will seldom exceed 1 in 10, so that it will be available for laden mules, and the saving over the present road *vidâ* Bajowra is at least equal to a couple of stages and some pretty stiff climbs too. It runs through some of the prettiest scenery imaginable, and game of all sorts is to be found in plenty all along. Great praise is due to Major Paske for pitching upon such an average good alignment, as I am informed it was all laid out under his direction and instructions. It will prove of the greatest possible benefit in bringing Spiti, Koolloo, and Kangra into closer relationship.”†

\* *Adventures, &c.* † *Delhi Gazette*, 1868.

Haurrabagh is about 7,000 feet high and delightfully pleasant. But Footakâl, one stage further, after passing through beautiful fir and rhododendron forests, is about 9,000 feet high, and most delightfully cool. The summit being open, the most splendid view of the northern snowy mountains of Koolloo and the great Mundeë Hills to the south are obtainable here. The former come up quite close, almost to one's feet, and the latter stretch away in the distance, appearing to decrease in elevation the further south they go. At this almost incomparable terrestrial paradise we take leave of the Kangra Valley.

Let us now enter on the Sutledge Valley. This lies wholly between Mundeë and Simla, and includes the Native States of Sukeyt, Belaspoor, and Irkee. The routes are either from Simla north-west, or Mundy south-east. Another, altogether unfrequented, is from Roopur in the plains. This valley has about the average height of the Kangra Valley, but having the Sutledge flowing through it, and *khuds* and ravines being absent, is far more liked and prettier as a rural scene. The valley commences a few miles after leaving Mundeë, and continues up almost to Simla and Subathoo,—a length of about 40 miles. Its width, however, is inconsiderable. And as the Dehra Valley has its Mussoorie and Landour; and the Kangra Valley its Bhagsoo and Footakâl; so this Sutledge Valley may be made to include, by an *enterprising* tourist, Simla, Kussowlie, Nagkunda, and Chôr, the last two far away, reached easier from Koolloo by the Plach and Larjee Road.

Mundeë is a large hill town, being the capital of the Native State of that name. Being enclosed by mountains, it is most uncomfortably hot, and it is strange that the Rajah has not yet thought of erecting a summer residence on the top of Footakâl, or the crest of the Bajowra Pass, both which belong to him, and which being near 9,000 or 10,000 feet high, remain deliciously cool during the hottest parts of the year. The Beâs flows past this town, and here takes the turn westward to Nadown. The river is pretty wide just opposite the town, and quite tranquil. Mundeë is not a famous place for seeing anything striking. There is a decent stone serai; and the Rajah's palace, situated on a level spot of ground a few hundred yards square, is the most conspicuous building, being two or three stories high, built and profusely ornamented after the native style. The gardens of the Rajah are made available for travellers. Mundeë has an unenviable notoriety among the hills for its cunning and low morality. The Kangra men have already been described by us

as sturdy and honest and independent. Those of the Sutledge Valley are not sturdy, but rather amiable and gentle, free of low cunning. But Mundee may be said to be comprised of oppressed cultivators, and the officials, police, &c., who fleece them. Money is evidently very scarce in this Raj, which some would describe as a very model of a State, for the miners at the salt mines adjacent, as well as the small rabble of an army and police which the Rajah boasts of, are paid *in lumps of salt*!—a very primitive mode truly, and showing how far advanced in civilization is the State. Gambling, opium, and arrack shops abound in the town, and may be seen filled every night. There are one or two handsome bazars, with well-built houses two stories high, and there is much trade, both north to Koolloo and Central Asia, and south to the plains.

“ At a bend in the road we first catch sight of the city (or Nuggur as the natives term it) of Mundee about the largest one of all the hill states, and about an hour after enter its paved streets past a very fair *sersai*, through the bazar, and leaving the *myle* (or palace) of the Rajah, on the left, a turn to the right brings us to a garden where, with the Rajah's permission, our camp is allowed to be located. The present ruler of Mundee, Rajah Beejoy Sein, is quite a young man, rather shy in disposition, but not at all bad looking; he can speak, read, and write English remarkably well, and altogether appears an enlightened man. He is building a school for teaching the English, Persian, and Shastri languages; an hospital with a detached dwelling-house for a native doctor, and one or two other buildings, all erected in a most substantial and workman-like manner. A *dâk* bungalow for European visitors is also to be erected. In addition, there is Mr. Clarke's (the Superintendent of the territory) bungalow and out-offices adjacent. A *dâk* runs daily to and from Beijnath. However, with all these improvements, involving a considerable outlay of money, His Highness has placed the princely sum of a lakh of rupees at the disposal of the Commissioner of Jullundur for the purpose of constructing the new road from Haurrabbagh to Koolloo (before described), a goodly portion of which runs through his territory. The *myle* (or palace) is a large rambling sort of building, part of it very ancient and now going to decay. Annually, in the beginning of March, there is a large *mela* and an assembly of all the neighbouring *deothas*, or gods, which lasts eight days, during which time business is at a stand-still, and the noise they make is a caution to snakes. There is an old temple on

the heights above the city and another on the river's bank near the ferry which here connects the two banks of the Beas, on which the city is situated, and by which you cross when coming in from Koolloo or the upper road *vid* Footakâl."\*

Traces of the advance of Alexander into Asia are supposed to exist not far from Mundee. Mrs. Hervey states that—

"Not far from Mundee, the hill of 'Sekundur-ha-Dhar is found, which extends to near Beijnath in the Koolloo Illaka. On this hill ruins are still extant. They are environed by a deep trench, excavated in the solid rock, immediately adjoining a large open space, manifestly planned by the agency of man. Local traditions would argue this spot to be classic ground, and the Great Alexander's altars of ancient celebrity are said to be the ruins here visible. It is this tradition which has christened the mountain."†

Alexander's presence is traced very much higher up, beyond Cashmere, in as yet totally unexplored country. How he came to get entangled in this great wilderness of mountains, whether he once attempted India by the northern passes of the Kana-korum and the Chungchenmo; or went out of India by way of the hills; or was driven back into them at first (and a portion of his army cut off and remaining ever since in Kafiristân) and advanced again; or thinking of China, and finding the deserts of Tartary impassable, stumbled into North India, cannot now be satisfactorily determined. Or is it possible that he went on a wild-goose chase after the gold-producing ants of Herodotus?

The usual marches from Mundee along the valley are to Sukeyt, about 11 miles; thence to Belaspoor, about 14 miles; thence to Seran-ka-Huttie, about 9 miles; thence to Irkee, about 9 miles; and finally, thence to either Simla or Subathoo, about 10 or 12 miles. Not far from Sukeyt the road becomes most level, and a large spot of level ground stands just outside the town.

"*Mundee Nuggur to Bhojpoor*, in the Sukeyt territory. Distance 14 miles. Passing at the back of the city, and leaving a road to Seoraj in Koolloo on the left, we proceed up the Sukatee Khud, affording some remarkably pretty views. In the jungle opposite pig-shooting is to be had, and in the

\* *Delhi Gazette*, 1868. There is an error here. The "upper road," when coming in from Koolloo, does not touch on Footakâl unless the old road into Kangra is availed of.

† *Adventures, &c.*

hills above bears are to be found; the Rajah readily grants permission to sportsmen to try their luck in this quarter. Some distance onwards the country opens out into a tolerably wide valley with the Sukatee and its feeders flowing through it. At Nagserai (about half way) is an old temple and tank with sacred fish, just beyond the road bifurcates; taking the left turning, the right one leads off to Nadown, we soon cross a ford of the Sukatee, and a couple of miles beyond enter the territory of the Rajah of Sukeyt. Koonj and wild ducks abound about the banks of these streams, and small fish, called 'sollock' and 'seerd' in them. Passing a small clump of babool trees, giving forth its usual delicious perfume, and the turning to Sukeyt Nuggur, situated on the high ground to the left, the capital of the territory, containing a myle (palace) of the Rajah's, now disused, as he lives at Banaird, two or three miles off, a bazar, a gate-way with a steep paved way up to the city, and an old tank, with a narrow covered in passage on three sides for the use of *moozuffur lounge*, i. e., travellers, then through the Village of Bhojpore, a few hundred yards brings us to a peepul tree with a large *chaboutar* round its trunk, and on the level spot by its side is our encamping ground. Kerghose are plentiful in the neighbouring jungle, and pigs likewise. It happened to be the last day of the "*Holee*" festival, when I was here, and the usual ceremony of attempting to burn the Mussulman child horn of the Hindoo woman was gone through; the bonfires made a very pretty sight when lighted up at sunset, giving quite the appearance of a city in the distance with its lamps, they were scattered all round about us above and below, the mountain-side being covered with little bright spots of flame; in ten minutes all was over.

*Bhojpoor to Dihur.* Distance 11 miles. Went over to Banaird, where His Highness Oogur Sein, the Rajah, now resides, to have a *moolakat* with him. He is an elderly gentleman, quiet and unassuming in manners, yet appeared a good man of business, having all the affairs connected with his territory at his fingers' ends. I was also informed that he has a very learned Pundit, well up in Hindoo lore. The myle (or palace) seemed made up of all sorts of queer nooks and corners, with retainers and servants hanging about, and passages leading to nowhere, and rooms every where. The audience-hall, apparently a pretty general rule, is situated at the top of the building, enclosed on three sides, but open on the fourth. Returning to the main road, and passing through the Village of

Sulu, we commence the descent to the Kharrarree khud, following its left bank all the way, affording some excellent bits of scenery, although very quiet in tone. Mangoe groves abound; and about mid-way there is a garden belonging to one of the Rajah's sons, laid out and stocked with plantain trees. Winding about and up and down, we reach the Village of Kougo, and a few steps further on the Sutledge appears in sight, and in half an hour we are at the camping ground on its banks. Here there is a frontier fort belonging to the Suket Rajah, whose western boundary is only a short distance from here. Wild pigs abound in the jungles to the eastward. The opposite side of the river is the territory of the Rajah of Kailure.\*

Tea planters have not yet invaded this valley, and never will we presume. The soil has not that dryness requisite for the tea plant. But cereals are cultivated in the entire valley down to the river's edge. Belaspore, the next town, is a pretty large one and is built on an elevation. The Rajah's palace (a really handsome building) and gardens lie on an immense plain below, just hanging over the Sutledge, which runs a hundred or more feet below. The orange grove and villa of the Rajah usually allotted to travellers is a pleasant and cool spot even in the hottest weather. The next stages are Irkee and Simla, or Subathoo. Irkee is the cleanest town, not excepting those of our own territories, to be met with in the hills. Its roads and lanes are all remarkably clean, and its houses, down even to the smallest shops and huts, beautifully white-washed. The ground begins to become broken at Irkee and to ascend as you proceed onward.

"*Dihur to Belaspore*, capital of the territory of Kailure. Distance 10 miles. Crossing the Sutledge in the ferry boat we enter the Kailure Rajah's territory, the road skirts the river pretty generally throughout the march. We obtain a good view of the Dihur Fort soon after starting, and on the heights above, the Fort of Teeoonnee in Mundy comes into view. About half way the Forts of Futtehpore and Moondker, belonging to the Kailure Rajah, and the Chamba Fort belonging to the Rajah of Andore, are seen perched up on the topmost ridge in front, and fording the shallow stream of the Ullay Khud, (which rises in Bhogal, and which we shall again meet with on the march to Irkee), then passing the ferry that leads to Nadaon and Kangra, half

\* *Delhi Gazette*, 1868.

an hour's walk brings us to the city : and if previous sanction has been obtained from the Rajah to pitch your tent in one of his gardens, and which he readily grants, so much the better ; he has two, laid out in the usual style of paths at right angles to each other and filled with orange, lemon, guava, chukotra, and other trees and flowers of sorts ; there are also one or two small guest-houses and kiosks in each of them. The palace of the Rajah is at the extreme south end of the city, on a very large plain : it is a long rambling building, or rather collection of them, partly surrounded by a wall which, as they are not very high, greatly detracts from their appearance. His Highness, Heera Chand, is always glad to have a "*moolookat*" with European visitors passing through his territory, and is most obliging and attentive to their wants. If the interview takes place during the heat of the day, he has it in his large durbar hall, but if towards sunset (in my opinion the correct time) then on a large *chabotra* outside, shaded by the walls from the rays of the setting sun, on which a large carpet is spread and chairs placed for such as are entitled to seats. A goodly number of his subjects attend on these occasions to see their Rajah and visitors having a friendly chat together ; his prime minister, kardars and others squat on the carpet right and left according to their respective ranks. This Rajah is par excellence the swell of all the hill chieftains, and also the best looking. He is just in his prime, and his manners are very suave and dignified, and he certainly keeps up his rank and state in a most befitting style. His little son, Umeer Chand, is quite a bright specimen of young Rajah-hood, and is evidently a chip of the old block. The Rajah keeps up two companies of foot soldiers, who are very fairly drilled, and he has a band *after* the English style.

"I may here mention that there is a foot-path from Dihur *via* the Ullay khud to Irkee in two stages, *viz.* :—

"Dihur to Dhonee, 1 stage.

"Dhonee to Irkee, 1 stage, changing coolies at Dhoondleh.

"The road for three-fourths of the way is rough and requires a very sure-footed pony.

"*Belaspore to Namole* (known as Kousdeto to the Irkee people). Distance 11 miles. At starting we proceed along the large plain, and leaving the Rajah's palace on the right, about half a mile further on we come to a fork in the road ; taking the turning to the left (the one to the right leads to Kondeloo, 13 miles, with its two inland lakes ; from thence Roopur and Pulhan are but a couple of marches off each) we ascend and just beyond

Rajpore reach another fork, the right turning proceeds by the following stages :—

" Belaspore to Bajooone ...	9 miles.
Saeehuttee ...	9 "
Kuniar ...	10 "
Sairee ...	8 "
Simla ...	7 "

Or from Sairee we can proceed to Hurreepore, Subathoo, Dugshaie, Kussowlie, thence to Kalka and the plains at Umballa; and keeping to the left, and ascending a pretty stiff piece of road which continues nearly the whole way, we obtain some capital views of the Ullay khud (which we crossed on the previous march) the Markunda range and the peaked hill on the left which is called Kutpowl, and is supposed to be inhabited by a Deôtha. Willows greatly abound on this march near the streams, and at nearly every small ghât or pass there is a peepul tree, which appears to have been planted there for the special benefit of way-farers to rest under their wide-spreading shade. Near the camping spot an enterprising bunya has surrounded his shop with quite a young forest of plantain trees, making quite a little oasis in this otherwise treeless region.

*Namole (or Komsode) to Irkee*, the capital of Bhagal, in 1½ stages, changing at Dhoondleh, 2 annas and 4 annas at termination. Distance 11 miles. A short distance onwards and we quit the territory of Kailure and enter that of Bhagal, and proceeding along a tolerably dreary road, more from the absence of trees than any thing else, as the cultivation round the numerous villages scattered about below us always affords a relief to the eye, and is remarkably pretty, but still a little shelter occasionally from the sun is a boon, we reach Dhoondleh; here changing coolies we proceed onwards. From a little village called Peepul-ka-ghât, situated in a small defile in the mountain, we obtain some glimpses of the snowy range of Chumba and Lahoul in the distance, and below is the Valley of the Ullay khud. Descending the valley opens out, the range on the right is called the Burra Davee, in the highest peak of which a Deôtha resides, who has never yet allowed any one to ascend to it, as should any body ever have the temerity to try and do so, great stones will be hurled at him by the invisible resident and his gang, and death would be the result! A rise up and we come to a large garden that the Rana is trying, and pretty successfully too, to call into existence: fruit trees of various descriptions, also flowers appear to thrive well, and amongst



other things I noticed a few "tallow" trees, sown about six years ago, but owing to an apparent want of irrigation they have not thriven well. A short distance hence, and we reach the top of a succession of steep zigzags, descending down which and joining a cross road from Sae huttee, and Nalagarh on right, half an hour's walk brings us to the camping ground on the esplanade and below the castle walls.

*Irkee.*—The capital of Bhagal, is decidedly the prettiest and cleanest of all the hill cities, and is a great credit to the Ranah, who takes great interest in all affairs relating to his principality. All the houses are white-washed, the paths are neatly kept, and so are the hedges and garden walls on each side of the roadways. The palace, a very large building, surrounded by a quadrangular wall, is built in a very solid manner, partly of stone, partly of bricks, and cemented together with mortar brought from the neighbourhood. It is situated on the mountain side above and overlooking the city, and on a moonlight night is a most picturesque sight; here the Ranah resides. There are several Thackoordwarras, all pucca built, a large bazaar, a *small* guest house on the esplanade, built for the use of European visitors, and a garden in which lime, lemon, guava, chukotra, and other fruit trees abound, as well as various descriptions of English vegetables, such as peas, radishes, lettuces, etc., etc., a dally of which is usually presented to travellers.

"Kissen Sing, the present ruler of Bhagal, is the representative of a very ancient family, being the 75th in uninterrupted descent. The family are Rajpoots of the Powar clan or "Gote." The revenue was estimated in 1861 at 40,000 Rupees per annum. His administration is vigorous and popular. In the mutiny he furnished a contingent under his brother Joy Sing, which guarded the passes above Buddee (near Sae huttee) at one time threatened by detachments of mutinous sepoys from Jullundur. In recognition of his services, he received a khillut of 1,000 Rupees and his brother 600 Rupees.

"In the last century these hills were pretty equally divided between the Rajahs of Kailure and Andere, and who were generally fighting for supremacy. At last the Kailure Rajah to make one final grand attempt to see who should be master called in a contingent of Goorkhas from Nepal, who after performing the work required from them, turned round on their friends, and in turn subjugated them, thus putting friends and foes on an equality. Thenceforward plunder and license were the order of the day, and no man was safe from being suddenly

killed. To such a pitch did they carry their oppression that the Andore Rajah went off one fine day to the English, whose frontiers were then well into the north-west, to ask them to come up and rid his people of the curse that sat upon them. A contingent under General Ochterloney was despatched, who very soon drove out the Goorkhas, and gave that peace to the inhabitants which they have enjoyed for so many years, and which will be continued to them, with the blessing of Providence, so long as British bayonets are to the fore.

"*Erkee to Sukrar*, in the territory of Dhamin. Distance 7 miles, (coolies and kuhars 4 annas each). Passing through the bazaar and city, a sharp descent and ascent bring us to a small plateau. At Purog, a village in a narrow defile in the mountain, a charming view of Erkee is to be obtained. Thence descending and ascending and crossing various small streams, all emptying themselves into the Gumber, a tributary of the Sutledge, we reach our destination. About mid-way is the turning to Hulog, the residence of the Ranah of Dhamin. The camping ground is near a small clump of serroo trees by the side of a small streamlet. Notice must be sent to Hulog the day before of your intention of remaining at Sukrar, and to have supplies sent there or starvation will be the result, as it being situated just at the extreme boundary of the territory, there is no village near; the few huts that are on the opposite side of the stream belong to the Patiala Rajah, who does not find travellers in necessities at this stage. I omitted to mention that there is a tolerable path from Erkee to Soonee (in Bajji) and from thence Koteghur can be reached proceeding along the banks of the Sutledge, obviating the necessity of going into Simla, but the road being in the valley is very hot in summer. The hot springs are on this road.

"In travelling through these lower hill stages it has often struck me that at least one-third of the present barren and uncultivated ground could be planted with useful trees, and converted into patches of forest. The expenses to the different Rajahs by the begah system would be but trifling, but the return to them in the course of ten or fifteen years would be very great. If brought before them in a proper manner by the authorities and a slight pressure used (without which no native would ever be guilty of listening to any suggestion, as he would consider it an everlasting disgrace to do a thing sensibly and of his own free will and accord) with the future benefits to be derived from such plantations, properly pointed out and explained to them,

together with the great fact that no outlay beyond the time of the subjects occupied in attending would take place, I feel certain they would lend a willing ear. The rain-fall is very irregular and the crops suffer in consequence: after a few years this would not be the case, but a more even rain-fall would result from the presence of a number of trees and agricultural operations would of course be greatly assisted by the presence of a large quantity of humidity in the air instead of the present burning and glaring heat. A commencement could be made in the immediate neighbourhoods of towns and villages, (where fire-wood is becoming very scarce) on the old and deserted cultivation terraces, where the villagers would not at first have far to go; water for irrigation purposes could always be conveyed from the nearest water-course. Mangoe, mulberry, cheel, hill toon, alder, the acacia, ash, box, plum, cherry, apple, pear, sissoo, sâl, neem, and a great many other descriptions could be planted in the valleys or higher up, according as they required a warmer or cooler climate.

"*Subrar to Simla.*—Distance 10 miles, (coolies and kuhars 4 annas each). An ascent all the way to the entrance of Boileau-gunge, but affording some splendid glimpses of the Chumba and Lahoul snowy ranges on the left, and some pretty views of the Valley of the Gumbher and its feeders on the right, with the plains in the distance. The Kalka Road winds about like a huge snake on the ridges beneath. Passing through Jutogh, we soon reached the junction of the Kussowlie road, and in an hour are in Simla, here making for Rajuballee's Hotel, our journeyings thus far are at an end. One or two parts of yesterday and to-day's march are generally in a most execrable state of disrepair: these are in those portions of the road which run through the boundary of the Patiala Rajah's territory; he is about the richest of the hill chieftans, but his roads are disgraceful."\*

Arrived at the end of the valley, the following are the views from Kussowlie, immediately adjoining Subathoo:—

"From the higher summits of the ridge of the mountain, on the western or lower shoulder of which stands the sanatorium of Kussowlie, the spectator looking southwards may, on a clear morning, obtain a magnificent view of the gradually diminishing spurs of the outer Himalayas, of the *dhoon* immediately beneath and of the plains beyond, chequered with shadow and ver-

\* *Delhi Gazette*, 1868.

ture and sunshine, and stretching away until they seem to meet and mingle with the hazy blue of the distant horizon. But should he turn to the right about, and face the north, a scene of a very different character is presented to his gaze. The slope of the northern ridge is thickly dotted with pines, while beneath, but at no great depth, is a tolerably broad raviny valley, beyond which rise ridge after ridge of brown and sharply pointed hills, so irregularly huddled together as to impart a crater-like appearance to the vast natural basin containing them. For, unless the more distant, none of these ridges are of great altitude, and from Kussowlie, which overlooks them all, may be seen standing out against the northern sky, the peaks of the snowy range, and the thickly wooded sides of Jacko, the dominant height of those on which Simla stands. The latter place is distant from Kussowlie, as the crow flies, about 20 miles, and is of greater elevation by some two thousand feet. About half way between those two places—but to the Kussowlie spectator's left front—and on the left or western shoulder of a ridge of no great eminence, stands Subathoo, visible from Simla and Kussowlie alike; while further away to the right, and about the same distance from Subathoo as from Kussowlie, but wholly shut out from the gaze of Simla, is Dugshai perched on the upper slope and spurs of a brown, shrubless, and most uninviting mass of stoney mountain. Distant not more than a few miles from Kussowlie, the houses, barracks, and other buildings of Dugshai can be distinctly seen from there. About mid-way between these two sanatoria, but nearer Kussowlie than Dugshai, there rises into prominence a long steep bluff of hill, called from the village, or little hill town on its southern slope, Sunawar.\*

Let the tourist not rest here, if he wishes to obtain some of the sublimest views out of Kangra, Koolloo, or Cashmere. On to Nagkunda :—

"The first thing that impresses the traveller, when he nears Nagkunda, is the immense length of the valleys, which appear lengthening every mile he goes further into the interior! Apart from the length of the valleys, the depth of some of them is startling. This, though, is partly accountable by the road running, for the greater part of the way, near the summit of the ranges; the same reason may be assigned for the scant supply of water. I do aver there are not more than a couple of streams,

\* *Indian Daily News*, 1868.

from Simla to Kotegurh, whose volume of water exceeds more than six inches in diameter. This perhaps is partly assignable to the partial drought of the season : nevertheless there are adequate signs to tell that there was never a great flow, even in the best of times. I have walked six miles at a stretch without meeting a stream, and that, too, along the side of a densely wooded mountain, where it would be expected streams murmured in numbers. The want of water is the great drawback. I declare, if there were a couple or three lakes in the vicinity of Nagkunda, it would make the scenery the grandest in the world.

"The forests are magnificent, consisting chiefly of deodar (*cedrus deodara*); lofty pine (*pinus excelsa*); long-leaved fir (*pinus longifolia*); Wolbian pine; hoary oak (*quercus incana*); evergreen oak (*quercus ilex*); rhododendron; walnut; alder; hazel; holly; yew (native name *toon*), used extensively for jampan shafts; mountain ash or *rous*, cut down plentifully for walking sticks; *bebul*, resembling the *peepul* tree, and lopped in winter for the cattle; sumach or *kakkar*, handsomely grained wood used for furniture; wild pear or *mepal* fruit, only palatable when rotted and then devoured by the natives; barbary tree or *rasut*, used as a febrifuge and for dyeing;—this is the sum of all the arboreous vegetation I identified. There is a deal of timber allowed to decay; indeed everywhere may be seen scattered wood and forest *debris*. \* \* \* \*

"The forest in parts is quite impenetrable, being interwoven with gigantic creepers. It is in such recesses that the black and brown bear move about *ad libitum*. Bruin is by no means scarce in these parts, and, under cover of night, does an immense deal of damage to the farmers, by rooting up their potato fields; whenever he haps to come across a bed of squashy vegetables, he fills his maw to the full, then delights in rolling over the ground and destroying the remainder. Not a stone's cast from the Nagkunda bungalow there is a pumpkin bed, where I was informed I might see a bear any hour after 9. P. M.; but unluckily I had no gun, and did not care to enter his august presence unarmed.

"The jungles teem with many species of fowl. Under a bridge, between Theog and Muttona, along the new road where there was just a trickling of water down the ravine, a number of birds were surprised by our approach; amongst them I counted two arguses, three pheasants, and six or seven wild-fowls. They evidently resorted here on account of the water, there being no other stream within three miles of the spot. All along the road

*shikarees* are met offering wild-fowls for sale. I saw a woodman with two pheasants suspended from his bundle of sticks. On my interrogating, I found that he had killed them with a club. This goes to shew how numerous small game is hereabouts.

\* "Cultivation is seen wherever a little soil can be accumulated and sustained in position, but the precipitous character of the hills will not permit much extension of agriculture. The potato is cultivated at Mahasoo and Phagoo; a stray field of it may be seen at Mutiana, but here it ceases. In August and September the harvest is reaped, when buyers may be seen collecting from all parts of the Punjab, the market-place being Mahasoo; here I saw *bunneahs* from Umballa, Cawnpore, Umritsur, and Delhi. The manure on the Mahasoo Hill appears well fitted for the growth of the potato; it flourishes amazingly, and attains a very large size—six or eight of the largest description weighing a seer. I was informed by the traders that the very large kinds were not often carried farther than the hills as the heat of the plains rotted them. The price of the very best potatoe at Mahasoo was 12 annas per maund.

"The principal cereals cultivated in these parts are wheat (*cunuk*), barley (or *jou*), buckwheat (or *ogal*), amaranth (or *bathu*); of the last there are three or four varieties. In the month of September, just before the harvesters gather the amaranth, it is a beautiful sight to look down the face of a hill and see the terrace after terrace of red amaranth in its different stages of growth, and the colour varying accordingly from a faint red to a deep scarlet.

"The people are a mixed race between the Tartar and the common hill men of the lower hills. The generality of them are fair-complexioned, well made, and strong; but all are filthy in their persons and habits, and apparently indigent. The men, unlike their southern neighbours, carry burdens on their backs; that, too, of double the weight; and will, without a grunt or murmur, away with their loads to where they are bid. The costume of the women is peculiar; they have their hair bound and fastened under a handkerchief, generally red, with a long plait descending down the back to the waist, and mixed with cotton or silk. Their upper robe consists of a loose *toga* of coarse white blanket, with a belt round the middle. This—with an addition of a few trinkets in the way of bracelets and necklaces, made of undressed stone, simply bored and threaded—composes the full attire of the women.

"The population is scant, owing principally to the practice of polyandry, which is still carried on to a considerable extent.

"Tobacco and *churras* are both smoked by the inhabitants, who have a singular way of making a pipe in the ground for the purpose. They pick upon a soft soil and dig up a quantity of earth, making a mound about ten inches long, four broad, and a couple of inches high; a thickish piece of straw is inserted longitudinally, and worked until a tube is nicely formed; then at one extremity of the tube a small bowl is impressed in the clay for the tobacco or *churras*, whilst the other is used for taking whiffs.

"The cattle are of small breed and either black or dark brown; a white or grey is unknown. There are a very few cattle seen along the road between Simla and Kotegurh; on enquiry, I find the farmers keep their animals low in the valleys to shelter them from the cold.

"The articles of commerce which come down from Thibet *via* Kotegurh and Simla are borax, chiretta, blankets, currants, yaks tails, goat-skins, a little *pushm*, and a few musk-pods. The imports from India are chiefly—coarse cotton cloth, *goor* (molasses), soap, dried leaf, tobacco, and sugar.

"Many accidents occur on this road; and why? The road for the greater part of the way is not more than four or five feet wide, with a low parapet wall, or where bridges, a railing, running nearly the whole distance. In places the road passes along a series of precipitous rocks, where it is upheld by wooden arched supports, which often are not over strong. Lastly, the hills over which the road passes are very steep, so that if man or beast is thrown over into the *khud*, it is almost inevitable death. The character of the road there is such that nobody should think of travelling on horse-back, unless he be quite secure against his animal shying; for, assuredly as he does, both horse and rider are lost.

"Not very long ago there was a fearful accident occurred somewhere between Kotegurh and Rampoor; the Missionary of Kotegurh, his two daughters and a friend, I believe, were making their way home from near Chetee; the elder of the young ladies was riding, the horse being led by the friend. Suddenly the animal affrighted at something on the way, backed towards the edge of the *khud*, over which yawned a frightful precipice; all endeavours were tried to persuade the pony on, but of no avail; down he went, and the poor girl with him."

Of Nag Kunda itself :—

"This is a very lovely spot, and has long been a favourite one with me. The elevation of Nag Kunda is estimated at 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. The air is cold and bracing even in this month (September). When I was here last (November and December), snow was on the ground, and lay a foot deep; it was bitterly cold then, the wind keen and piercing. There is a magnificent view of the snowy range from a hill just above the bungalow, and I took a solitary walk to the summit to enjoy the beautiful prospect. The sun was setting on the white peaks of eternal snow, and the heavens were clear and cloudless.

"There was a solemn stillness in the scene which stole over my spirits, and I felt sad and lonely as I gazed on the sea of mountains around me. The snowy peaks, glittering like burnished gold in the glowing rays of the setting sun, appeared so distant and so inaccessible that I could scarcely believe I had ever crossed that shining belt."\*

On to Chôr, where we must perforce stop, for we have got far out of our Sutledge Valley :—

"It is a little more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and towers proudly above the neighbouring hills and peaks. I was fortunate in getting a clear bright day for the excursion when I visited it last year. On one hand I could distinctly see the white houses and wooded hills of the Simla and Kussowlee Range; on the other, Mussoorie and Landour loomed in the far distance, the European habitations plainly perceptible. To the south, a glimpse of the unbroken plains of Hindoostan was obtained, while the vision was bounded to the north by the glorious belt of everlasting snow glittering like gold and silver as the different shades of light fell on its deep, unbroken surface of icy white. How peerless in its *majesty* of beauty, is the long uninterrupted range of Snowy Heights raising their proud and lofty crests, coldly and sternly, many thousands of feet above all others. So icy white do these distant snowy mountains appear, that they seem like some awful barrier erected by an Omnipotent Hand to check the darings of helpless mortals from penetrating too far. They seem quite perpendicular and inaccessible, and distance lends enhanced beauty to the matchless landscape.\*

The last of our valleys in the North-West Himalayas is the Beas Valley, and it is the finest. If Kangra falls below Cash-

\* *Adventures, &c.*



mere, the Beas Valley exceeds it. The general name of the district is Koolloo. The following are the routes into the valley ; from the north by the Rotang Pass, from the south-west from Kangra, by the new road opened *viâ* Boobboo, from the south from Muudy over the Bajaora Pass, and from the south-east from Simla by the new road *viâ* Larjee and Plach. Few, except those returning from Cashmere, enter it by the northern road over the Rotang Pass. And both the south-east and south-west roads open out about mid-way into the valley. The way *viâ* Bajaora is to be preferred both as the valley may be said to commence just below it, and on account of the height (10,000 feet) and beauty of the Pass.

The valley lies due north and south, from the Bajaora Mountain on the south to the Snowy Range on the north. The total length from the crest of the Bajaora Pass to that of the Rotang Pass is nearly 60 miles,—a length not exceeded by Cashmere. The width of the valley is almost uniform, expanding at places, and may be set down as from ten to fifteen miles. High ranges of hills bound the valley both east and west : those to the west, indeed, expanding into mountains, high and covered with eternal snow. Of the Bajaora Pass, Mrs. Hervey writes thus :—

“ The road is at first partially level, and then comes a long and steep ascent up a high, wooded mountain. I observed on this hill, near the summit, a pale lilac-colored, indeed almost white, rhododendron in full bloom. It is the first I have met with in the hills, and I was struck by its novelty, as well as the delicate tint of the large flowers. (I observed similarly flowered rhododendrons near the top of the Rotang Pass, some time subsequent to the above. Such Rhododendrons are quite unknown at Simla or Mussourie, as far as I could learn, nor indeed have I met this species elsewhere in the Himalayan Mountains.) This mountain is so beautifully and densely wooded, that I had some miles of pleasant shade. There are no villages near the road throughout this portion of the march, but water is abundant, flowing from numberless springs which issue from the heights above the path. The descent is steeper than the ascent, and not so long. There is a ‘*huttie*,’ or shop, near the foot of this hill. A stony piece of bare ground leads to Bajaora, and here there is a village and a ruined fort. The Beas flows close by. The channel of this river is dotted with small islands overgrown with alder trees. The current is strong and rapid, and the waters dash violently over large rocks in many places,

scattering the foam and spray an incredible distance, and making at the same time a most imposing uproar.”\*

Cultivation begins from the foot of the Pass, and the entire valley up to almost the foot of the Rotang Pass is one green field of cultivation. Tea gardens are to be found on the southern portion. Wheat, barley, and rice are extensively grown, with poppy (for opium), chillies and other vegetables. Apricots and pears are grown here equal in flavor to any in Cashmere. Sheep, the finest and largest, may be had at a couple Rupees each. We should set down the height of the valley at from 4,500 feet at the foot of the Bajora Pass to 9,000 feet at Ralha, the foot of the Rotang Pass on the Snowy Range. Cashmere is estimated to be between 6,000 and 7,000 feet in elevation. It will thus be seen that Koolloo, or the Beas Valley, strikes not only the mean of Cashmere, but both falls short as well as considerably exceeds. The road runs along the right bank of the Beas the whole way up to the very crest of the Rotang Pass, where it takes its rise. The companionship of a river adds to the pleasures of the tourist. In the lower portion we have seen that small islands dot its surface. Higher up, where it becomes narrower, bridges have been thrown across it to cross over to the opposite or eastern side, and still higher up, on the ascent up the Snowy Range, there are lovely water-falls to be met with. And in some places it is seen (on the same declivity) cutting through narrow and deep fissures or gullies in the rock. To the south of Sultanpore, the river is crossed by *mussuck* ferries.

The road is nearly level up to Sultanpore, a distance of about 10 miles from the village at the foot of the Bajora Pass (where there is an old fort, and where native *skikarries* offer their services and produce their certificates,) and the valley is found to increase in beauty as you proceed onwards.

“The road never leaves the banks of the Beas for more than fifty yards, till just below this city (Sultanpore), where it turns a very little to the left, to cross the Serberie (a feeder of the Beas). The torrent rushes down from the heights to the left of the road, and falls into the Beas, close by. It is crossed by a crazy wooden bridge, a short distance before its junction with the larger river. Sultanpore (also called Koolloo) is built on a spur of table-land, which projects from the base of high hills. This spur is almost triangular in form, and of

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\* *Adventures, &c.*

no great extent. The *apex* of this triangle is situated near the confluence of the Beas and Serberie Rivers. The elevation of Sultanpore is given at 4,584 feet above the level of the sea. It is fearfully hot (as most of these hill towns are), from its confined situation, and in the rains, I am told that great sickness prevails. The city is built in a crowded and indefinite style; the streets are generally narrow and paved irregularly with stones. From the Serberie, there is a stony ascent of a hundred yards or more, to the city itself, which is entered by an eccentric gate-way, the doors of which never seem to shut.”\*

This town is the only one in the valley and does a considerable trade with Ladak and Central Asia northwards, and Mundy, Kangra, and the plains southwards. From the tebseel, before the Serberie is crossed by the crazy wooden bridge, up to the Yarkandi Bazaar on the road north, the length is a good mile or more. The town itself is very densely built, there being one main road due north and south. Another road parallel to this passes higher up on the left, and there are numerous by-lanes and streets. Some of the traders are thriving and do much business. On the right is the ex-Rajah's residence, a not very pretentious but substantial structure, and over-hanging the Beas, the Idol Temple, and the *Baradurrie* now only used as a resting place by European travellers. Koolloo is celebrated for its blanket and *puttoo* cloths. Polyandry prevails in these parts, but this is not ascribed as the cause of the general immorality. The natives themselves ascribe it to the presence of the large numbers of Yarkundi traders.

After leaving Sultanpore the road proceeds due north, but at the distance of a few miles, the Beas may be crossed by a bridge, and there is another road to go either to the Munnicorn Hot Springs on the east or north (by the left bank of the river) to the Rotang Pass. The view of the valley from both banks is exquisite, and from this point what we believe cannot be said of any other valley, ‘the beauty increases each mile of the way.’ Romantic glens; meandering mountain streams gently murmuring their lullaby; shady oak, pine, and fir forests; rude and lofty Tartar castles; views of the Snowy Range; the ascent so gradual yet marked and perceptible; the cool temperature; all combine to render the tourist's feelings one of unmixed bliss. On the right bank, the direct way, the stages are Dwara, Kelât,

Koshâl, Râlha, and Murree (11,000 feet high on the way to the crest of the Rotang Pass). On the left bank, the stages are Nuggur (supposed to be the former capital of the Rajah and with a palace, which has been converted into the Assistant Commissioner's residence, and called, 'Nugger Castle'), Juggut Sookh (the World's Delight), Boorooah, whence you re-cross the river and get on to the former road to Râlha and Murree.

From almost Sultanpore up by the other or left bank of the Beas, up to the Rotang Pass, we shall let Mrs. Hervey herself describe the scenery and views:—

"The Beas flowed through the valley, rapid and turbulent; green fields met the eye on every side, and the landscape was prettily wooded with various kinds of trees. High hills, apparently averaging about 12,000 feet, their summits white and hoary, confined the valley on both sides. I should not think its utmost breadth was more than four or five miles ..... The situation is commanding, and I have jestingly called the house 'Nugger Castle.' The view from the windows of one of the rooms is perfectly enchanting, and on a moonlight night must be indescribably lovely. The opposite heights, white with glittering snow; the peaceful valley, green and smiling far beneath; and the rapid river flowing turbulently through the middle of the undulating plain, form a landscape of surpassing beauty. There is a magnificent forest of pine-trees covering the hill which rises almost immediately above 'Nugger Castle,' and deep snow covers the summits of these wooded mountains" ..... "The hedgerows and woods abound with wild pears, pomegranates, and grapes. None of these wild fruits are ever much worth as esculents, I am told. In the gardens near the villages, however, quinces, walnuts, and apricots, are grown, and are *said* to turn out pretty good, though invariably small. Grapes are also cultivated, but are rarely worth eating, and are only used for *sherbut*.\* Opium is likewise grown in quantities, and forms an article of traffic as well as of extensive home consumption." ..... "The dress of the Koooloo people is most simple and primitive. The poorer classes wear *nothing but a blanket*! It is first wound round the waist; then one end is brought over the shoulders, and fastened across the breast by a pair of skewers, or long pins with heads" ..... "Occasionally a second blanket is added, but the greater part of the legs are bare.

\* Our fair authoress surely has libelled the fruits of Koooloo. We have tasted apricots, for instance of the largest and finest flavour.

I protest I never looked at this insecure dress without a feeling of nervousness. The men sometimes wear a sort of jacket, with loose trousers ; but often men and women are dressed alike, and I have been at a loss to decide the sex of an individual. Both sexes wear woollen skull-caps, with full up-turned borders, black, red, and white, or sometimes a medley of colours. The women often add a tassel, which hangs down on one side from the *apex* of the cap. They plait their long black hair in one tress, and add black or brown worsted to make it longer still. This plait often reaches nearly to the ankles, and is worn either hanging down behind, like a pig-tail, or is turned up and wound round the head."....."Who can wonder that a virtuous woman is not to be found in all Koolloo ? .... This is indeed a lovely valley ! ..... The Valley of the Beas is gradually becoming narrower, and the hills on both sides are densely wooded. This (Juggutsookh) is a very pretty spot, and the elevation must be five or six hundred feet greater than at Nuggur. We passed several streams *en route* ; the cultivation is very rich and abundant. This valley is one of the prettiest I have seen any where ; the scenery is so varied and charming ! There are two water-falls close by our camp, and they must be very pretty at the height of the rains. When the snow melts, during the heat of the day, the water-fall just behind the house pours down in a considerable volume, and the spray is dashed to a great distance. .... Boorooah is almost the last village of Koolloo, and is situated at the head of the Beas Valley. The surrounding hills are covered with magnificent forests of fir trees, and the whole scenery is wild and lovely. I was quite grieved to see that the axe had been at work already in these dense woods ; perhaps in a few years this beautiful scenery will have become tame and stupid. .... I am told that *red* bears are found in the neighbouring mountains, and are frequently killed by the hill people. Leopards also cruise about the surrounding heights, and are often caught by the village-dogs, which are set at them in numbers, almost invariably overcoming their powerful enemies.\* ..... The rugged path lies along the right bank of the Beas the whole way, and the scenery is wildly beautiful on every side. The channel of the river gradually becomes more and more confined, and the inclination at which it flows being so very abrupt, the waters

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\* Those fond of sport go higher up into the very snows for the haunts of the ibex.

boil and foam with a furious noise over the large rocks and stones that block up the bed, while the spray is dashed to a great height and distance. .... The mountain we ascended was wooded a great part of the way, and I am told that the grass which grows on it affords so very rich and luxuriant a pasturage, that flocks and herds are sent here from a distance to graze. Ghoomts are allowed to run loose on this Pass for four or five months of the year .... The ascent was fearfully steep, and by way of a path we had nothing but deep beds of snow and sheets of ice.\*

"At 8,731 feet of elevation, we passed a spot called Râlha.† ..... At the elevation of a little more than 11,000 feet, we reached that part of the pass bearing the name of 'Murree.' .... To reach Murree, we had to cross a steep bed of snow many feet deep. The air was bitterly cold, and as we drew near, the sleet which had been falling for some time, turned into large flakes of snow. We went into the huts for shelter, but there being no appearance whatever of the weather clearing, I insisted on proceeding. The huts were full of drifted snow, and we had but cold shelter there.‡ On we toiled higher up the Pass. The snow fell thicker and thicker, and Captain H——begged me to return, as many people have been lost in snow-storms by rashly braving them on this Pass. He turned back to the huts, but I persevered a mile further. The coolies at last fairly declined to proceed, as we could no longer see our way, and their feet sunk deeper and deeper in the fresh fallen snow. I never saw such a dreary prospect as met the eye on every side; north, south, east, and west, nothing but one vast expanse of white was visible. The storm of snow at last drove me back; and cold and almost benumbed, I returned to Murree."

The adventuresome lady, however, was not to be beat back. She would wait!

"Now that attempt No. II has so mournfully failed, I will wait till I am strong enough, and then undertake No. III, by going *this* route, for the Passes will all be open soon. What a change since I was here five weeks ago, both in the climate and scenery! The air is cold and bracing, but the snow is daily disappearing near Murree, and the grass is green and

\* This was on 5th May.

† Here there is a substantial road-engineers' hut.

‡ Now there is a substantial road-engineers' hut.

luxuriant. Flowers of every hue enamel the ground ; anemones, iris, buttercups, daisies, violets, and a myriad of others. There is such a delicious purity in the clear, cold air, that every breath of it seems to impart health and strength. I often stroll about till I am quite weary, and am tempted to exert myself too much in my present state of health. We have tents pitched about 300 feet above 'Lena Singh's huts' on a nice little level piece of ground, fresh and green to the eye, and glittering with bright flowers. .... I observed the lilac colored rhododendron growing in stunted clumps close to our camp here. It is very like the species I noticed in Koolloo, perhaps a little smaller. Birch-trees grow on the peaks in the neighbourhood of our tents. The ordinary forest line of elevation is from 10,000 to 11,000 feet above the level of the sea. Birches and pencil cedars are found at a greater height than any other trees, but even these are not met with much higher than our present elevation. ... The air is so very clear and fine, that it has a positive effect on the spirits, rendering them light and buoyant. The same result has frequently been observed on the Alpine heights, and travellers have considered this a positive means of benefiting the health. The snow is still very deep on the adjoining peaks, and the night-air is keen and piercing, but during the day the noon-tide sun melts away all the ice in the immediate vicinity of our camp ... It is bitterly cold here (Murree), and though the day has been clear and bright, it looks cloudy and threatening now (June 22nd) ..... The first five or six miles are steep and rugged, ascending to the crest of the Pass. We crossed large fields of snow—the air keen and bracing. At the top of the Pass we diverged, a few yards from the direct road (to the right,) to look at the Beas Rikhi, the spot where the Beas River rises. The Rikhi is completely embedded in deep snow ; so we saw nothing ..... We observed many pretty and (to me, at least) new wild flowers. Violets, anemones of all colors, pink, lilac, and blue primroses, forget-me-nots of various hues, geraniums, buttercups, and many other species, covered all the ground, which was free from snow, and looked so bright and gay in the sun-light, that I almost fancied myself in England. However, such fancies were quickly dispelled when I looked around and saw the glittering peaks of eternal snow on every side."

We have done with the Beas Valley, and would only briefly allude to the ruthless destruction of the beautiful and magnificent pine forests carried on by the officers of the Forest De-

partment ; to certain remarkable natural phenomena ; and describe the sublime and unapproachable view obtained from the crest of the Rotang Pass. It will have been noticed in one of the passages quoted above, that the destruction of forest trees had already commenced. That account was written many years—nearly eighteen years—ago. We are therefore of opinion that the destruction referred to was carried on by the villagers. But since then the Forest Department have entered on their labors, and they are making a clean sweep of it altogether. The destruction has now become *legalised*. What will our readers say to learning that upwards of 50,000 full-grown trees have in some years been felled, a good many of them lying rotting where they were hewn down, it being impossible to convey them down to the banks of the rivers ; and of the rest, which are floated down the river, a goodly portion stick here and there, and rot and never reach their destination ? The most magnificent trees have been selected for destruction, and evidently according to no principle or order ; for over whole hill-sides and mountain-tops there is hardly a tree left standing for miles ; so that what was once a scene of beauty and pleasant coolness, has become now a bare and rugged rock reflecting only heat. This statement may be denied, but we have seen it with our own eyes, and when we have put it forth in public journals, it has *not* been denied.

The natural phenomena we refer to are the Hot Springs of of Munnicarn and certain appearances about the rocks in some places. Munnicarn is a small village on the Parbutty, a large feeder of the Beas to the east. It is famous for its hot sulphurous springs. There are regular baths cut out of the solid rock. The water is hot enough to scald the hand and to boil eggs. It is used most beneficially by invalids. The appearances in the rocks may be seen high up the valley, both on the east and the west banks of the river. They are most remarkable, and appear like the ruins of a Titanic world—the workmanship of a former world of giants. They may be the results of volcanic agency. The lines about them are regular, so as to strike the eye at once ; and while contemplating on these remarkable remains, the mind feels overpowered by the grandeur and impressiveness of the scene. Thoughts of the mighty hidden and remote agencies of nature sink the present race of men into utter insignificance ; the individual himself into mere nothing.

The view obtained from the crest of the Rotang Pass is about the very sublimest that can be imagined. You stand on



snow. Behind you immense fields of ice stretch away to the south blocked up by an icy wall. Right and left, east and west, and in front and the north, the view unbroken for perhaps hundreds of miles, over Spiti and over Chumba and Kishtewâr, over Lahoul and over Upper Thibet, you see *one vast ocean of ice-congealed during the very height of the most fearful tempest.* Lofty peaks and cones covered with eternal snow glitter all round you in countless numbers, and you feel yourself an inhabitant of a desolate world of snow,—no longer an inhabitant of this earth. No view in the heart of the Polar regions could be more sublime, cold, desolate, over-powering. And straight in front of you, you see the rapid and foaming Chundra River (the Chenâb of the plains) issuing in a white foam some thirty miles distant, from a height equal to that on which you are yourself, say 14,000 feet above the level of the sea, and descend, winding about among the snowy hills, fully 5,000 feet, in a course of 30 miles, all open and bare before you. With this, perhaps the most magnificent and sublime view that may be obtained anywhere in the world, we part with our description of the Valleys in the North-West Himalayas. A great future, we think, is yet in store for them. The more they are known, the more will they be sought after, even in preference to distant Native Cashmere. They are all populous, all well-cultivated. Mineral wealth untold lies hid in them. And there are spots finer than any yet selected, as at Footakâl, for sanatoria.

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## ART. V.—CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA.

1. *Reports of Missionary Societies.*
2. *Dr. Norman Macleod's Address on Indian Missions, delivered before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on May 28, 1868.*
3. *Kay's Christianity in India.*

TO those who are alive to the progress of Christian truth, India as a Missionary field must present questions of absorbing interest. Cradled in superstitions, grown hoary with age, and boasting a civilization in comparison with that of Greece or Rome is but of yesterday, it is impossible to watch the contact of Christianity with Eastern traditions and habits of thought without feeling that the problem of modern Missions may then only be considered as solved when India becomes manifestly impregnated with the Christian leaven. From the earliest days of Christian enterprise in the land, when the few who undertook to "go down into the well" seemed, even to their best friends, to be committing themselves to a work which must issue in ignominious discomfiture, down to our own day, when the trickling rills of Missionary activity have swollen into a broad stream of blessing, Christian Missions have attracted the attention of men of all schools of religious or intellectual thought. Some have admired the heroism that marks their progress, whilst others have denounced them with open malignity; some have mocked at the idea of Christianity triumphing over the proud defences of Hinduism, whilst others have felt that these Missions bear the impress of a Divine sanction, and must prevail; and even of those who for themselves accept Christianity as of God, some believe in its ultimate success, whilst others can only foresee defeat. It would be an interesting task to collect together all the literature that exists, whether of a favourable or adverse kind, on this fertile theme. Such a collection would illustrate as well the diversified character of the hostility that Christianity has had to encounter, as the growing influences which have served to make the Missionary enterprise so prominent a feature of the religious life of Christendom.

Much has, from time to time, been written both in this country and in Europe and America, of the various Missions

that dot the Indian field. We have Missions to represent all the leading sections of the Church of Christ. Some are labouring together, as in our great cities; others stand isolated in the midst of dense heathen populations. Some give prominence to one form of agency, and others to another. Reports of progress or decline, as the case may be, are published at stated intervals, and the details they embody are scanned and analyzed in almost all parts of the world. It would have been easy for us, if such had been our present object, to glean these details and give our readers the statistical results so commonly regarded as the criterion of success. But this has been done in various forms, and is being done every day. We have no faith in statistical results. In a certain way, and as evidence of a very subordinate kind, they are useful: as indicating that which we most desire to know, they are of little value. Let us not be misunderstood. It has become fashionable in certain quarters to affect the belief that Missionary reports are proverbially untrue. They are untrue, but not in the sense in which their detractors suppose. They profess to exhibit the measure of the success that has attended the labour of the Christian teacher, (we use the phrase generally, as including the way-side preacher, the educationist, and the pastor); whereas, in truth, it were a wrong done to Christianity to suppose that its great spiritual issues can be estimated by any rules of arithmetic. Twenty converts may mean, to the commercial mind, more than five; and yet the progress of truth, as represented in these five, may be twenty-fold greater than that indicated by the larger figure. Christianity represents a system of influences, moral and spiritual, which cannot be apportioned by mathematical laws: and to regard the figures of a statistical table as an index even approximate of the real progress which Christian teaching and example have effected in any given sphere, is to judge most falsely of the highest form of human activity, and most dishonourably of the truth whose principles we affect to have embraced. Perhaps this tendency to apply a commercial standard is but the natural outgrowth of a commercial age; but if so, it is the offspring of a condition of things in which the sordid calculations of a material commerce have been suffered to overlap the universal testimony of the true Christian consciousness. Moral and spiritual influences are secret and subtle: they may be operating where we least suspect their presence: "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" and most assuredly, the visible numerical results are not coincident with the influences that have escaped observation.

The demand made by the supporters of Missions for such tangible evidences of success as only statistical tables can supply, indicates a state of things fraught with the most vicious consequences. In one sense, and a most important one, the object of all Christian Missions is to proselytize. Christianity is essentially aggressive, and it cannot come into contact with the idolatries of the world and its false beliefs without seeking to bring men out of the deadly atmosphere, they are breathing, and in which every good thing must be choked and must wither. All right-minded Christian men must on this account, hail with satisfaction every fresh accession to the ranks of avowed Christians. But when we remember that Christianity is not, either exclusively or primarily, set for the overthrow of false religions as such, but for the triumph of good over evil in whatever form it appears, and of God's truth over every untrue thing of which men are held in bondage, we feel that it is a purely spiritual influence which, when it has once gone forth from us, the eye cannot follow in its flight; an influence which, communicated though it may be through us, passes at once into hidden chambers of thought and passion, there to begin a silent and invisible conflict with the evil that rises up to repel it; and which must be left to its own inherent life to quicken the nobler instincts of the heart into which it has entered. So that even when its action has not been sufficiently powerful to issue in a baptismal confession; if it has destroyed "old shapes of foul disease;" if it has mellowed the soul with the faintest twilight of that love that beams from the Cross of the Son of God; if it has curbed unruly elements and induced holy or even righteous principles of action, it has so far done a glorious good;—a good which may never be betokened by any figures in a statistical return, which may never be recognized by men who have not a soul above the multiplication table, but which is, for all that, a veritable seal of Missionary success.

Where statistical tables are made the sole index of success, the broader, deeper work which Christianity is doing in a land like India is liable to be overlooked. Missions become a sort of religious speculation, and spiritual forces are sought to be regulated by the laws of secular commerce. An unhealthy action is induced in the Mission field: men toiling to serve their Master with singleness of eye in the midst of many discouragements, are tempted to believe, contrary to the essential tendency of the truth they teach, that all labour is "in vain" that is not followed by the baptism of converts: the numerical test

leads to un-Christly depreciation of one another's work, and the grand spiritual mission of our Christianity is forgotten in the number of proselytes made by this or that sect. The fault is not so much that of the men in the field, as of those who want to know how many converts their money has procured; and truly they have their reward in the slow progress which the truth seems to them to be making.

It were idle to deny that among the supporters of Foreign Missions at home, there is a growing dissatisfaction with the fruits of Missionary effort in India. The romance of the enterprise for a long while fed high hopes, which, however, appear to them as far from being realized now as when the pioneers advanced to the work. It is broadly hinted, if not roundly asserted, that the numerical results are not commensurate with the expenditure; and that there must be some grave fault either in the men who labour or in their methods of work. Old and well established agencies are accordingly left to languish for the sake of new "schemes of usefulness," and the sustained sympathy of principle is superseded by the fitful alacrity called forth by a sensational appeal. This decay of interest is not owing to the supposed unfaithfulness of the men who occupy the field, but to a suspicion that their methods of work are defective. We are convinced, however, that this growing indifference would give place to renewed zeal, if the people of whom we speak could only be got to realize all that has actually been done within the last half century. Their mistake lies in limiting their observation to the statistics of Missions, instead of taking in the broader issues that belong to Christian progress generally. Let the truer criterion be applied; let the inquiry be as to the success, not of Missions, but of Christianity; not of a creed, but of spiritual influences; and there can be but one opinion as to the value of the services which Missions have rendered, and are daily rendering to India. By direct teaching, by their testimony among a people without moral chart or compass, to the living power of the things that are true and God-like, and by the conservation through their means of those Christian sympathies which in the midst of heathen associations might otherwise fail to assert themselves, as they ought, in the policy and administration of the Government, Christian Missions have achieved a position and won a success which ought utterly to shame the ignorance of the men who ask what they have done.

It is a curious fact in the history of Missionary effort in this country, that the controversy respecting the most suitable means of spreading the truth should never for a moment have ceased to rage. And now that many of the supporters of Missions are disposed to attribute the want of adequate success, in part at least, to defects in the methods of work, the interest of this controversy is reviving. Its literature is all but voluminous; and even in this *Review*, the subject has, from time to time, forced itself on the public attention. It seems impossible, at this late date, to say anything new on a question that was long ago worn thread-bare. Whilst one party following the leadership of Dr. Duff, contends strenuously for the education of the rising generation as a measure essential to the Christianizing of India, and therefore of paramount importance, the other upholds the public proclamation of the simple Gospel-message to promiscuous audiences wherever they can be gathered, as the only scriptural and apostolical means of spreading the truth. And yet we are glad to be able to add that both methods are employed by almost all our Missions, some giving more attention to one, and others to the other.

One cannot help feeling that the controversy itself, and much more the animosity it has evoked, ought never to have arisen. What was there to call it forth, save a certain bondage to the letter of Scripture, which has been so fruitful of sectarian bigotries in all ages of the Church? And what is it that perpetuates it but the same bondage, the same inability to recognize any labour that is not enjoined in so many words by either the Master or His apostles? The advocates of what is conventionally called "preaching," in contradistinction to "teaching," that is, to Christian educational effort, have claimed as the weapons of their warfare, an explicit command of Christ, and apostolical precedent. Christ said, "Preach the Gospel," and the apostles preached the Gospel; therefore the Missionary who teaches a school of heathen boys or lectures from a professorial chair, is not preaching the Gospel! None of the apostles taught schools or undertook professorships; therefore no Missionary has a right to do so! It does not occur to the men who put forth such reasoning that, apart from the question as to whether the primary meaning of the Greek word translated "preach" necessarily limits the idea to the act conventionally known as preaching, there is a spirit in the command whose observance is far more important than that of the letter. The obedience of the letter exclusively is the obedience of servants who know not their

Lord's will ; whereas the obedience that seeks to compass the end and purpose of the command, comes of sympathy with that will. There are many things which as Christians we are expected to do, but yet with respect to which Christ has breathed no word in the four Gospels, and the apostles have furnished not the shadow of a precedent. The fact is, the teachings of Christ are intended to embrace principles, not details ; it is a living spirit, not a dead letter accessible only by means of a grammar and dictionary, that is to lead us into all truth—into all true acting as well as true thinking. Our action is to be determined and tested by the broad principles of His truth, not by rules of syntax or the authority of a lexicon. In a world that is going on for ever, every page of whose history is crowded with political changes, social revolutions, and tokens of scientific advancement, a thousand new necessities are arising every day which have not been legislated for in the New Testament, and to which no apostolical precedents apply. If we are to be relentlessly bound by the letter ; if nothing is to be left to the matured Christian consciousness ; if the loving sympathy with truth and right, which it is the great end of Christianity to call forth, is to have no share in the interpretation of the Divine purposes, then we must give up not only educational institutions, but all our public charities, our hospitals, our asylums, and every activity, not specifically commanded, in which men have sought to give expression to their sympathy with the spirit of Christ.

The controversy in this form ought, we say, never to have arisen, however natural it may be to expect differences of opinion as to the comparative effectiveness of the two agencies. It were needless to add that such differences exist. Preaching takes the adult population as they are, brings them into abrupt contact with a new religion, and makes certain dogmatic statements which are left to be understood or misunderstood, to be remembered or forgotten according as the people who hear them are enlightened or ignorant, interested or indifferent. It reckons its successes by the number of individual converts, and regards all effort as more or less vain that is not followed by such results. Teaching, to use another conventionalism, undertakes to prepare the soil before sowing the seed. It may sound very believing to say that a Divine message like the Gospel may be conveyed to the hearts of men without any previous preparation on their part, and that to regard such preparation as a necessity is to deny the power of the Divine Spirit. But the

question is not as to an abstract necessity, but to a necessity recognized in all the Divine operations. The high developments of modern science are not the results of sudden revelation, but of the patient searchings and thinkings of all past ages. Our civilization is not a sudden light flashed upon us from some distant sphere, but it represents the ever-growing light of all by-gone history. Or, to draw an illustration from Bible-history, the Hebrews required the special teachings and experiences of a prolonged and most chequered national life, to prepare them for the coming of the Founder of Christianity. Indeed, all history shows that some preparation, mental and moral, social or political, must precede the march of religious truth. And in this view even the great systems of idolatry cannot be regarded as unmitigated evils. By their restraints, and the terrible discipline of suffering they impose, they become in the Divine hands, an important element in the preparation of men for the reception of spiritual teaching. Is India an exception? Who that knows anything of her sorrows and her superstitions with their hideous confoundings of good and evil, does not feel that the ignorance of the people must be removed, before the way can be opened for the introduction of Christian thought, or the elasticity of the moral nature restored. Perverse habits of thought are the fruit of mental slavery; emancipate the mind, and you raise it to a position in which it may be acted on by truth. This is precisely the preparation that the educational system contemplates. It first sheds the light of true knowledge: and as the once blinded eyes grow familiar with it, the higher, broader light of Christian truth is imparted. The Hindoo mind is enslaved by a system the outgrowth of ages of superstition and carnality, and there is no hope for the people except in its destruction. This being accomplished, the mind may, as in the case of what is termed the godless education of the Government colleges, run riot for a time, intoxicated with the new sensation of freedom; but even in this state of riotous abandonment it is more accessible to spiritual influences than when imprisoned in the unimpressionable shell of superstitious ignorance. Moreover, whether imprisoned or free, Christian truth is far more likely to tell upon it when communicated suggestively than when urged dogmatically. This was abundantly illustrated in the case of Christ Himself when He was daily in the temple propounding His great thoughts by means of parables. His aim evidently was to scatter seed-thoughts, the living germinal principles of His kingdom, and then to leave



them to fructify in human society. This, as it appears to us, is what the educational system is eminently calculated to effect. God's order is from the less to the greater. He first tells us of "earthly things," and through them conducts us to "heavenly things." How, then, is it contrary to the analogy of His arrangements to begin by dislodging from the Hindoo mind its preposterous theories of the physical universe received as religious teaching, and give it true science? Must not all truth, being Divine, be not only mutually accordant but mutually helpful? To a certain class of men it may appear a grievous misnomer to call that man a Missionary who devotes any portion of his time to teaching literature, or philosophy, or the sciences: but if these things represent Divine truth; if all true knowledge must in some degree or other facilitate the reception of that highest form of truth revealed in Jesus Christ; and if a certain degree of mental preparedness, the apprehension that is, of the lower forms of truth is, according to all analogy, necessary to the appreciation of the higher, then all men who aid in the diffusion of truth are so far doing a Divine work. The evil to be feared is that, whilst those to whom this education is given are still dazed with the light, there may be insinuated into their unguarded minds deductions that are false and even morally disastrous. It is just here that the influence of the educationist Missionary seeks to interpose. It is his endeavour not only to give true knowledge, but to leaven it in all its departments with Christian teaching and principle. And considering the peculiar mental and moral needs of the people of India, we can conceive of no work more in keeping with the wisdom of Christ.

Dr. Norman Macleod has well described the educational system of Missions as serving "to saturate the whole Hindoo mind with the truth." "It is not," he says, "to take one pore of the sponge but to take the whole sponge itself and fill it with the pure water of life. It would not do to take two or three bricks from the top of the wall and count the number of bricks you take down, but it is to strike out the foundation and bring down the whole wall at once. It was to renovate the whole man and his whole ideas regarding his individuality and personal responsibility. What we seek to accomplish is to separate him from this great concrete mass, for it is hardly possible to make him feel that he stands alone, to make him feel for himself and act for himself, because he has been carried along like a bubble upon the tide of human life. To separate

this man, to make him think and act for himself, to give him right ideas of God and sin, the atonement and incarnation, so that he may know what you are preaching of, and not have a vague idea that the Christ you are speaking of is only his Christnu, and that the 'Jesu' is only another name for one of his old deities,—to change the Hindoo mind, was one of the grandest attempts ever made by intelligent Christian men, and it is the only system that has done anything for the ultimate overturning of that old system of idolatry—Hindooism. I may be misunderstood here, but the conversion of *A*, *B*, and *C*, is not the end here. The conversion of those persons we ought to pray for, and labour for, and do all we can for; but that comes incidentally. \* \* \* If you ask me for results, I say that, so far as Hindooism is concerned, that has gone with English education; but the tremendous social system by which a man is bound to the past, and to a mysterious world of fathers and mothers and sisters who have gone before him, still remains. He is bound to this great brotherhood, in which he lives and moves. I say, if you ask me regarding results, the success has been remarkable. New ideas have been propagated throughout India and in the native mind, and the whole atmosphere has become more and more saturated with a combustible gas. I do not know when God may raise up another Luther to touch it with a spark: I know not how long a period they may be, as the Jews were, in the wilderness, or shut up in Canaan, or kept till the Captivity: but all these mighty periods come before Christ. But I am sure of this: if there is one system which is fitted to do this work more than another, it is the system of our Scotch Missions."

This passage presents Missionary work in India in a light in which we wish all supporters of Missions and Missionaries could see it. Greatly as we ought to labour for individual conversions, and gladly as we ought to accept them, it is not here that the true measure of success is to be sought. Impatience of results, an unholy emulation, not consciously recognized perhaps, yet silently operative among those numerous divisions of the Christian Church which have unhappily been re-produced in this land, and an inability to see anything broader or diviner in Christianity than a scheme to provide for one's individual safety, have, we fear, had no small influence in setting up so exclusive and manifestly unfair a standard of judgment. Is it every thing that one man—honest we will allow—is persuaded to embrace Christianity, notwithstanding that his knowledge of the

new religion is most imperfect, and his very notions of morality lax and uncertain; and is it nothing that Christ's great principles are every day touching the consciences of those whom "preaching" would never reach, who form the heart of Hindoo society, and from whom must come the first symptoms of the life that is to thrust aside the dead things of Hindooism and regenerate India? Is it nothing to seek to plant an intelligent Christianity, in the belief that it will be more lasting than a faith which, though accepted, is but imperfectly apprehended, and which is not likely, under such unfavourable circumstances, to be much more than a new and feeble superstition? Is it everything to convert individuals, and nothing to convert India itself? The strength of Hindooism consists not in the numbers of its adherents, nor in the charm of its idolatries as such, but in its power to paralyze the intellect and moral sense of the people. Until its hold on thought and conscience is relaxed, Christianity is as far off from her victory as ever. The system receives no sensible impression from the desertion to Christianity of a ryot in some dismal rice-swamp, the blacksmith of a village, the Baboo who owns the *pucka koothi* (brick-house), or even the Bramhin of the temple. The way to rescue the millions of victims in its grasp, is not to tear them away one by one bleeding and quivering in every nerve, but to palsy its strong arm by sending death to its heart. The real question, therefore, is not how many converts are Missions making, but, how far has Christian teaching told on the system of Hinduism; in other words, how much nearer is *India* to her conversion.

The answer is not difficult to give. It might by this time have been even a more gladsome one, if the men who have had the control of our Missions had all understood the real need of the country, and instead of persisting in methods and agencies that refuse to fructify, or at best yield but scanty and indifferent fruit, had concentrated their strength of intellect and faith upon the system which holds the millions in bondage. "When I remember," says Dr. Norman Macleod, "what hold Hindooism has on the natural mind, and know that its weapons are wielded by most subtle men, and backed by such ancient theology; and when I think what it has done, and is, I hesitate not to say there never was such a work given to the Christian Church in the time of the apostles, or in the earlier ages, as to attack that stronghold of Satan, and to overturn that system." I think the work given us to do is the last great battle of Christianity. It seems to me as

if it required all the experience of the Christian Church in the nineteenth century to go and attack this stronghold. The day you overturn that system, you have done the greatest work the Church has ever done,—a work such as never was accomplished in the world before; in so far as man can see, a work that never can be done again.” No one who has had any practical acquaintance with Hindooism can gainsay the correctness of this estimate of its power. In seeking to form a fair judgment of the effect that Christianity has had, we should ask, not how many converts have been made to a formula of belief, but how far its truths and principles are quickening thought and human feeling, and so leavening the mass of Hindoo society. That Hinduism, by the confession of those who are most interested in its stability, is slackening its hold; that the people are beginning to think independently of it, and even in antagonism to it; and that in innumerable cases the only influences that serve to keep up a semblance of allegiance to it are not of a religious, but purely of a social or family kind, are facts which no one in the least qualified to give an opinion will dare to disavow.

Nor will it be denied that the one great anxiety that moves Hindoodom at the present moment, is how to check the march of enlightenment and recover lost ground. But mind once emancipated refuses to return to slavery, all the Dharma Sobhas of orthodoxy notwithstanding. It may, as we have said, become riotous in its new-found freedom: the reaction from superstition may mean Deism or Theism, or Comtism, or even Atheism; and bigots may say derisively, “Lo, these are the fruits of an English education!” But let us not judge hastily, lest we should be found condemning, as unmitigated evil, the chaos which only precedes order and beauty. The advancement of knowledge has, no doubt, brought on this reaction, but only as the occasion of it, not as the cause. It would have had none of its present violent symptoms were it not for the terrible bondage that went before. The divers forms of unbelief that are just now so luxuriant, owe their existence, not to the light of knowledge, but to the previous darkness, and may be likened to the bewilderment caused by the sudden contact with light of eyes that have long rested in darkness. All negations of belief are essentially transitional. They cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent, and must give place, in due course, to a positive faith. But this must be the faith, not of a mere theology, but of living, eternal principles. It is here that Christian educational influence is most needed; it is here that it is tell-

ing most ; it is here that it must go on telling more and more, if Christian Missions are to win the success that has been anticipated for them. The men who, along with the influences that awaken intellectual life, scatter broadcast the living seeds of truth and righteousness and water the tree of knowledge from the fountain of Christ's teachings and spirit, are the only men in a position to control the violence of the reaction we have spoken of ; the only men who have in any degree been able to do so ; and certainly *the* men who, if they will only not insist on hampering truth with sectarian creeds, will finally establish the reign of Christianity. Not the men who standing unsympathetically aloof from the chaos of thought out of which the newly awakened Hindoo mind is struggling into conviction, content themselves with the enunciation of theological dogmas ; not the men who with their own feet on dry land complacently call out their directions to their drowning brothers ; but the men who are able to control the strife because they identify themselves with it, and themselves leap into the deep waters,—these are the men truly doing the work of "saving souls." And this they do most effectually who seek to anticipate the reaction that must ensue from the education that the people *will* have, by taking that education, whether English or Vernacular, as far as possible, into their own hands. No one will deny that the existing activity of thought on the religious question is fed by the prominence that Christianity assumes,—a prominence that would not have been hers, had it not been for the influence of the men who have laboured in Missionary colleges and schools. The interest in the great struggle between truth and error is deepening every day ; and now to say that Christian Missions are a failure, is either to be grievously ignorant of what is actually transpiring, or to expect, contrary to all analogy, that truth should triumph without an effort.

Talking of the system of Hindooism and its terrible coherency, reminds us that something ought to be said about caste in its attitude towards Christianity, and more especially the Christian Church. When Schwartz established his Missions in Southern India, fearing lest any interference with so deep-rooted an institution should only excite needless hostility, he declined to legislate one way or the other with respect to it. His converts were not compelled to renounce caste. The consequence was that many of the sore evils of Hindoo society were perpetuated in the Christian Church. Churches so constituted

could not keep together. Dissensions arose and continued for many years, until the scandal was suppressed by Bishop Wilson who, on visiting the Tinnevely Mission, ordained that an entire renunciation of caste should be made a *sine quâ non* of Christian fellowship. The Missionaries of Southern India regard this measure as having been most healthy in its effect. Indeed, all Missions in India, without any exception as far as we know, accept and act on the principle that the distinctions of caste are incompatible with Christian communion. The matter was therefore practically set at rest long ago; but it has been very recently revived in a public lecture delivered in Calcutta by the Rev. Mr. Fergusson, of the Church of Scotland Mission at Chumba, in the Punjab. In speaking of the transitional state of Missionary thought and action, he took occasion to express his regret that Missionaries had ever deemed it desirable to interfere with the caste prejudices of their converts. He argued that allowing caste to signify a religious as well as a social distinction, the religious element was necessarily eliminated the moment a man became a Christian, and that the difficulty therefore narrowed itself to the question, how far the Missionary had a right to overbear social distinctions. Of course, Mr. Fergusson had no sympathy with the institution even in its social aspect; but how far had he the right to interpose his authority with a view to its violent suppression? He thought he had no right to do so. The difficulty no doubt would assume a very practical shape at the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. A high-caste Bramhin might decline to drink out of the same cup with a Rajpoot or a Soodra; but ought the Missionary to force him? and if he persisted in the refusal, ought the Missionary to excommunicate or unchristianize him? Mr. Fergusson thought not. He would endeavour by wise and faithful instruction to persuade the man into his duty, and would show him that it was wrong to suffer considerations of caste to interfere with the observance of a Christian ordinance; but he would offer no violence to his prejudices. The speciousness of this argument lies in the modicum of truth that is in it. There could certainly be no justification of a violent course of action. If a man accepting the Christian faith declines the "communion of saints" on the score of caste, he is at liberty to do so; but he cannot be credited with the remotest apprehension of the fundamental principles of Christian truth. Mr. Fergusson suffers his sympathy for his Bramhin convert to veil two important considerations that are fatal

to his argument. In the first place, the social distinctions of caste are of religious origin, and cannot be separated from the religious element. The social dignity of the Bramhin arises from the religious doctrine that he is of a race of beings different from the rest of the human family. It is this fact, or rather fiction, that is asserted in the refusal of the Bramhin convert to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in common with men of lower castes. In the second place, such a refusal is irreconcilable with that fundamental truth of Christianity, the brotherhood of the race. It is this truth that is symbolized in the institution of the Lord's Supper, in which we are taught to regard all believers as one body in Christ Jesus. The Bramhin, therefore, who declines to enter this communion denies an essential verity, and ought never to have been baptized. The Bramhist who avers his belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man has a truer knowledge of Christ and is more of a Christian than any caste-ridden convert. We do not think that such conversions are likely to recommend Christianity or aid its spread.

It is common to hear caste denounced as one of the great obstacles to Christianity. It is; but more frequently to the profession of Christianity than to its favourable reception. We do not suppose there is a Missionary of any standing in the country who has not met with men who believe the truth, but are deterred by the tyranny of associations from openly confessing it. They argue—and there is much reason in what they say—that to come out of Hindooism would be to sever the very ties that enable them to reach their relatives and friends, and influence them in favour of Christianity. And yet until they do make this sacrifice, what proof is there of the reality of their convictions? This is the Missionary's dilemma. This is the knot which Mr. Fergusson cannot unravel, and therefore cuts. But it will not do to cut it. If high-caste Bramhins cannot be drawn into the kingdom of Christ without some such compromise, then they had better stay without it. In our view, the difficulty must remain until the system to which caste belongs is broken down. This is the end to which Missionary effort should be mainly directed. Until then, with few exceptions, and those, for the most part, from our colleges and schools, the converts that attach themselves to our Missions will continue to be men who have not much to lose by the renunciation of caste, and whose Christianity will be feeble and unaggressive. Separated by an impassable gulf from the mass of their countrymen, they will

feel that they have no one to fall back upon but the Missionary and his helpers; and so the independent life which Missionaries now more than ever are seeking to nurse in their churches, will continue to be regarded by them as a consummation most devoutly to be deprecated.

It was our intention, when we began this paper, to devote a portion of it to the consideration of Bramhoism as an outcome of the religious awakening that is so notable a feature of Hindoo society at the present day. But without a more extended notice than we could give it just now, many questions of importance would need to be either hurriedly glanced at, or entirely overlooked. We therefore prefer to reserve the entire subject for a future occasion. And we must say the same with respect to Missionary literature—by which we mean, not the literature that describes Missionary work, but the literature, whether vernacular or otherwise, which is used as an auxiliary in that work.

Before we conclude, we would guard our readers against the mistake of confounding Christian Missions with Christianity, and arguing from the supposed failure of the one to the failure of the other. Rather, let us be careful to separate the Christianity these Missions seek to diffuse, from the sectarianism with which they are also unhappily identified. Dogma, whether bearing on particular systems of church government or on certain exclusive aspects of great verities, is of very minor importance as compared with living principles; and our business, primarily, is with principles, not formulated creeds. Missions can succeed only in proportion as they subordinate the latter to the former. The Christianity of Christ is, in its nature, indigenous to all climes; isms, at best, are but unhealthy exotics. Whether Missions, in their main purpose, have failed or succeeded, can only be determined by the extent to which the teachings of Christ have forced themselves on the attention of the people, or are already ennobling thought and action. Let us here guard against two opposite mistakes. Secular philanthropists deny that the amelioration wrought in Hindoo society is owing to Christianity, and contend that it is entirely due to the appliances of modern civilization; and missionaries, on the other hand, are too apt to claim all the moral progress in the land as the fruit, direct or indirect, of Missionary action. The fact is, the changes that have come over Hindoo society are not traceable to any one set of influences exclusively, but are the offspring of countless forces, some so-called secular, some



religious ; and it is impossible to discriminate between them. Properly speaking, no true influence is secular ; all truth is Divine, and all progress is the result of Divine working. To speak of the arts of our civilization as having nothing to do with Christian truth, or of the progress of Christian truth as having no connection with the arts of civilization, is to suppose that God acts disjointedly and so far aimlessly in the government of men. We should regard as a whole what evidently intends should be so regarded, and accept. He the true influences at work in India as converging to one end—the recognition of the kingdom of Christ. Looked at in this view, we do not think Missions have been a failure ; although we believe the direct results of their action would have been greater, had the men who have worked them shown more wisdom and unanimity, and more sympathy with the transitional state of the Hindoo mind. We agree with Dr. Norman Macleod, that the future Church of India will be, not a shoot from the West re-producing the developments of European Christianity, but a thing of indigenous growth, the expression of the national mind imbued with the life of Christ. And the sooner our various Missions accept this larger issue, the better.

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## ART. VI.—NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER.

*Political Dissertation prefixed to a Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia. By W. W. Hunter, B. A., M. R. A. S., &C., &C.*

THE British Government in India suffers much from its own reticence. The Press has neither, as a rule, that accurate information of present events, nor that access to authentic records of the past, which would enable it to explain or examine with authority the policy of the Rulers. At times no doubt this policy is so well marked by its issues, or the causes conducing to it are so notorious, that criticism can be ventured upon. But ordinarily—(certainly in days gone by—and to some extent even now) the Government in India elaborates its measures in private, and carries them into action in tantalizing silence.

In no department of Indian Government has this been more marked than in the conduct of the Political affairs of Local Governments. Deprived by their comparative pettiness of the main elements of general interest, their schemes are overlooked, and succeed or fail, unheeded.

When there burst upon our startled sensorium the gorgeous volume, clad in magenta and pranked with gold, whose name heads our article, we thought that now at length the curtain was about to be lifted—and a master's hand was to guide the wand that traced out the panorama of our Frontier Policy. We regarded with awe and admiration the shapely columns of uncouth words in which the natives of India and High Asia were supposed to converse. They were High Dutch to us. The leaves of the linguistic Dissertation we reverently cut. There was no speculation in our eyes when we did gaze thereon. But in the Political Dissertation we hoped to find all that our soul craved,—careful research, sound deduction, and a powerful style. The style indeed was there,—a charm of writing that almost spread a glamour over our historical sense.—But our cry went up at the last as Israel's of old! "Can a man make bricks without straw?" Can he think to write reliable Political Dissertations upon the basis of three Annual Administration Reports, a few casual State papers, and an overflowing fund of inner consciousness?

Men now-a-days, says Macaulay, no longer write history. They construct elaborate historical essays, or pen historical romances. In the "Annals of Rural Bengal," Mr. Hunter made a very successful effort to combine these two elements. Based

on original information, unique in scope, and sufficiently accurate in statement, the book is at same time, as one of its critics has said, made "radiant with the inner light" of a powerful and comprehensive imagination. The style never rushes into bombast, and it never degenerates into common-place. Mr. Hunter might safely have rested what we still hope are but the beginnings of his fame, upon his "Annals." To us in India, who know the shortness of the time which Mr. Hunter can have devoted to these studies and researches, the result is absolutely marvellous. If the Indian Civil List may be trusted, the whole term of Mr. Hunter's mortal life amounts to something like three years. Of these about twenty-one months were spent by him in the District of Beerbhoom, learning the duties of an Assistant Magistrate, qualifying for examinations, and, compiling the materials for the "Annals of Rural Bengal." We are at a loss which most to admire—the amazing energy that could compass so much, or the brilliant result of so brief a travail!

We are disposed to think that Mr. Hunter has, especially in the Dissertations prefixed to his Dictionary,\* done himself an injury by assuming a position of greater experience than that which he is actually known to possess. It was natural, no doubt, that a young writer, anxious to catch the ear of Europe, and pour into it the story which he knew he had to tell, should seek to arrest attention by claiming for himself peculiar opportunities of acquiring knowledge, an extended sphere of observation, and a certain maturity of scholarship. It was natural, we say: but it was not wise. To the ungenerous it gives food for cavil. To us it appears that Mr. Hunter would have done better had he relied more on his own real merit, and boldly stating the facts as they are, left the world to draw its own inference. Surely such inference would have been, if the first turning over of this hitherto uncultured soil has shown so rich a tilth, what may we not hope for in the future?

\* See particularly pages 6 & 7, where this self-assertion touches on the ludicrous when we read of "*years* spent on an ethnical frontier" in the apparently multifarious capacities of 'Officer in charge of the Treasury,' 'Magistrate,' 'Officer in charge of the Jail,' and then "in a distant part of the province" (*i. e.*, Kooshtea, on the Railway, 110 miles from Calcutta) as Superintendent of Labor Transport.' Indian readers of course know that all the time Mr. Hunter was an Assistant Magistrate, doing what work his Magistrate assigned him, and struggling to pass his test examinations.

So long as Mr. Hunter confined himself to the only district of which he can boast any intimate personal knowledge, and to the one race of aborigines bordering thereupon, criticism had no harsh duty to perform. Men simply read and praised. But the worm eaten records of Beerbhoom told no stories of other frontiers, ethnical or political; and in default of accurate information and more extensive reading, Mr. Hunter's vivid imagination has only led him astray. Having once idealised an aboriginal inhabitant in the person of a good humoured, industrious, simple, slightly inebriated Southal, Mr. Hunter can think of other aboriginal tribes only in this form. Self-constituted apostle of the "black races," he becomes the mouth-piece of their "inarticulate pleadings." Let him be thankful he was never called upon to experience in the dead of night or the ghastly grey of dawn "the inarticulate pleadings" of Angami raiders, or hear the "faltering utterance" of a Lushai Kookie's war shout.

The Political Dissertation is mainly devoted to setting forth an indictment against the British Government in India, to the effect that, not understanding the hill and forest peoples, it has adopted towards them a policy of "outrage and reprisal",—a policy of "emergencies" and "contemptuous devastation." The proof of this indictment is adduced from the Annual Administration Reports of the Bengal Government. The aggressions and misdoings of the independent States of Bhootan, Sikkim, Manipore, and Nepal, are by some curious process of reasoning made evidence of the folly of the English conquerors when dealing with tribes over whom they profess to exercise control. The hill races, we are told, "have been accepted as mysteries—their movements, necessities, and animosities as beyond the range "of political knowledge."

"In the void left by ignorance, prejudice has taken up its seat. We have gathered our notions concerning these races from their immemorial enemies." The proof of this Mr. Hunter finds in "the ancient Sanskrit writers." The well-worn story of the Aryan advance once more does duty to account for the hostility existing between the men of the lowlands and the people of the hills. The Hindoo is still encroaching; the peasantry of the highlands still fighting for their homes.

This highly sensational description will be found to apply to many of our frontiers and hill tracts only when we shut our eyes to all authentic history from the Vedas until now. On the North-East Frontier of Bengal, at any rate, the description is not only fanciful but false to fact. There the hill race

are fast encroaching on the plains ; whole tribes have left their jungle fastnesses to become "Company's ryots" on the lowlands ; while others have carried on for many years a considerable trade with Bengal, and been in intimate commercial relationship to both the Native Governments and our own.

The whole of this Political Dissertation evinces a want of acquaintance with the history of that frontier for the last 30 years, which is the more inexcusable as the majority of the few particular instances adduced by Mr. Hunter in proof of his theory are taken from the tribes there dwelling. Only absolute ignorance of the very existence of the many interesting monographs upon the tribes bordering on Assam can palliate (it cannot justify) the insinuation made against frontier officers at page 5 of the Dissertation. "If Government orders a report on the causes of a frontier raid, a report must be compiled. British officers, however, are scarcely ever able to converse with the offending tribes : no dictionary of their languages has been published, and all that can be found out about them comes through their natural enemies,—the Aryan borderers. Extravagant calumnies thus attain to the dignity of State papers, and are copied from one report into another. The more malignant and striking the caricature the surer it is of a wider circulation, till gradually gaining probability by unquestioned iteration, it becomes the materials by which our official dealings are regulated, and on which our political estimate is formed. When it is possible to place such reports side by side by the truth, the result is merely ludicrous ; but it is not always possible to do so. And for one calumny that can thus be rendered harmless, a hundred wander forth unfuted, poisoning public opinion, drying up our natural charity, and, it is to be feared, warping the British policy towards whole races."

We have given Mr. Hunter's words at length. This is his charge. What is his proof ? It is, he says, unfortunately an easy task to select particular instances. Mr. Hunter is an artist. We may suppose he selects the best at hand.

"In 1854 (1864 ?)," he says, "a long series of misunderstandings and more or less mutual grievances culminated in a war with Bhootan. Here is the official account of the unfortunate race whom it was then found necessary to encounter, and whose untrained valour repelled for a time the resources of civilized war. The description is a sufficiently striking one, and had been transcribed from one report into another three times before it reached the State paper from which I excerpt it. The interjections are

its own. It sets out by stigmatising the Bhootas as 'very\* quarrelsome and unsociable, as will be seen from their huts being isolated,' forgetting that the barrenness of the hills, and the necessities of hunting tribes render large villages on the Hindoo plan impracticable. 'They are a very revengeful and sly race, seldom forgetting a wrong done them; the greatest cheats and the most bare-faced liars I may safely say in India!'

"Morality is not named among them; men and women occupy the same apartment; after a day's work they assemble round one fire, with a large basin full of *murwa* (a spirituous liquor made from the grain of the same name), which they suck up through narrow bamboo tubes; and eventually all fall about drunk from the child to the grandsire, unable to rise till the following morning. The women seldom remain true to their husbands. They generally go from one to another leaving the children, if there are any, with the father.

"For this extraordinary picture, the colours were mixed, we may be sure, by a lowlander's hand. It happens that this race is one of those on whom the light of Mr. Brian Hodgson's scholarship has glanced. He discriminates between two branches of the same family: the one considerably advanced in civilization, the other still rude. With regard to the latter, he thus sums up:—'They are in fact not noxious but helpless: not vicious but aimless, both morally and intellectually; so that one cannot without distress behold their careless, unconscious inaptitude.' Let the reader contrast this touching portraiture of the wildest of the unreclaimed tribes, with the above uncritical denunciation of the whole Bhoota stock; and from its successful calumnies on a people who have formed an object of anxious scrutiny during many years, let him judge of the bold flights of malignancy that are safely ventured upon in delineation of less known races. Thus ignorance begets misrepresentation, and misrepresentation brings forth bitter political fruits."

This, then, is the whole case. A traveller in Bhootan (Mr. Hunter might have given us his name,) writes a description of the habits and manners of the people, which Mr. Hunter declares to be a calumny. His proof that it is a calumny, lies in the fact that another writer (who had never been in Bhootan in his life) said the Bhootas were morally and intellectually aimless and not positively vicious,—creatures merely of unconscious inaptitude. This calumny, however, was the cause of the Bhootan war. Now, while we deny that there is any thing in Mr. Hodgson's touch-

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\* The description here declared to be untrue of the Bhootas is certainly true in regard to the Abors. "The Miris, many of whom have become rich in cattle and goods, appreciate the value of combining for mutual support, and dwell in villages. The Abors, as they themselves say, are like tigers; two cannot dwell in one den; and I understand their houses are scattered singly or in groups of two or three over the immense extent of mountainous country occupied by them. The Miris say that whenever, a few families of Abors have united into a society, fierce feuds about women and summary vengeance, or the dread of it, soon breaks up or scatters the community. They therefore prefer building apart."—*On the "Miris" and Abors of Assam, by Lieutenant Dalton.*

ing portraiture which is irreconcilable with the literal truth of the description impugned by Mr. Hunter, we must point out in the first place that the superficial character of Mr. Hunter's knowledge in regard to the peoples of whom he writes is singularly shown by his interpolated comments on the above two quotations. In the first place the Bhootas are *not* a hunting people;\* and in the next place, the Bhootas with whom we have had to do of late, are not a rude uncivilized branch of the Bhoota stock; but a people with an elaborate form of Government and state paraphernalia, well-built houses three or four stories high, a good knowledge of agriculture, and an endowed religious establishment. They have carried on for many years a considerable trade both with Central Asia and Bengal.

But, in full assurance of our position, we maintain that the so-called calumny is absolutely true, and that, *because it is a true* description, it *does* to some extent explain why the British Government became involved in war with Bhootan.

The Hon'ble Ashley Eden gives the following description of these people.† "I must say that I did not form an unfavourable opinion of the peasantry: they seemed intelligent, tolerably honest, and, all things considered, not very untruthful. Looking at the Government under which they live the only wonder is that they are not worse. They are immoral and indecent in their habits to an extent which almost surpasses belief; they have no sort of sense of shame or honour, and indeed intercourse between the sexes is practically promiscuous. The outward form of polyandry, which once existed in North Bhootan, is not even adhered to in the present day. The conversation of the highest officers of State would put the lowest Bengali to shame. Of the upper classes generally it is impossible to speak in sufficiently unfavourable terms."

Now, Mr. Eden's companion and interpreter was not, as Mr. Hunter would no doubt infer, an Aryan enemy, but Cheebo Lama, a native of Sikkim (one, by the way, of the lapsed nations we are said to have neglected), whose intimate acquaintance with the people of the hills was matter of notoriety.

Pemberton, too, whose knowledge of all the tribes on the North-East Frontier has never to this day been rivalled, makes similar statements repeatedly.‡

\* See Eden's Report on Bhootan, page 133.

† Page 129 of his published Report.

‡ See paras. 26 and 27, of Section III of his Report; also Section V., *passim*.

"Their energies are paralysed by the insecurity of property ; their morals are degraded, and their numbers reduced by the unnatural system of polyandry, and the extensive prevalence of monastic institutions. \* \* \* And much as I have travelled and resided amongst various savage tribes on our frontiers, I have never known one so wholly degraded in morals as the Bhootas."

"Again, the disposition of the Bhoota is naturally excellent ; he possesses an equanimity of temper almost bordering on apathy. \* \* \* is generally honest \* \* \* indolent to an extreme degree, totally wanting in energy, illiterate, immoral, and victim of the most unqualified superstition : their virtues are their own, and their vices the natural and inevitable consequence of the form of Government under which they live, &c. In my intercourse with the highest officers of State in Bhootan, the impression created was far less favourable than that produced by observation upon the lower orders of the people. The former I invariably found shameless beggars, liars of the first magnitude," &c., &c.

Dr. Griffiths bears testimony to the same effect ;\* and, so too, does Baboo Kishen Kant Bose, whose intelligent and interesting Report Mr. Hunter would no doubt dispose of at a breath as an Aryan calumny.†

Can Mr. Hunter mean seriously to affirm that the war with Bhootan was the consequence, directly or indirectly, of a misunderstanding of the language and character of the people and their rulers which this polyglot vocabulary of his renders impossible in the future?‡ Can he venture to say that the whole policy of the British Government towards Bhootan has been one of extermination and repression ? If words mean any thing, this is what the Dissertation professes to set forth. The very boldness of the fallacy takes away one's breath. We had always, in our slavish adherence to what the world calls facts, believed that the history of British relations with Bhootan was a long and little varying story of repeated insult, outrage, and fraud on the one side, and of long suffering forbearance verging on weakness on the other. We are now better informed. The whole of the extremely circumstantial and detailed statement of events

\* See page 1624, of the Collected set of Reports on Bhootan Political Missions.

† Pages 200-2 of the same collection.

‡ Pages 8 and 16 of the Dissertation.



given in Mr. Ashley Eden's Bhootan Report; and especially in paragraph 15 thereof, is the result of a bold flight of Aryan malignancy to which no semblance of credence is any longer due. Indian history resolves itself into a phantasmagoria of baseless fable. State papers crumble into calumnies. And an awakened Government, with the Political Dissertation in its hand, goes forth to embrace, to weep over, and to civilise the maligned Turanian.

But Mr. Hunter is a master of words, and his Dissertation is eminently calculated to mislead ill-informed readers.

The strangely unscrupulous (for so we must call it) way in which Mr. Hunter throws in his colors is nowhere more clearly marked than in one of the passages where he treats of his pet aborigines the Sonthals.\* As a proof of our ignorance of the non-Aryan races, he cites "two writers of unquestionable ability." One of these in an admirable lecture delivered in 1852 before the Royal Asiatic Society, stated that a Survey Officer "had lately discovered another tribe called Sonthals." "This newly found tribe," says Mr. Hunter, "had occupied over 30,000 square miles of British territory during more than half a century, numbered about two million people, had given new land-tenures to adjoining districts, and sent forth colonies to the north and to the east: one of which paid £6,803 in the single item of rent to the British Treasury in 1854, and contained at the period of their 'discovery,' 82,795 souls. Yet the lecturer was perfectly accurate in speaking of this race,—a race equal to the whole rural population of Scotland as having been just brought to light."

Now, what does Mr. Hunter mean here? If he means the words literally, then his own *Annals*† of Rural Bengal contain a perfect confutation of this 'perfectly accurate' statement. From that work we learn that the British Government had been acquainted with the Sonthals from 1790 at least; had 'won them to peaceful habits by grants of land;' changed invasion to immigration by a wise policy of conciliation; deputed a special officer to the charge of their country so long ago as 1838. Even in 1817 we read of "the tracts of forest on the Rajmahal‡ side cleared by the industrious Sonthals who emigrate from Beerbhoom and Ramghur." If, on the other hand,

\* See page 4.

† *Annals*, pages, 219, 221, 222, and 231.

‡ See Man's Southalia and the Sonthals.

Mr. Hunter intends the words to carry some fine irony imperceptible to grosser sense ; we can only say that he has made it so impalpable, that the passage conveys to ordinary readers its literal meaning and none other ; and a false prejudice is thereby raised against the English Government, of which we should be glad to think Mr. Hunter did not purpose to avail himself.

The fact is, that the local knowledge of General Briggs, from whose lecture on the aborigines this point is taken, was, as regards Bengal, not very accurate. We find a strange proof of this in the following passage of that lecture :—"The earliest account (of these races) afforded to any of the Literary Societies of India among ourselves, is dated in 1776, when the *Eastern* portion of Bengal suffered from incursions made by a race of people entitled *Garrows*, who came from a hilly tract called after them the *Garrow Mountains*, bordering on the District of Bhagulpore. At length a young Civil Servant of the name of *Cleveland*, tried to civilise them by conciliation, and in the course of a few years succeeded in his efforts. Some of them were finally embodied into a Police corps, regularly disciplined, and they have lately been inspected and reported as one of the finest Native Regiments in India." A little further on he tells us :—"To the southward and eastward, are the *Sunk-tas* and *Kukis* tribes, which closely resemble the *Sonthals* and *Garrows* in their national peculiarities." The lecturer was evidently unaware that the Garrow Hills are hundreds of miles distant from Bhagulpore—the scene of Cleveland's labors ; and the *Kukis* far apart from either. This passage is followed by the one examined in our text above :—"Captain Sherwill has lately discovered another tribe called *Sonthals*. Of these and of the hill race he has made sketches ..... in the last *Calcutta Journal*."

A reference to Captain Sherwill's notes upon a tour through the Rajmahal Hills, in Vol. XX of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, will show that he nowhere professes to have discovered a new tribe called *Sonthals*. He gives the history of the *Sonthal* immigration from the south into the valleys of the Rajmahal Hills, which was encouraged by Government so far back as 1832, and he was accompanied for some time by Mr. Pontet, the special officer in charge of the tract. What Captain Sherwill did was to travel all over the Rajmahal Hills while conducting his survey. He neither discovered new races, nor pretended to have done so.

To General Briggs who had hitherto believed\* that only Garrows inhabited the Rajmehal Hills, the mention of Sonthals by Captain Sherwill came as "the discovery of another tribe." We are indebted to the worthy General's ignorance, and to Mr. Hunter's "ascertained power of picturesque writing," for an extraordinary perversion of a very simple fact. Such a revelation must shake our confidence in Mr. Hunter as an historian.

Nothing tends so much to confusion as excessive generalisation on a very small number of facts: and were we called upon to sum up our criticism of the Political Dissertation in one sentence, we should do so in these words. The good faith and manly character of the Kols and Bhils are made attributes of all aborigines from Suddya to Peshawur. The conflicts between the Sonthal and the Bengalee Mahajan are a type of what goes on even on frontiers where no Bengalee dare show his face.

This fallacy taints also the remedies which Mr. Hunter puts forward to meet the state of things he thinks he has discovered. An aboriginal army to check our Aryan native troops is the first suggestion. And because some aborigines make good soldiers this would be, it appears, a universal remedy. But, as a fact, the experiment has been tried with more than one of the North-East tribes, and has proved an utter failure. Too wild and fickle for soldiers, the Angami Naga, for instance, enlists only to desert with his accoutrements on the first opportunity. Kookies make fair troops, but they are more urgently required as colonists, not on the plains, but in the Hills themselves. The other prospect of advancement held out to the non-Aryan tribes is that they should supply thinly-peopled provinces with labour. This remedy would suit at present the Sonthal, but be scoffed at by the Abor or Mishmi. The confusion caused by the demands of sensational writing under this head is very curiously marked in one passage of the Dissertation,† where the process of civilizing the aboriginal races, by removing their 'contempt for steady industry,' is set before us only some half dozen lines below the statement that: "It is they who have constructed our railways, and who are at this moment creating in tea cultivation a new

\* In one place General Briggs tells us; "The Khonds border on the Sonthals, and the latter merge into the Garrows!!" Yet he refers to Mr. Elliot's Reports and to Buchanan. He must have been writing like Mr. Hunter, *Stans pede in uno*.

† See page 13.

source of wealth to India, and a new field for English capital whose magnitude it is impossible even yet to foresee."

But we regret that we are unable to concede to Mr. Hunter the merit of originality in his generalisations. The Statesmanship of his mode of dealing with the aborigines, over the veiling of which by his official duties his flatterers have groaned, will be found on a little examination to be borrowed from no very recondite source. In 1858 was published a little book in two volumes, entitled "British India; its Races and its History: a series of lectures addressed to the students of the Working Men's College, by John Malcolm Ludlow, Barrister-at-Law." We would direct the particular attention of a discerning public to Lecture II., Vol. I of that book, and Appendix A on page 276 of the same volume. They will there find the whole of Mr. Hunter's ideas on aboriginal races expressed in somewhat less gorgeous language, but in a much more correct and cautious way. It is true that Mr. Ludlow borrowed all *his* ideas from "an interesting lecture on the subject by his cousin General Briggs;" and it is also true that Mr. Hunter has had before him that original lecture: but though he refers to this lecture at page 4 of the Dissertation in connection with the Sontals, as we have above shown, and though he casually quotes General Briggs more than once, he carefully eliminates that gentleman's name from its due connection with the lecture, and, as we shall see, he elsewhere carefully eliminates that gentleman's ideas to reproduce them as his own. That he was originally introduced to General Briggs by Mr. Ludlow, seems to us from a careful comparison of the books, to be more than probable.

Mr. Ludlow says (page 22):—

"A remarkable feeling, indeed, which seems to pervade nearly all these aboriginal tribes is that of their being the lawful occupants of the country, the true owners of the soil. This seems to be at the bottom of their inveterate habits of plunder, coupled as these are with great faithfulness and honesty under trust; in robbing the invader they only take back their own. The Meenas of Rajpootana, to the west of the plateau of Central India, remind each other, we are told, of their rights by a distich, which says, 'the Raja is proprietor of his share,—I am the proprietor of the land.' And strange to say, the Hindoos themselves admit in some striking instances the primordial title of these tribes. In the case just referred to, a Meena has to apply the *tila* or *tilaka*, a red spot emblematic of royalty, on the forehead of each successive Rajpoot Rajah of Nerwar; and this is done with blood drawn from a Meena's toe. The same ceremony is performed by a Bheel on the accession of the Rajpoot Raja of Oodipore, the first in rank of all Hindoo sovereigns. The symbolism of the act

seems to be, that the Hindoo sovereign's title is not complete until the aborigines are willing to shed their blood for him."

Mr. Hunter writes :—

"It is the characteristic of all their tribes, says General Briggs, to consider themselves the rightful owners of their ancient territory. If forcibly driven out, no length of illegal dispossession can bar their claim; their title to plunder the ousters and to appropriate the crops is a precious heirloom, that often forms the sole inheritance which one generation has to bequeath to its successor; and this title the lowland borderers in many instances practically acknowledged by the regular payment of blackmail" (page 14). "One generation after another contentedly repeats the rhythmical proverb, 'Bhagradhani Raj ho, Bhumra dhani Maj ho,' 'The Raja or Hindu landholder is the owner of his share, but I am the owner of the soil'" (page 15). At pages 8, 9, the ceremony of investiture of Rajpoot princes by aborigines is described at length.

General Briggs merely says :—

"He is by profession a robber, levying blackmail on all from whom he can obtain it under the plea of his ancient right to the soil, of which more civilised men have deprived him."

He elsewhere quotes the distich repeated by Mr. Hunter.

Now, it is true that in the first of the above passages quoted from his book Mr. Hunter does not profess to give original information, but it is well to mark the extent of the debt due by him to former writers, as we have seen injudicious friends claim for him perfect originality in every phase of his work. It would astonish these critics if they put the lecture by General Briggs and the Dissertation by Mr. Hunter side by side. It will be observed that the expanded version of General Briggs' statement given by Mr. Ludlow is that followed by Mr. Hunter.

But one little artifice resorted to by Mr. Hunter is less excusable. He quotes at page 9 of the Dissertation a passage from General Briggs which is also reproduced by Mr. Ludlow in his Appendix. But Mr. Ludlow's excerpt contains exactly *one sentence more* than Mr. Hunter's. The passage begins : "They (the aborigines) are faithful, truthful, and attached to their superiors" ..... and ends in Mr. Hunter's quotation : "They have no prejudices themselves, are always ready to serve abroad, and embark, on board ship, and I believe no instance of mutiny has ever occurred among them." But the next sentence, the last in Mr. Ludlow's quotation, is : "*It is to be regretted that separate regiments of this race are not more generally enlisted.*" Did Mr. Hunter omit this in order to secure a fictitious halo of originality for the "remedies" he proposes for the condition of these races?

When he says (page 11) that "*he* believes ... that .. by systematically employing these tribes as a Military Police and as soldiers ..... we should solve the problem of providing them with fresh means of subsistence . . . and so on—why did he not add: "This idea is not mine, but belongs to General Briggs? who elaborates it over three or four pages of his admirable lecture! " He tells us the experiment has been tried. Why does he not tell us, the remedies have been before suggested as of general application?

Mr. Hunter's second remedy "consists in enabling them to augment the legitimate sources of subsistence which remain to them; in one word, to *civilize* them." "I do not," he says, "permit myself even to glance at those noble and touching arguments which humanity and the Christian Faith suggest for the reclamation of lapsed races ..... It remains for us to decide whether the path (of progress) is to lead them to Hindooism or to the purer faith and civilisation which we represent. Even in their superstitions there is special ground for hope" (page 13).

Now hear Mr. Ludlow: "We may then, we must, make greater use of the aboriginal races than heretofore. But we must do much more than attempt to make more soldiers of them—we must render them prosperous, *civilise* them, Christianise them." "Unless we Christianise the aborigines, let us be sure that they will become absorbed in one of the better organised faiths."

Even in many of his lighter touches Mr. Hunter seems indebted to either Mr. Ludlow or General Briggs, and some of the more striking parts of his description of Aboriginal worship to be found in the Annals are traceable to the same source. We refer the curious to the original works.

We must, however, do Mr. Ludlow the justice of saying that while he carefully specifies the races of Central India about whom alone he had information, and warns us that even of these many were unfit for soldiers, Mr. Hunter admits no exceptions to his sweeping generalisations. His aborigines are all of one type—his remedies are all panaceas.

It will doubtless be unpalatable to Mr. Hunter and his friends that there should be even one dissonant voice in the literary Chorus that swells his praise. For ourselves we trust we are but giving utterance to a discord soon to be resolved into fuller harmony, a very diapason of applause. We hope for better things from Mr. Hunter; and we cordially admire and

welcome the spirit in which he writes of the Hill Tribes. Far be it from us to say that our Governments have nothing to regret in the past,—no mission to advance in the future. There is much before us all; the way is long; the purpose often fails; and it is well now and then across the arid desert of routine, to hear the call of some fervent spirit regardless of ways and means, impatient of expediency, urging us to some higher goal, that seems almost lost in the mists of distance.

We regret the haste with which Mr. Hunter has written this Book. We wish he had sent forth his Dictionary without the Political Dissertation. Of the value of his philological labours we do not profess to judge. But we fear that he has not by his first Dissertation advanced his reputation among those capable by knowledge of judging its worth. Our position in regard to it is simply this, and we shall be ashamed of our country-men if they do not accept it, that considering how short the time has been during which the Government in India has been free to enter upon peaceful paths, much has been done which it is wrong to ignore; and frontier officers are the last class of Government servants to whom charges of ignorance and neglect can be held to apply.

The space at our disposal will not admit of our setting out at length the history even of one frontier in proof of our theory. We leave it to Mr. Hunter in riper years to confute himself. But it will perhaps be interesting and useful to give a rapid sketch of the various tribes on the North-East Frontier of Bengal, and the relations of Government towards them, from such authentic sources of information as are available to us. We do not pretend to be original and shall quote freely from them where it suits our purpose.

The relations subsisting between our Government and the independent States of Nepal, Bhootan, and Sikkim, do not here concern us. Our obligations in regard to them are clearly defined by Treaty. We are responsible for neither their manners nor their morals. The mere fact of their being hill men may constitute them (Hunterian) mysteries, but they are mysteries our Government is not called upon to solve.

Beginning our survey of the races dependent upon us, on the most easterly verge of Bhootan Proper we find ourselves still among races of Bhootea stock—the Bhootes of the Kuriapára Dwâr, in Durrung. These, beyond our frontier line, are subject to the Towang Raja, who is himself a tributary of Lhasa. As Pemberton long ago remarked, "Thibet may here be said to

march with British India." Their immediate Chiefs are known as the Sâth Rajas—a common Bhootea title on this frontier. On our taking possession of Assam we found that these hill men claimed to exercise certain definite rights over a considerable tract of plain country in and below the Dwâr. The nature of these claims we shall see below. Let them for the present, if the reader chooses, be termed claims to Blackmail. Whatever they were, they were bought out by the British Government for 5,000 Rupees a year. Now-a-days, as far as the Bhootas confine themselves to their hills, they do not rank as subject to Bengal; and where they have settled on the plains, they are ordinary cultivators, paying a revenue assessment and requiring no special treatment.

This Kuriapará Dwâr forms the great avenue down which the hill men pour to the celebrated fair of Udalgiri. "Sixty years ago," writes the present Commissioner of Assam, "the trade between Thibet and Assam by this route was estimated to amount to two lakhs of Rupees per annum, and this though Assam was then in a most unsettled state; and up to the time just prior to the Burmese invasion, the Lhasa merchants brought down gold to the value of Rupees 70,000. The occupation of the country by the Burmese, however, killed the trade, and in 1833 only two Thibetan merchants are said to have come down, but since that period there has been a gradual revival of it which even our late quarrel with Bhootan did not interrupt, and it has now every appearance of being flourishing and on the increase.

"I visited the fair in 1867, and again this year, and was much interested by what I saw there of the Thibetan traders. I found men among them from all parts of Thibet—from Lhasa, and other places east and west, and even north of it. Some of them looked like Chinamen: they wore Chinese dresses, ate with chopsticks, and had about them various articles of Chinese manufacture, as pipes, strike-a-lights, and embroidered purses, such as I have seen in use among the Chinese at Rangoon and Moulinein. They were accompanied in some cases by their families, and carried their goods on sturdy ponies, of which they had a great number, I should think some hundreds."

We hope soon to see this promising avenue of Central Asian trade attract the attention which it merits.

In 1852, owing to some disturbances in the hills, one of the Sâth Rajas, known as the Gelling, fled across the border to our protection. His Thibetan superiors at first seemed resolved



upon following him, and a Tartar army was pushed up to within a few miles of British territory. Indeed, had it not been for the resolute front shown by the local troops, Thibet would undoubtedly have invaded Assam.

The extensive division of Durrung known as Char Dwâr is said to have taken its name from its having been annually spoiled by four different races, the Assamese, the Bhootas, the Akhas, and the Duphas. The Bhootas here found are the subjects of the Sâth Rajahs of Rooprai Ganw and Sher Ganw, all of whom are subordinate to their principal Chief called Durje Rajah. They claim to be independent of Towang. From 1839 to 1844 the British Government excluded them from entering the Dwârs to trade, as a punishment for outrages committed by them. On their submitting they were granted moderate pensions in lieu of the blackmail which they, like the other hill tribes on this frontier, used to levy on the ryots.

The most easterly tribe of Bhootas are the Thebengeas who live in the interior of the hills, and formerly levied blackmail in Char Dwâr along with the Rooprai Bhootas. A bitter feud, however, sprang up between these allies, and for years the Thebengeas only entered Assam to trade *via* the Kuriapara Dwâr. Their annual visit to purchase goods was made to a mart called Mazbat in Char Dwâr. Their chief village is said to be sixteen days' journey from the plains. They receive a small annual pension of about Rûpees 140.

The Akhas are the people whom we next meet. They are of two septs: (1), the Hazari Khawa Akhas—the “eaters at a thousand hearths;” (2), the Kuppachor Akhas—the “thieves who lurk amid the cotton plants.” These are a most energetic and savage tribe, who for twenty years spread terror throughout Durrung, while, with the aid of the Meechis (a fierce and cognate race in the interior) they defied the power of the Towang Rajah in the hills. Both tribes of Akhas together did not in 1844 number over 260 families, while the Meechis were said to amount to three or four hundred households. The Hazari Khawas levied “*Posa*” or blackmail on the plains, and woe to the ryot who refused their demand! The Kuppachors were looked on more as outlaws, and though they had no *quasi*-legal claim to “*posa*,” yet the name of their Chief, the Thaghi or Thangi Raah was a word of power along the border, a bugbear with which to frighten the village children. In 1829 this formidable freebooter was captured,

and for four years kept close in Gowhatty Jail. In 1832, however, the Governor-General's Agent released him, in the vain hope that clemency might secure fidelity. He fled to the hills, rallied his broken clan, put to death all who had been in any way concerned in his capture, and brought his career to its climacteric in 1835 by cutting up a British out-post at Balee-para, massacring therein men, women, and children. For seven years after this he evaded capture, and his tribe remained outlawed in the jungles of the hills. At length weary of being hunted he surrendered. To have slain him judicially in cold-blood would have been of little use. His influence with that of the other Chiefs, who also at this time came in, was made use of to secure the future peace of the Char Dwâr. Small pensions were granted. Solemn oaths were sworn; "the Chiefs taking into their hands the skin of a tiger, that of a bear, and elephant's dung, and killing a fowl." To the Akhas' credit be it said, the oaths have been kept. The arrangement cost Government Rupees 360 per annum.

The last of the Durrung hill tribes is the Duphlas, who are found also in East Luckimpore. The Duphlas are not so much a single tribe as a collection of numerous cognate petty clans, independent of each other and quite incapable of combined action. In the time of the Assam Rajahs they had, however, established a system under which certain plain villages were allotted to each clan, to which it paid an annual visit for the purpose of collecting stated dues of blackmail. From each freeman's house they took goods and cash amounting in value to Rupees 8. The Cachari slaves paid 5 Rupees each family. For some years after our taking possession of Assam the Duphlas were a constant trouble. Their fearless raids and numberless atrocities compelled the establishment of a line of military posts all along the frontier; and it was only after long and tedious negotiation that in 1836-37 their claims were commuted for money payments to the Gams or Chiefs, amounting to about Rupees 2,500. The result has been perfectly satisfactory. The Duphlas have many of them settled permanently in the plains and become peaceful cultivators in the villages they once harried.

The "Posa," or blackmail, which, under the Assam Government, was paid to most of the hill tribes bordering on the plains, was not, as has been sometimes imagined, an uncertain, ill-defined exaction, depending entirely upon the rapacity of the different hordes who might descend to levy it, but was really a

fixed well ascertained revenue payment, on account of which a corresponding remission was made in the rent of the ryot satisfying it. Whether it arose from pre-existent claims in the soil asserted by the hill men, or was imposed originally by them in the days of the weakness of the Ahom Kings, we cannot tell. It had existed time out of mind, when we annexed Assam, and what the British Government did was to stop the direct collection of the stated dues from the ryots by the hill men themselves,—a practice which, as might be expected from the characters of both, led to many quarrels; and to pay the amount to the tribes in the hills or at established marts, collecting at the same time the full rent from the ryots. The power of the purse being thus held by the same authority who wielded the power of the sword to the terror of evil-doers, the hill tribes have accepted regular payments, and peaceful lives, in lieu of wild tax gathering forays and quarrels on the plains.

The Division of Luckimpore Proper, which we now enter, lies between the Rivers Kuboojan and Dehing, and is intersected from north to south by the River Subunshiri.\*

The hills which form the northern boundary of Luckimpore Proper are in their western parts inhabited by Duphlas, as we have already seen. Beyond the Duphlas eastward we find in the lower ranges Miris and on the upper ranges Abors, to whom in former days the Miris owed some kind of rude fealty, not yet altogether extinct. The Abor clans are numerous, savage and dangerous. They are found from 94° to 97° E. Longitude. The Miris do not appear to have extended beyond the Dehing. In the neighbourhood of the Dehing and the Dehong the Abors crop out on the lower hills, and seem to have held sole command of the Dwârs and plains; fighting many a sore battle with the Khamptis, who, about the year 1750, first entered the valley from the side of Burmah. The Hill Miris and a few Abor Chiefs claimed blackmail from the lowland villages, but most of the Abor clans in the interior had no such rights, probably because this corner of Assam had never been rich enough to make it worth their while to set them up. The blackmail claims which did exist, were commuted by the British Government for annual money payments as had been done elsewhere.

\* The District of Luckimpore contains also the Divisions of Muttuck and Suddya. An interesting account of a visit to tribes of Hill Miris on the Subunshiri will be found in vol. XIV. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. For the Duphlas see vol. XX of the *Journal*.

The Miris are now to be found as peaceful cultivators and indefatigable jungle clearers all over Luckimpore and even in Suddya and Muttuck. The original Assamese inhabitants to the north of the Brahmaputra have indeed been gradually thrust across that river partly no doubt by dread of Abor raids, but mainly by the advance of the Miri settlers. The Miris themselves, relieved by the presence of British troops at Suddya and other frontier posts from the position of entire dependence upon the Abors in which they were wont to live, have become extremely prosperous both as traders and cultivators, and have had wit enough to turn the tables on their old masters by constituting themselves the main channel of communication between the Abors and the British authorities, and the source from which the former draw most of their supplies.

During the last ten years the relations of the British Government with the Abors have been not altogether satisfactory. In January 1858 the Bor Meyong Abors living far up the Dehing massacred a Beeah\* village on the north of the Brahmaputra, only six miles from Debrooghur. An expedition was presently despatched to follow up the raiders, but owing to the extremely inaccessible nature of the country and some mistakes on the part of the Officers conducting the force, it did not succeed in reaching the offending village, and retired not without difficulty, and with some loss of credit. The Bor Meyongs becoming bold by impunity, took up a more advanced position towards the plains, and it became absolutely necessary to devise some means of punishing their insolence and protecting British districts from future attacks. Proposals for establishing a line of posts with a connecting road were submitted to Government, and it was determined to organize an expedition into the hills on such a scale as should infallibly command success. In February 1859 the expedition marched into the hills, destroyed completely the Abor stockade, and carried every thing before it. In such a country, however, no comprehensive scheme of operations was feasible, and having routed the only enemy that waited its advance, the force retired. For a year or two we had little or no further trouble.

• Towards the close of 1861, the Meyong Abors again massacred a Beeah village on the south side of the Brahmaputra, fifteen miles from Debrooghur. Enquiry seemed to show that

\* The Beeahs, or Beheehs, are a peculiar section of Hindoo Assamese who were driven from the Dwars by the Miri and Abor advance.

certain Miri colonies had aided and abetted the Abors in these attacks. These Beeahs were part of a body of ryots who had deserted the north side of the river in 1858 after the former Abor outrage, and the raid now under notice appears to have been designed partly to show them that they were not beyond reach, and partly to take vengeance for aid rendered to the British troops in the campaign of 1859. Complete proposals were upon this laid before the Supreme Government for retaining by means of troops, forts, and roads, the Military command of the whole Abor frontier. The importance of this step to the Tea interests in the Suddya and Muttuck Divisions can be seen at once by a glance at the map.

The bustle of preparation did not fail to attract the notice of the Abors, and overtures of reconciliation were speedily made by them. The Lieutenant-Governor directed that these advances should be not ungraciously received, and an attempt was ordered to be made to effect such a binding agreement with the Chiefs as should secure the peace of the frontier for the future. Small stipends were to be allowed to those who undertook to prevent hostile aggression by their own or kindred clans, to keep up a police for the prevention of marauding, and to surrender criminal refugees. An annual meeting with the British Officers was to be arranged. No relaxation was however permitted in the military preparations already begun. We could only afford to conciliate by being at the same time strong. Accordingly, in November 1862, Major Bivar, Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore, met the Meyong Abor Chiefs at Lallee Mookh, and after prolonged negotiation extending over seven days, an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Chiefs of eight communities of Meyongs, to which other clans subsequently gave in their assent. In lieu of money stipends to Chiefs, Major Bivar arranged for payments in kind to the whole community. The democratic nature of their management made this advisable, and the plan gave each member of the village a personal interest in keeping the peace. In 1863 the leading tribe of Abors (Kobong) came and begged to be allowed to enter into similar relations.

In 1866 the very influential tribe of Bar Abors followed their example. Annual meetings with these tribes have regularly been held, and though at times the patience of our officers has been sorely tried, on the whole the clans have been well-behaved. No raids have taken place, and a brisk trade is carried on by the Abors at our frontier marts.

The hills which close the north-east corner of the Assam Valley are inhabited by various tribes of Mishmees. Between the foot of the hills and the British Out-posts stretches a broad and deadly belt of jungle some twenty miles deep, and through this run the paths by which the Mishmees come to purchase salt and cloth at our established marts. We have no formal agreements with any of these tribes, and our information regarding them is comparatively scanty. They occupy the almost inaccessible country lying between Assam and Lama or Thibet. We must refer any who are curious to know more about their habitat to No. XXIII. of the published "Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government," and to Volume XVII. of the Asiatic Society's Researches. We are acquainted with three great branches of this tribe. The Chulkatta or crop-haired Mishmees, the Tain or Digaroo Mishmees, and the still more remote Mezhoor or Midhi Mishmees. Of the tribal movements in the interior hills we know little or nothing.

In 1854, two French Missionaries, M. M. Krick and Bourry, endeavoured to penetrate *viâ* the Mezhoor Mishmee country to Thibet. They were escorted safely to the border by some Mezhoor Chiefs, but were pursued and barbarously murdered by an independent party of Mishmees, under one Kai-ee-sha, who overtook the unfortunate gentlemen in a Thibetan village, where they were awaiting permission to proceed further. The motive of this murder was simply a desire for plunder, as the Missionaries were known to have with them much valuable baggage. The news reached Assam in November. It seemed almost hopeless to attempt to punish the murderers. But both the Local Officers and Government felt that to overlook such a deed, committed though it was in Thibet itself, would injure our prestige with all the border tribes. The neighbouring Mishmees themselves urged us to retribution, and the call was not disregarded. Accordingly in the latter end of February 1855 a little body of twenty Assam Light Infantry with forty Khamptee Volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant Eden, entered the hills. For eight days they pressed on and up, swinging themselves across dangerous torrents on bridges of single canes, climbing for hours at a time in bitter cold, and without water, until at length about four o'clock one morning they arrived at Kai-ee-sha's village. To carry it in face of a flight of poisoned arrows was the work of five minutes. Kai-ee-sha was taken alive; his sons fell fighting; his daughters surrendered; his village fled; and the triumphant little band retired more slowly to the plains,

cutting away the bridges behind them as they passed. This brilliant exploit has not yet been forgotten in the North-Eastern Hills by the Tain and Mezho Mishmees. The Chulkattas, however, have now and then given trouble. They seem indeed more hopelessly savage than any other tribe, and for years they perpetrated a series of outrages upon the Suddya villages.

Arms had been supplied to the Khamptee villagers of these parts by Government, and they were, as a rule, well able to defend themselves. Government ultimately, however, approved of a more extended scheme of village defence. A good Frontier Militia was better fitted to keep these savages in check than any number of regular posts, and a Khamptee Colony was settled at an advanced spot towards the Dikrang, a certain number of its members being fully armed for its defence. Since this was done, the Chulkatta Mishmees have given no trouble.

"This seems a good place to review generally the policy of Government towards the tribes on the northern boundary of Assam. We have seen that, as regards those tribes who had long established claims upon the plains, that policy has been one of fair and equitable dealing. While maintaining a force strong enough to punish any wanton aggression, we have refrained from creating unnecessary foes, and have scrupulously made good to the hill men all that of which we deprived them by assuming the government of Assam. We have, however, made them clearly to know that the payment of their dues is contingent on their good behaviour, and that the strong arm of British power is for ever interposed between them and the ryots they once oppressed. At the same time we have welcomed them as cultivators in the plains, and we have seen whole communities of border bandits settle down into peaceful tillers of the soil. Not a trace of a policy of 'extermination and repression' can be found by the most bitter enemy of the English in India. The sound sense on which these arrangements are based is stamped moreover, with the seal of perfect success. Kanroop and Durrung have for years been as undisturbed as the 24-Pergunnahs. Nor is the case much altered when we come to the wilder tribes living near Luckimpore. We have said nothing of the Singphoos and Khampteas, who are settled in large numbers on the fertile plains of that District. We need only now mention the Miris who seem destined to hold all the District north of the Brahmaputra. But even as regards the Abors, a fierce and uncouth race with whom we have been brought

into sharp conflict, we find little to carp at in the policy pursued. We freely admit that we may any day see ourselves involved in war with the Abors and perhaps the Mishmecs. It is the work of time to make such savages understand a policy of conciliation, and the time has hitherto been short. In dealing with them the first necessity is to insure that they should not despise us. Hence the punishment for any outrage must be, and usually has been, summary and severe. But our aim as a whole has been conciliatory. Some are disposed to scoff at the concomitants of this policy and to deride the Government for endeavouring to conceal what these critics call a weak system of bribery under the name and pretence of payments for Police service. Now, it will be remembered that the payments to the Abors at any rate are not money payments to the Chiefs, but payments in kind to the whole community. Where the constitution of a tribe is patriarchal or aristocratical, payments to the Chiefs suffice. There is no difference in the principle, but the variation in the expression shows what the principle really is. It may be, and no doubt is, true that with the sums or for the sums so paid no organized Police Establishment is kept up by the Abors. It was never expected that they would appoint Chowkeydars in red turbans and locate them in well found station houses. But what was expected was, that they would adopt their own rude means of securing a quiet frontier, and would take such steps as were in their judgment necessary, and in accordance with their tribal organization to prevent the evil disposed among the tribes from doing any act which, in conformity with the understanding under which the payment is made, they are bound to prevent. As a matter of fact, we have evidence from the mouths of the Abors themselves, that the desired effect was produced in the very first year of the agreements, and an attack on Suddya, proposed by some tribes, was prevented by the rest. The following passages show how the policy of thus dealing with these tribes was put by Government in 1865:—

“The essential difference between ‘blackmail’ and the annual allowances paid to the Abors is this: that in the one case the forbearance of the savage tribe is made by them conditional on payment of the stipulated allowance, and in the other the payment of the allowance is made by us conditional on the good conduct of the tribe. The one is initiated in an aggressive spirit, the other in a spirit of conciliation.

“It is an arrangement of this kind which was made in the last century with the aborigines of the Rajmehal Hills, who had



previously been the terror of the surrounding country, whom successive military expeditions had failed to subdue, but who, under the operation of an annual payment conditional on good conduct, have remained perfectly quiet and peaceable ever since. It is true that the amount of the allowance paid to the Rajmehal Hill Chiefs is considerably greater than the value of the presents made to the Abors; but the principle is the same, and is as certain to be efficacious in one case as it is in the other, provided the allowance be sufficient to compensate the tribe in their own estimation for the advantage they might gain by the occasional plunder of a border village,—an advantage which they well know is materially qualified by the risk of reprisals.

“What is of the utmost importance in dealing with uncivilized tribes is patience. No one supposes that their civilization is to be effected in a few years, and no one expects that in endeavouring to conciliate them the Government will not meet with occasional disappointment, but the policy is none the less on this account sound and intelligible.”

With the majority of the Mishmee tribes we have had none but casual trading intercourse. They are too remote to interest us directly, and they do not in any way molest us. The Chul-kattas appear to be at feud with all the other tribes; and owing to the difficult nature of their country, we must trust to a good system of village defence and to the good offices of the other tribes to prevent or punish their occasional inroads. They are too distant to conciliate, too inaccessible to coerce. Our policy must, as regards them, be defensive.

It is not open to us on the Abor frontier to have recourse to the policy of permanent occupation and direct management, which we shall find so successfully carried out in the Naga, Garrow, Gossvah, Jynteah, and Chittagong Hill Tracts. To annex the Abor Hills would only bring us into contact with tribes still wilder and less known: nor should we find a resting place for the foot of annexation till we planted it on the plateau of High Asia. And then?

Our immediate border we might do much to secure by running roads along the river lines into the interior, but the cost would be enormous, and while there is such a demand for communications within our settled districts, we should not be warranted in carrying even one *cul-de-sac* into the Abor or Mishmee Hills.

We have said enough to show that on this frontier our policy has been from the beginning not a policy of coercion and con-

temptuous devastation," but "a firm and kindly policy of defence and conciliation."

It does not form part of our purpose to describe the Shan tribes of Suddya, the Singphoos and Khampteas, or the part played by them in the history of Assam. They cannot be described as hill men; their relations with the British Authorities are now a-days mainly fiscal. For similar reasons we pass over altogether the Moamarias of Muttuck and other tribes who dwell in peaceful settlements on the plains.

The Reugma Nagas, and the Mikirs have little in their political history to deserve our notice. They are fast becoming one with the people of the lowlands.

More interest attaches to the numerous tribes of Nagas who inhabit that great tract of hills extending from Longitude 79° east, to the Kopili on the west, including on the south-east and south the whole northern face of the central range lying between Assam and Burmah and embracing in its circle North Manipore and North Cachar.

The Naga tribes living immediately on the border of the Sibsaugor District have been generally well behaved since they entered into agreements with Captain Brodie in 1841-44. They frequent the plain markets regularly, and combine to exclude therefrom the Abor Nagas of the upper hills. The charms of trade appear indeed to have taken so strong a hold on the clans in this quarter, that it is almost the only frontier on which the policy of closing the haaths on occasion of a murder or outrage by hill men is speedily followed by the surrender of the guilty parties.

In November 1867, the Gellaki guard-house was attacked at night, and some of the constables killed. This outrage created much excitement among the European settlers of the neighbourhood, which was not certainly lessened by a subsequent attack upon a village not far off. Every possible motive was suggested to account for the outbreak. Every known clan was suspected in turn. One officer thought a prohibition to carry spears to market had something to do with the raid. Another was convinced that the encroachments of tea-planters in the hills were unsettling all the frontier tribes. A third thought the survey operations had excited their suspicion. The Dwars were at any rate closed to trade; the out-posts strengthened, and neglected stockades hastily repaired. The stoppage of trade again proved a successful policy. The Tabloong, Namsang, and other Nagas, who were now carrying on a most profitable traffic with the tea-gardens, which they could not

afford to lose, speedily combined; and in few months' time they succeeded in tracing out the raiders, and arresting by force or strategy two of their leaders, who were delivered over to the British authorities for their due punishment. The men proved to belong to the Yungia Abor Nagas, a remote clan in the upper hills, who, actuated by a love of plunder and a craving for skulls, had led a stealthy war-party through trackless jungles to the plains below, and had, as they said, attacked the Police post under the notion that it was a settlement of ryots,—a mistake not very creditable to the discipline of the place. Notwithstanding, however, such casual disturbances, we can yet say that, on the whole, Sibsaurgor has had for many years less trouble from its barbarous neighbours than any other district on this side of Assam.

Each Naga clan near this district has living on the plains one or more Kotokies or representatives, usually Assamese, who enjoy, in virtue of these offices, certain rent-free lands or remission of revenue. If a theft or murder is committed beyond the Naga border, a notice is served on the Kotokies, who communicate with their constituents in the hills. As a rule, the guilty person is given up, and punished by our District Courts without more ado. These *proxeni* seem to be an institution dating back to the time of the Ahom kings.

The Angami Nagas, living to the south of Nowgong, have been, till lately, the most troublesome of all our tribes. Our attention was first drawn to them in 1835, when North Cachar was found to be annually devastated by their war-parties. For years after this, attempts continued to be made to come to some satisfactory understanding with them. Officer after officer was despatched into the hills, attended by troops and Police, to endeavour to procure the surrender of offenders, or effect some arrangements with the Chiefs, which should secure peace for our villages. Often, when it was thought that such a negotiation had succeeded, and the resort of the Angamis to our markets gave ground for a hope of tranquillity, the local officers would be again driven to despair by fresh outrages, as wanton as they were barbarous and bloody. More than once the Chiefs formally submitted and promised a small tribute in acknowledgment of fealty; but any attempt to realise it was resisted to the death. It is doubtful whether the extremely democratic character of the Angami tribal constitution was fully understood by earlier equivers. The duality of the Chiefship, limited as its powers were save in time of war, and the individual independence of each

member of a village made it difficult to carry to a successful issue any negotiation entered upon. The extraordinary state of intertribine feud in which they lived was another obstacle. It was not merely that village was at war with village, but clan A of village X, aided by clan B of village Y, would be at deadly strife with clan A' of village X and clan B' of village Y.

In 1847 a permanent post was established in the hills with a view to checking raids into the plains; but two years afterwards, the Nagas treacherously murdered the Darogah in charge. An expedition was necessarily despatched to avenge this outrage, and at its close the Government of India decided on withdrawing entirely from the hills. The policy in future was to be one of absolute non-interference. All troops were to be withdrawn. We were to "confine ourselves to our own frontier, to protect it as it could and ought to be protected, never to meddle in the fights and feuds of savages, to encourage trade with them so long as they were peaceful towards us, and rigidly to exclude them from all communication either to sell or buy on their becoming turbulent or troublesome."

In March 1851 our troops were withdrawn from the hills, and in that year no fewer than 22 Naga raids were reported, in which 55 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 taken captive. It is true only 2 of these raids were traced to Angamis, but they were most of them committed in North Cachar by Naga tribes, who would have been easily controlled by an officer residing in the hills, and any way the policy of non-interference was not very successfully inaugurated.

The repeated efforts of the local officers to induce Government to take once more a direct part in hill management were for years sternly repressed. The line of outposts which it had been proposed to occupy was contracted. Punitive expeditions for recent outrages were disallowed. Nothing that occurred beyond the outskirts of our inhabited villages was to receive any attention. Dhemapore was abandoned. Borpathor became our most advanced guard. The officer stationed at North Cachar was strictly charged to look upon the Angamis "as persons living beyond the jurisdiction of the British Government." For years raids went on while the Central Government refused to care for any of these things. North Cachar suffered most from the effects of this policy, where the frontier line was always matter of doubt, and the presumption was, that any village attacked lay beyond the boundary. In fact, at one time it was proposed almost

despairingly by the local officers to abandon North Cachar itself.

At length in 1862 the Commissioner was constrained to say: "It is not creditable to our Government that such atrocities should recur annually with unvarying certainty, and that we should be powerless alike to protect our subjects or to punish the aggressors. It is quite certain that our relations with the Nagas could not possibly be on a worse footing than they are now. The non-interference policy is excellent in theory, but Government will probably be inclined to think that it must be abandoned."

The Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Cecil Beadon), who had then succeeded to office, reviewed afresh the whole question of the treatment of these tribes. He condemned emphatically the policy of interdicting them from trade, which had of late years been usual. It was, he said, not only unsound in itself, but it was a policy which, in regard to a country situated as is that of the Angami Nagas, it is impossible to carry out. He directed that an officer subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner of Now-gong should be placed in immediate communication with the Nagas. The Chiefs on the border were to be informed that Government looked to them to be responsible for the good behaviour of the villages, and annual stipends for this Police duty would be paid to them so long as they performed it well. Written agreements were to be taken to this effect, and annual presents interchanged. The officer to be appointed to this duty was further ordered to decide any disputes voluntarily referred to him, but not to interfere in internal affairs, at any rate for the present. Some delay occurred in bringing this policy into actual operation, owing to official changes among the local officers and the successive representations of conflicting views.

At length the Lieutenant-Governor was, in 1865, compelled definitely to overrule the objections of those who opposed a policy of direct management; and going a step further than he had gone in 1862, he proposed to the Government of India to locate a special officer in the Angami hills. This had been strongly advocated by Colonel Haughton in 1864, and was now at last concurred in by all the local officers. The following extracts from the letter to the Government of India on the subject will show the views held by Sir Cecil Beadon:—

"In regard to the policy to be pursued towards the Angami Nagas, the Lieutenant-Governor is clearly of opinion that the abandonment of the position we held previously to 1854, and

" the withdrawal of our line of frontier posts to the left bank of the Dhunsiri, is proved by the events which have since occurred, to have been a grave mistake, and that the only course left us consistently with the duty we owe to the inhabitants of the adjoining frontier districts as well as to the Angami Nagas themselves, who are torn by intestine feuds for want of a government, and unable to exercise any general self-control, or to restrain independent action on the part of any village or even of a section of any of the numerous villages inhabited by the tribe, is to re-assert our authority over them, and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances, and gradually to reclaim them from habits of lawlessness to those of order and civilization.

" These Angami Nagas are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of late years as independent Nagas, and a distinction is made between the tract they inhabit and British territory, as if the former were not included in the latter. But for this distinction there is no real ground. The treaties with Burmah and Munipore recognize the Patkoi and Burmial ranges of hills running in a continuous line from the sources of the Dehing in the extreme east of Assam to those of the Dhunsiri in North Cachar as the boundary between those countries and British India. There is no intermediate independent territory; and while the wild tribes who inhabit the southern slopes of those ranges are subject to Burmah and Munipore, those who inhabit the northern slopes are subject to the British Government. These latter, including the Angami Nagas, are independent only in the sense that the British Government has refrained from reducing them to practical subjection, and has left them, except at occasional intervals, entirely to themselves; but they have never enjoyed or acquired political or territorial independence; and it is clearly open to the British Government in point of right, as it is incumbent on it in good policy, to exercise its sovereign power by giving them the benefit of a settled administration.

" This is the course advocated by all the local authorities, and it is the one which the Lieutenant-Governor strongly recommends as the only means of establishing peace in this part of the frontier, and of putting an end to the atrocities which have prevailed more or less for the last thirty years, and which a policy of non-interference and purely defensive action is now found to be wholly inadequate to prevent. Even if the right of the British Government were less clear

“than it is, the existence on its border of a savage and turbulent tribe, unable to restrain its members from the commission of outrages, given up to anarchy, and existing only as a pest and nuisance to its neighbours, would justify the Government in the adoption of any measures for bringing it under subjection and control.”

The orders of the Government of India thereon were as follow :—

“Lieutenant Gregory may take up the proposed position at Samoogoodting, and do his best by tact and good management, supported by a moderate display of physical force, to bring that portion of the Hill Tract adjacent to the plains into order. He will remember that our main object in having any dealings with the hill people is to protect the lowlands from their incursions. Instead, therefore, of exerting himself to extend our rule into the interior, he will rather refrain from such a course. Subject to this general principle, his line of action may advantageously be left in great measure to his own good judgment. A conciliatory demeanour will of course be indispensable, and perhaps the expenditure of a little money to leading men will be useful. When conciliation fails, punitive measures will not be shrunk from. In some instances a blockade of the passes, so as to exclude the offending tribe or village from our bazars, may be attended with good results. But in all cases the great point will be to select a penalty suitable to the circumstances of the particular affair. Where roads are necessary, they must be constructed in a simple and inexpensive manner just sufficient for the opening of the country to the extent actually required.

“Should the plan thus sketched succeed, and the hill men be gradually reclaimed to our rule, and civilised without much cost to the British treasury in the process, it will be a good work well accomplished. But His Excellency in Council cannot admit that we are bound to attempt more in their behalf than the resources of the empire can reasonably afford.”

The Secretary of State cordially approved of all that had been done.

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed statement of the mode in which the arrangements thus approved were carried out. Lieutenant Gregory was ordered to establish himself at Samoogoodting. Asealoo in North Cachar was abandoned save by a small Police guard. A road was opened from Dhemapore to the new station. A compact force of 150 Police, all hill men

and well-armed, was placed at Lieutenant Gregory's disposal. Large discretionary powers were entrusted to him of proceeding summarily against villages concerned in any gross outrage, and a rough system of judicial procedure was laid down. The Manipuris were not to be allowed to make retaliatory expeditions into the Naga Hills. Measures to redress any outrages committed by Angamis in Manipur were to be taken in concert with Lieutenant Gregory. This was not of course to prevent Manipuri troops from following up and punishing any marauding party they fell in with in their own territory. All Angami Nagas visiting the plains of Assam were to be furnished with passes by Lieutenant Gregory as they passed through Samoogoodting, where they were also to leave their spears.

Since that time the history of the Naga Hills has been uneventful, because it has been perfectly peaceful. The only measure of importance has been the sanction accorded to a proposal of Lieutenant Gregory's to receive at Samoogoodting residuary delegates from the various communities to whom small stipends will be allowed for acting as interpreters and messengers to their respective clans.

It is strange but significant that the review of the Bengal Annual Administration Reports, with which Mr. Hunter opens his Dissertation, should have stopped short at the year before that containing the record of these measures.

The Cossyabs have, since the time of their first conquest (completed in 1835), been perfectly well behaved. We have no space to enter upon a detailed history of their management. They have been civilised by the construction of a road right across their hills from Assam to Sylhet, and by the location of a European officer in their midst. The value of the exports of their district in 1859 had reached seven lakhs of rupees per annum. They are not likely to do anything to endanger their own growing wealth and prosperity.

The Jynteeah Rebellion is one of Mr. Hunter's instances of our Government's ill-treatment of hill tribes. Unfortunately the fact is that the rebellion was due, not to a policy of "contemptuous devastation," but of strange and unaccountable neglect.

The territories of Jynteeah on the plains were annexed to our dominions in 1835 as a punishment for gross outrages on British subjects countenanced by its Rajah. When the Rajah was deprived of his possessions on the plains, he preferred to give up entirely the tract in the hills which was



nominally subject to him, and to become a pensioner of Government. This Hill Tract contained nineteen petty districts, fifteen of which were each under a Dolloie, or Headman elected by the villagers; the other four being managed by thirteen hereditary sirdars.

The only tribute derived by the Jynteeah Rajah from the hills was one he-goat from each village, with a few seers of parched rice, and firewood for his annual poojahs. The villages were also bound to cultivate in turns the Raj lands. It is possible that dues levied on hill produce imported to the plains formed a further source of income. On the resumption of the hills by the British Government, from 1835 to 1855, the Sintengs, as the Jynteeahs are called, were left almost entirely to their own devices. The Dolloies heard all civil cases, at first without exception, and after 1841 up to a certain limit; and all criminal complaints not of a heinous character in which only people of their own villages were concerned. Their administration was, however, flagrantly corrupt; and they managed to secure for themselves most of the Raj lands, of which no accurate account had been taken by Government. No taxes of any kind were imposed by us in the Jynteeah Hills for many years. The tribute of he-goats continued to be annually paid, and in 1853 credit was given to the officers at Cherra for effecting a slightly more favourable sale of these offerings than had been usual theretofore. In that year Mr. Mills, who had been deputed to enquire into certain abuses in the Cossyah Hills' judicial administration, drew attention to the state of the Jynteeah Hills. He pointed out that in 1849 Colonel Listér had suggested the imposition of a house-tax "in consequence of the disposition evinced by some of the people to assert their independence." This had, however, been negatived by Government. Mr. Mills strongly urged that the error should be repaired, and a more intimate knowledge of the people acquired by the English officers. He also advocated the establishment of a Police Thannah to check the lawless proceedings of the Dolloies. Lord Dalhousie quite concurred in these views. In neighbouring Hill Tracts house-tax was paid, and we were acting unwisely and inequitably in exempting Jynteeah. The Agent was directed to proceed into the Jynteeah Hills and prepare a full report on revenue, civil, and criminal justice, and all other matters connected with the Jynteeah territory. A thannah was established at Jowai, but here the matter was apparently allowed to drop.

In 1858 Mr. Allen submitted another elaborate report upon the Cossyah and Jynteeah Hills. After the fullest consideration he came to the conclusion that the Sintengs should be required to contribute something in acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Government. He said—"I am of opinion that a light and judicious taxation would contribute to the preservation of tranquillity and good order in the Jynteeah Hills. A moderate taxation had a very beneficial effect upon the savagery of the Lurka Coles of the Singhbloom district of the south-west frontier agency. It was found to make them less turbulent and aggressive, and more thrifty, diligent, and submissive to the authorities; and I am disposed to think that a very moderate taxation, fixed for a term of years, would improve the condition and strengthen the peaceful and industrious inclinations of these wild mountaineers also." He proposed a moderate house-tax to be collected through the village authorities. Enquiry was also suggested into the condition of the Raj lands, and the allotment of waste to European settlers was discussed. But Mr. Allen insisted strongly on the necessity of stationing a European civil officer in the centre of the tract to administer justice to the people, and be to them a visible representative of that Government of which they then knew almost nothing. Unfortunately, the proposal to levy a house-tax was adopted, while the Sintengs were left as before to the management of their Dolloies.

In 1860 the house-tax was imposed, and within a few months the people were in open rebellion. Fortunately, a large force of troops was close at hand, and before the revolt could make any head, it was stamped out, and the villages awed into apparent submission. It was supposed at the time that the Ex-Rajah had been in someway mixed up with this movement in the hills, but to this idea little weight should be attached. For five and twenty years the Sintengs had been content to pay their tribute of he-goats to the British officers. They never respected the Rajah while he did rule over them; and they had openly affronted his family more than once since his abdication. On the suppression of this partial rising, measures were taken for the improvement of the administration. The civil officer at Cherra was empowered to remove the Dolloies for misconduct, while at the same time the powers of those functionaries were increased. All crimes were to be reported by them to the Police, who were not, however, to interfere vexatiously in village affairs.

Scarcely had the agitation of this disturbance had time to settle, when the necessities of Imperial Finance imposed the income tax throughout British India. The local officers applied to Government to know whether this new impost was to be levied in the Cossyah and Jynteeah Hills, and if the last-named tract was to be affected by it, whether the house-tax was also to be maintained. It was ruled that the house-tax was not to be given up on account of the income tax, the incidence of the two being not the same, and that the income tax "was to be introduced only in those parts of the hills where taxes had been previously levied, *i. e.*, in the Jynteeah territory, and those other villages near the station of Cherrapoonjee which belong to the British Government." It seems to have been the belief at Calcutta that practically the tax would be inoperative in the hills. Fortunately the whole of the Cossyah States escaped it, and the loyalty of the chiefs was not tried by this severe and practical test.

In the Jynteeah Hills 310 persons were taxed, on whom the whole amount assessed was Rs. 1,259. The highest rate levied, and that only in one case, was Rs. 9. One person paid Rs. 5; 27 paid Rs. 4-8 each; and the rest were taxed the minimum amount, Rs. 4 each per annum. The tax for 1860-61 was paid without a murmur. The Deputy Commissioner travelled through the hills in 1860-61, and again in November 1861 without detecting a sign of disaffection. But the material was all there. The mass of the people had been subjected to the house-tax in 1860. Their leaders were further brought under the income tax in 1861. There were rumours of pan and trade taxes in the air. What spark actually began the conflagration it is hard to tell. Whether it was the rash talk of some bullying Policeman, or an injudiciously executed order against the use of arms, we do not clearly know. The small number of troops then available gave an opportunity which had been wanting in 1860; and on the 20th of January 1862, the Sintengs rose in fierce rebellion. "A people who had neither been left to their own guidance, nor yet fairly brought under ours; upon whom our yoke had pressed with just sufficient force to gall, but not to break into order; who had been denied the boon of having our rule represented among them by an English officer, and of all our institutions, who had known only our system of Police as illustrated by a thannah on the Bengali model, and our latest experiments in taxation; who, just after they had been taught the lesson that they could only be compelled to pay

an obnoxious tax by the application of military force, are straightway further taxed, the means of compulsion being at the same time withdrawn. When such a people rise in rebellion (said the Commissioner *ex-post facto*), it may not be difficult to explain its origin and object without searching after recondite causes."

Into the history and progress of the rebellion we have no need to enter. Crushed apparently in four months after its outbreak, it again almost immediately burst out afresh, and it was not till November 1863, when every glen and jungle had been searched out by our troops and Police, that the last of the rebel leaders surrendered, and the pacification of Jynteeah could be said to be complete.

It fell to the lot of Sir Cecil Beadon who had inherited this rebellion, as well as various other disturbances on the frontiers and elsewhere, from his predecessors, to re-organize the Hill administration. The policy laid down by him was thus represented—

"A main principle to be adopted in dealing with these people when they have been made to understand and feel the power of the Government and have submitted to its authority is not to leave them in their old state, but, while adopting a simple plan of Government suitable to their present condition and circumstances, and interfering as little as possible with existing institutions, to extend our intercourse with them, and endeavour to introduce among them civilization and order."

An English officer with full powers was accordingly to be posted to the Jynteeah Hills, where he was personally to reside. He was to visit every village in his jurisdiction at least once a year, and, with his subordinates, was to be required to qualify in the Cossyah language sufficiently to dispense with all interpreters. The village Dolloies were to be chosen by the people, subject to the civil officer's approval, and to hold office during good behaviour. With other village officers they were to form punchayets, by whom specified civil and criminal powers were to be exercised, subject to the revision of the British officer in important or heinous cases. The Dolloies and Sirdars were to be responsible for the Police of their respective jurisdictions, and the Regular Police were only to interfere to repress disturbance or support the authority of the Dolloies. Proceedings were to be *vivâ voce* as far as possible. Education was to be liberally encouraged; the Welsh Mission already established in the hills being made the instrument of its extension. The country was

to be thoroughly opened up by eight lines of road, aggregating in length 218 miles. The income tax had been virtually withdrawn by the Act repealing it on all incomes below Rs. 500 a year. The house-tax was of course to be retained, due care being taken that no inequality or injustice was allowed in its assessment.

On these general principles the administration of the Jynteeah Hills has been reformed, and the policy of direct management by resident European officers has here, as in the Naga Hills, proved successful. Cossyah and Jynteeah are probably now the most secure of all our Hill Districts.

West of Cossyah and Jynteeah are the Garrow Hills. Into the early history of this tract we cannot venture to enter. It must suffice to say that although for many years a large trade in cotton had been carried on between the Garrows and the Bengalis at the frontier marts, the borders both of Gowalpara and Mymensing were never free from the raids of these savages. The death of every chief had to be signalized by sacrifices of slaves and great store of skulls, and to procure these the lowland villages were regularly cut up. Frontier posts and patrols were established, and many efforts made to check these inroads. A special law was enacted for the tract, and the Principal Assistant at Gowalpara was appointed to deal with all Garrow cases. Many of the great plain zemindaries ran far into the Hills, and Regulation X. of 1822 placed the direct collection of rents from the Garrows living on such estates in the hands of the Government officers, in order to remove all sources of irritation from the intercourse between the hill men and their neighbours.

The Garrows are of three classes :—(1) Zemindari Garrows, those living within the acknowledged boundaries of the great zemindaries, and treated by Government under Regulation X. of 1822. (2) Tributary Garrows, who admitting our supremacy pay a small yearly tribute. (3) Bemulwa or Independent Garrows, over whom we exercise no control. The collections made from the Garrows of the first two classes were realized through the Luskar or Headman of each village ; and so long ago as 1824, Mr. Scott, the Commissioner for the north-eastern parts of Rungpore, had disbursed annual money rewards to certain of the principal Luskars for maintaining the peace in their respective jurisdictions. In 1865 proposals for extending and modifying this system were laid before Government. The raids and murders by which our frontier had been harassed were as often as not the work of so-called Tributary Garrows ;

and the want of any adequate Police machinery made it very desirable to adopt some means of securing delivery of offenders. It was proposed therefore to appoint Zimmadars for villages and group of villages who should for an annual stipend be responsible for the arrest of offenders in their several jurisdictions, and should be vested with powers similar to those of the Dolloies in the Jynteeah Hills. This was all approved by Government and settled at a meeting of the Chiefs.

These arrangements did not, however, extend to the Mymensing side of the hills, and early in 1866 a most murderous raid was made by Garrows, supposed to be independent, on the plains of that district. An expedition entered the hills and burnt the offending villages. But enquiry showed that the main cause of the raid had been an attempt on the part of the Shoosung Rajah, a Mymensing Zimmadar, to levy rent in the hills. This Rajah claims about 500 square miles of hill territory, and a suit brought by him is now pending to set aside the survey boundary of his estate and extend its limits up to the Toora range.

The existence of this chronic irritant on the southern border of the hills, and the fact that a dread of creating blood feuds prevented the Zimmadars from acting of their own authority against independent villages, made it clear to Government that something more was required. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly in April 1866 proposed to the Government of India the appointment of a special Officer to the charge of the Garrow Hills. Sanction being accorded to this, Lieutenant Williamson, who had shown special aptitude for dealing with these tribes, was established on the Toora Mountain as Lieutenant. Gregory had been established at Samoogoodting. Similar arrangements were made for roads, buildings, and Police as in the Naga Hills. The offices of Luskar and Zimmadar were at the same time amalgamated, and a rough judicial system inaugurated under Lieutenant Williamson's control.

The success with which this experiment has been attended has been almost more marked in the Garrow than in the Naga Hills. The hearty aid given by the Garrows to Lieutenant Williamson has been very satisfactory. Relieved by the presence of a strong body of armed Police from the dread of retaliatory feuds, the Headmen are more ready to discharge their duty. Raids have ceased, and numerous villages hitherto independent have voluntarily become tributary. It is a standing order in both the Naga and Garrow Hills that no attempt is to be made

to coerce a neutral independent clan, but all voluntary submission is to be frankly accepted. This policy is bearing its own good fruits.

We may now very briefly notice the tribes living within or on the borders of the Cachar and Sylhet Districts. In North Cachar there are numerous villages of Nagas, Mekirs, Kookies, and Arungs living peaceably under our rule and paying a small revenue assessment. For many years they suffered terribly at the hands of the Angamis, and the efforts made to afford them protection seemed to be of little avail. In 1838 the whole hill tract was transferred to Nowgong, in the hope that the Assam authorities might be better able to repress the raids of the savages than those of Cachar. A line of posts was established; and in 1853 a European officer was placed in charge of the Sub-division. But the most promising of all the measures adopted was the establishment of colonies of Kookies from the south: and in 1856, definite assignments of lands to be held rent-free for a long term of years were made to Kookies who consented to settle between the Angami Hills and Assaloo. The Langting Colony, as the settlement was called, has lost its interest as a political experiment since the location of an English officer at Samoogoodting.

The following extracts from an old report by the Superintendent of Cachar will show the position of that district in regard to the tribes on its Southern frontier:—

“With reference to the southern portion of the district, for many years back, and long before we obtained possession of the province, the inhabitants of the plains to the south were in constant alarm and dread of the tribes of Kookies who resided both within our boundaries and without to the south and south-east, in the independent Tipperah Hills and in the Muni-pore territories. They used to come down and attack the villages in the plains, massacre the inhabitants, take their heads, *loot* and burn their houses. These aggressions used principally to be made after the death of one of the Kookie Rajahs, when the having human heads to bury with him is in the idea of the the Kookie a matter of great consideration.

“The principal tribes then known were the Cheeloo, Rankul, Tangune, Chansen, Tadoe, or Tewtangs and the Poitco Kookies, and in consequence of the aggressions made by some of them at different times, some of the inhabitants towards the south deserted their villages, left their lands and homes, and settled in some of the more northern pergunnahs of the district,

and the lands which they deserted have not in some places up to the present time been resumed, they being now jungle.

"It would appear that the tribes to the south have been gradually driving one another in a northerly direction; for first, some Nagas that were located in the Boobun Hills and in Southern Cachar were obliged by the Tangune Kookies to flit and to take up their abode in the hills north of Borak, when the Tangunes took possession of their ground; and they having in their turn been driven up by the Chansen and Tadoé tribes, the Tangunes were also afterwards obliged to vacate and to move on into the northern hills, and after them the Chansens were obliged to do likewise; and the Tadoés, who had been driven up by the Luchyes, a very powerful tribe, first settled about seven years since within eight and ten miles south of this station, and became Company's ryots and made themselves useful by cutting timber, bamboos, cane, &c., which they used to bring to market; but after having been located there for some four years, the Luchye Kookies in November 1849 attacked them, burnt three of their villages, killed several of the inhabitants, and took away several of them into slavery, and then the whole of the Tadoé tribe flitted, left the south and settled down in the northern hills.

"About the same time that the Luchye Kookies attacked the villages in Cachar, they committed other atrocities in Sylhet and in Munipore. It was the first that had ever been heard here of the Luchyes; and from the inquiries I made, it appeared that they were a very powerful, warlike set of people, consisting of Luchyes, Chillings, and Gattaes, and who were said to be also well armed and independent and residing from eight to ten days' journey south of this. And to the south of them again there are the Poe Kookies, who are said to be still more powerful than the Luchyes, and who it is said exact a kind of tribute from them.

"The Poitoo Kookies who are located towards the south-west used also to be very troublesome, and made many descents in the southern portion of Pergunnah Hylakandy, and they, too, drove the inhabitants away from thence, and caused lands that were under cultivation to run to jungle.

"After the attack made by the Luchyes in November 1849, the Government determined, if possible, to put a stop to future aggressions, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lister, Political Agent, Cossyah Hills, was entrusted with the management, and he was directed to proceed with such force as he considered necessary,



and to punish them; and in January 1850 he proceeded from this towards the Luchye country, and there he destroyed the Village of Moolla, one of their Chiefs; but it appearing to him that the Luchyes were a much more powerful tribe than he expected to have found them, he deemed it advisable to retire, which he did, and he then returned to Cherra Poonjee, and requested I would establish some out-posts along the southern frontier, as it was thought very possible that the Luchyes, in order to retaliate, might make a descent on some part of the district. I accordingly caused stockades to be erected at Cazeedur, Soonabaroe Ghaut, Sydpoor, Meerpoor, and Jafferbund, in each of which a party of the Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion was posted. The inhabitants of the district were alarmed, and in some places the women and children were being sent to the northern side of the Borak, so as to be out of the way of danger should aggressions be made. A few scouts were allowed to be entertained by me and were kept constantly in the southern jungles to give warning in case the Luchyes should be approaching.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Lister was then of opinion that, in order to protect the southern portion of the district from any future invasions of the Luchyes, it would be advisable to raise a levy to be employed in the southern jungles; he recommended the measure to Government, and he was authorized to raise the present Kookie Levy, which consists of a Commandant, two Soobadars, two Jemadars, ten Havildars, and two hundred Sepoys.

“In October 1850 some of the Luchye Chiefs caused it to be intimated to me that they wished to come in; and in order to open a communication I sent down a party to meet some of the Luchyes at a rendezvous named Punch Peer, which party returned with the Muntrie of Suckpoolall Rajah, one of the great chiefs and some Luchyes, and he said he was deputed by five of the chiefs who were anxious to be on friendly terms with us, and that if permitted to do so they would also come in.

“On the Muntries returning I sent down a party with him to the Luchye country to inform the chiefs that they need not be afraid, for that if they wished to come in here they would not be injured nor detained. In December 1850 the party I sent down returned, accompanied by Suckpoolall Rajah and some of his followers, who said that he and the other Luchye chiefs all wished to be friends with us, and he, after a few days' resi-

dence here, returned to his own country, and since then the Natives of Pergunnah of Hylakandy have been constantly in the habit of going down towards the Luchye country for the purpose of trading, and I trust nothing will occur to disturb the friendly intercourse which now exists."

Cachar appears to have been from this time undisturbed by the Lushais until last year. In 1862 an attack was made upon some villages in the confines of Syllhet and Hill Tipperah, which was ultimately traced to this tribe. But it is very doubtful whether they actually knew they were invading British territory. It is more than probable that they intended to attack only villages subordinate to the Tipperah Rajah. Into the history of the steps taken for the recovery of the captives carried off in the attack of 1862 we have no space to enter. Sookpilal and the other chiefs, when communicated with, expressed their desire to be friendly with our Government. The causes of the present outbreak are as yet obscure. We believe ourselves that until the Lushai country is treated as the Angami and Jarrow Hills have been treated, and until the dealings of the Tipperah Rajah with the Kookie tribes are brought under supervision, we can never be sure of permanent tranquillity on this part of our frontier.

The Hill Tracts of Chittagong are bounded on the west by the District of Chittagong, on the south and east, as far as the Blue Mountain, by the Province of Arracan, on the north-west by the Fenny River, separating them from Hill Tipperah, while on the north and north-east the boundary is really undefined.

An interesting account of the tribes living in these hills will be found in a work by Captain Lewin, the Deputy Commissioner of the District, which is now in the Press—" *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the dwellers therein.*" No. XI of the published selections from the Records of the Bengal Government also contains much valuable information as to the early history of these parts. We have not space enough left us to go into detail ourselves.

The inhabitants are Mugs, Tipperahs, and others who wander about as 'Joomea' cultivators, clearing spots here and there, on which they settle, often only for one harvest, and penetrating into the jungles far in advance of our posts, expose themselves to the attacks of the wild outer tribes. They pay capitation tax to one or other of the Hill Chiefs.

Act XXII of 1860 enabled Government to introduce a system of administration into these hills which is admirably suited to the simple habits of the people.

The tribes living within our own acknowledged boundary have been always well disposed and have prospered and multiplied under British rule. But beyond our Eastern boundary dwell races of marauding instincts of whom we know little, who from time to time make raids into our territory, which from the nature of the country, we can do nothing to prevent and little to punish.

In 1860 took place that very extended series of raids known as the great "Kookie Invasion."

Early in January 1860, reports were received at Chittagong of the assembling of a body of 400 or 500 Kookies at the head of the River Fenny, and soon the tale of burning villages and slaughtered men gave token of the work they had on hand. On the 31st January, before any intimation of their purpose could reach us, the Kookies, after sweeping down the course of the Fenny, burst into the plains of Tipperah at Chagulneyah, burnt or plundered 15 villages, butchered 185 British subjects, and carried off about 100 captives. Troops and Police were at once hurried to the spot, but the Kookies had only remained a day or two on the plains, retiring to the hills and jungles by the way they came. It was at first supposed that this extended movement on the part of these tribes was directed by certain near relatives of the Tipperah Rajah, and was intended to involve that Chief in trouble with the English Government. But it was afterwards ascertained, with considerable certainty, that the main instigators of the invasion were three or four Hill Tipperah refugees, Thakurs who had lived for some time among the Kookies, and who took advantage of the ill-feeling caused by an attack made by the Rajah's subjects upon some Dúptung Kookies to excite a rising that unfortunately became diverted, to British territory. Driven by the Rajah from his dominions these men had formed alliances among the various Kookie tribes of the interior, and year by year villages, supposed to be friendly to the Rajah, had been attacked and plundered, vague rumours of which disturbances had reached our ears. Some of the Rajah's own subjects, moreover, exasperated by his constant exactions, were believed to have invited the Kookies to ravage his territories. The Kookies who had perpetrated this attack on the Tipperah District were reported from the first to be the followers of Rutton Poeh, whose clan was known to live far up between the upper sources of the Fenny and Kurnafoolie. This chief is head of one of the three great branches of the Lushai tribe who dwell to the south of the water pent between Cachar and Chittagong; the other two being the Howlongs and Syloos.

An expedition was sent against him which did him much damage and burnt his village. In September 1861 he tendered a complete submission, and has been a faithful ally to Government ever since, frequently warning us of attacks proposed by the other and more distant tribes. The policy laid down by Sir Cecil Beadon towards these was thus expressed in a letter to the Commission of Chittagong.

"So long as our policy rests upon the assumption that the Kookies of certain tribes cannot be trusted until they have been made to feel our power, we shall be in danger of embroiling ourselves with them in unsatisfactory and profitless contest.

"Every endeavor should be made to induce the Chiefs of the unfriendly tribes not to come in, as it is called, that is, to present themselves before the Superintendent, either at Chittagong or at any other place at a distance from the frontier, but to consent that he should meet them at some spot equally convenient to both parties, and then to enter into written engagements for the future maintenance of peace on the border.

"If a meeting of this kind could be arranged in such a manner as not to wound the natural savage pride of these Chieftains and their followers, and if they could once be made to feel confidence in our pacific intentions, the Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt that they would willingly enter into any reasonable engagements we might dictate, that all hostile incursions and the apprehension of these would cease, and that the tribes instead of being a source of terror to those who live under our immediate protection would become the reverse.

"One of the best means of conciliating the good-will of tribes, like the Kookies, is to arrange an annual gathering of Chiefs at some convenient place in the hills, on which occasion the Superintendent, representing the British Government, should receive trifling offerings from each Chief, and bestow on him a present in return, and take the opportunity of hearing and redressing all complaints and grievances, and of encouraging free and friendly communication between the different tribes, and between them and the people of the plains. To attend at such meetings, and to receive a token of friendly disposition from the Superintendent, would soon come to be regarded as a privilege, and the general good feeling of the tribes would be enlisted against any one of them who held aloof.

"A small Police allowance, either in money or in kind, might be given to each Chief to enable him to keep the peace

within his own limits, and to prevent his people from attacking their neighbours, and this would also serve as a security for his own fidelity and allegiance."

This policy has through the exertions of Captain Lewin, one of the ablest of our Hill Officers, been successful in the case of both the Howlongs and Syloos, who for years were the most troublesome of our neighbours. The Shindoos on the south are the tribe that at present causes us most annoyance. But the subject of dealing effectually with them concerns the administration of British Burmah more nearly than that of Bengal.

We have now said enough to show that the conception of the policy of the Government towards hill tribes put forward by Mr. Hunter is, as regards Bengal at least, distorted and untrue. A moderate acquaintance with the Indian Statute book alone should have shown him that Government has ever been ready to recognize the peculiar needs and necessities of such races, and to furnish them with the style of administration suited to their condition.

Along the northern border of Assam, from Durrung eastward, we have secured a quiet frontier by a system of just dealing towards our neighbours, and a due recognition of the ancient rights of the hill tribes. We have seen these races gradually settling down on the plains and becoming steady cultivators of the soil, and keen traders in our established marts. There may be trouble yet, as we have already said, with the Abors and Mishmis. Civilisation can only penetrate by slow degrees into such pathless wilds, and among such uncouth savages. But every year of peace and traffic adds to our security; and if the present generation of Assam officials only act up to the example of their predecessors, we have little fear for the tranquillity of Luckimpore. The Angami Nagas are now under the direct personal control of a specially chosen officer, living in their midst and understanding their ways: and the plains of Assam are free from their ravages. The Cossyah and Jynteah Hills are far advanced on the way of progress. The rebellion in Jynteah was the result not of oppression but of neglect; a neglect that is not likely to be repeated in regard to any such tract. In the Garrow Hills we see a repetition of what is going on among the Nagas. Constituted a British district, but managed on principles of the simplest kind, patent to all the tribes, this the most unapproachable of our Hill tracts bids fair some day to rival the Cossyah territory itself. In the Chittagong Hills we find a large and important district which for years has prospered under

our rule ; and in which the interesting experiment of converting a race of nomad joomeas into settled cultivators is being steadily carried on. The border of these hills may be harassed now and then by occasional inroads of savages from the impenetrable fastnesses of the mountains beyond, but this cannot detract from the satisfaction with which we must view the progress visible in what is admittedly British territory. The Joomeas have only themselves to blame if they squat amid jungles far in advance of our posts, and offer themselves an easy prey to the marauding denizens of the woods and fells.

So far from the hill races having been neglected we are disposed to contend that more direct administration has been brought to bear upon them in Bengal than the Hindoo dwellers on the plains have ever experienced. Our empire here has grown unto us by a process of alluviation. The merchants and agents of the old Company, scattered originally over the country for purposes of trade, gradually found themselves exercising powers of a judicial and fiscal nature ; and these, when the Company stood forth as Dewan, at length usurped the place of their commercial functions. The transmutation was gradual : not so much the result of direct and conscious effort, as of the resistless action of the river of time. But into the hill tracts we have entered avowedly to rule and govern ; material profit forming no element in our calculations. The protection of our settled districts may influence us as a motive, but the end is purely administrative,—the civilisation of the tribes.

The Government of Bengal may have to answer for many shortcomings, but to say that its policy towards its hill peoples has been one of reprisal and outrage and contemptuous devastation, is to display an ignorance of the facts as extraordinary as it is reprehensible.

The Government in India has nothing to learn from Mr. Hunter, useful though it may be that he should direct special attention to our frontier tribes. The policy he advocates is simply that which for years has guided every administration in the country. We cannot call to mind any single instance in which a writer, knowing so little of contemporary history as Mr. Hunter, has made such a pretentious display, and arrogated to himself, (successfully so far as the general public is concerned,) a position of such authority. What is in our judgment fatal to his reputation as an honest enquirer, is the fact that the most marked manifestations of this conciliatory policy were passing before his very eyes in this country, and registered in the very records to which he boasts that he had such free access

while at home.\* New and special administrations have been given to four Hill tracts on the north-east frontier alone since Mr. Hunter landed in India. But he either suppresses, or is ignorant of this not unimportant circumstance.

Mr. Hunter has in him the making of an admirable novelist. But before we can accept him as an authority on frontier policy, we must at least demand that he shall acquire some slight knowledge of the facts on which he bases his all too comprehensive generalizations.

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\*In the opening of his Dissertation Mr. Hunter refers among other things to the "Garrow outrages" described in the *Bengal Administration Report* for 1864-65. Now, apart from the fact that these 'outrages' are not tribal inroads, but very ordinary murders, we find that under this heading of the Report a sketch is given of the policy Government wished its officers to adopt toward these savages, to quote which would, no doubt, have spoilt Mr. Hunter's chromatic effects. We must be allowed to re-produce the paragraphs of the Report which Mr. Hunter actually had before him when he wrote —

"The frequency of these crimes having rendered it imperative that measures should be taken for their effectual suppression, the local authorities gave directions for the closing of the hâts and markets to the Garrows until the murderers were given up. This policy was however disapproved, as instead of securing the co-operation of the villagers, it was calculated to set the whole of them against the British power. In lieu of it the local officers were desired to attempt to induce the chiefs and headmen themselves to undertake the duty of preserving the peace of the frontier. It was the object of Government to bring these tribes to feel that they had a direct and tangible interest in the preservation of good order on the frontier, and to teach them to look upon the British Government as a friend and benefactor and not as a powerful and vindictive enemy ready to seize on the slightest excuse for measures of retaliation and indiscriminate punishment. It was pointed out that in giving effect to these views, the local officers were to be careful not to give rise to the idea that peace was to be secured by the payment of blackmail. There was to be a distinct and intelligible service rendered in return for all payments made by the Government, and it was remarked that if the chiefs agree to preserve order in their own districts, to assist in the detection and surrender of offenders, and generally to undertake the duties of a rude Police, their co-operation will be cheaply secured by the payment of small annual sums."

The above is almost word for word in the language of Sir Cecil Beadon's orders to the Commissioner of Assam.

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## ART. VII.—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN JAPAN.

1. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series ; East Indies, China, and Japan*, 1513—1616. Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq., of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.
2. *Memorials of the Empire of Japan*. Edited by Thos. Rundall for the Hakluyt Society. London, 1850.
3. *Expedition of the United States Navy to Japan in 1852-54*. Washington, 1856-58.
4. *A Cruise in Japanese Waters*. By Captain Sherward Osborn, C. B., Edinburgh and London, 1859.
5. *The Capital of the Tycoon*. A Narrative of a Three years' residence in Japan, by Sir Rutherford Alcock, K. C. B., Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan. London, 1863.
6. *Correspondence respecting the Revision of the Japanese Commercial Tariff*. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1867.

THE accomplished fact of "rapid steam communication between London and Yokohama" must be familiar to all who have had much occasion to consult the prospectuses of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. There are probably few of those who have made the Overland voyage more than once, who have not been fellow-travellers with one or more Europeans going to or returning from Japanese ports. It is somewhat difficult, under these circumstances, to realize that less than twenty years ago the wealthy and comparatively civilized empire of Japan was scarcely better known to Englishmen—or indeed to Europeans generally, if we except a few privileged and jealous Dutchmen—than it was to their ancestors in the sixteenth century who groped their way through the islands of the Eastern Archipelago in search of the riches of Cathay. A single decade has seen the commencement and the partial development of diplomatic and commercial relations between the British empire and this remote outpost of the East ; an East relatively to England so remote, that modern enterprise at home discovers a tendency to follow Columbus, and to look westward for a shorter route. However



slow and unsatisfactory may have been the progress of public opinion, or at all events of Government action, at Yeddo, it is interesting to note that already in 1867, Sir Harry Parkes was establishing bonded warehouses at the open ports, and settling with the Imperial Customs the number of boos to be paid as duty on shirtings, fustians, and indigo: whilst in 1852, not fifteen years earlier, the self-inflicted penalty of evisceration was thought by every well-disposed Japanese official only too honourable a punishment for any real or apparent inclination to aid or abet the foreigners' attempts to gain a footing in the Sacred Land. Sir Rutherford Alcock's two interesting volumes, and the Parliamentary papers that have subsequently appeared on this subject from time to time, have taught us how unwillingly every progressive step has been conceded by Japanese exclusiveness, how wearying have been the endless delays and the vexatious impediments opposed to every advance. The Government has been afraid of the great Daimios or Feudatory Princes; the Daimios have pretended that the advent of the strangers has raised the prices of necessaries, and consequently impoverished their retainers and poor dependants; the lower classes have proved very ready to carry favour with their betters by an officious display of zeal and hatred against the intruders. The wealthier merchants alone appear to have favoured us; and the mercantile class forms a very insignificant part of the community in a nation like that of Japan, essentially feudal and military. Even the merchants, actuated by a not unnatural regard for their personal safety, have manifested a strong disinclination to subject themselves to the risk of "the Happy Despatch"\* for the sake of the uncertain, though occasionally and prospectively large, profits of an English and Indian trade. Amongst the Chinese, under milder and less military (though not less despotic) Government, our early progress was much more rapid: in 1842 the boats of the British fleet opened Shanghai to the Western world; and in sixteen years the value of the English, Indian, and American exports and imports amounted to twenty-six millions of dollars per annum. Our progress in Japan too has nevertheless been very considerable; and though new difficulties are constantly meeting us, as we may expect amongst an im-

\* This well-known and horrible punishment owes the above ironical name to European sarcasm: in Japan its name simply means "Belly-cut." Amongst the higher classes it is, in honour, the inevitable consequence of any disgrace which cannot properly be avenged, as well as the recognised legal punishment for great offences.

perfectly understood and obstinately exclusive race, very little doubt is now entertained by those most competent to form an opinion, of our finally succeeding in making good our position—of our regaining, in fact, that *status* in the country which our ancestors held for a short time more than two and a half centuries ago. It is to the story of this early intercourse, as open and unfettered as any intercourse could be in that piratical and filibustering age, that we propose especially to direct the attention of our readers; merely glancing briefly at our modern relations with the empire, and at the leading facts of Japanese history, in order to illustrate our more immediate subject.

From the time when the English, tired of a trade which had never been very profitable, and disgusted with treatment which had latterly become almost intolerable, voluntarily withdrew from Firando about the year 1623, Japan was a sealed country until the expedition of the United States' Navy in 1854, again introduced the small end of the wedge of foreign communication. It is true that the Chinese were allowed to keep up a small trade, to the extent of sending ten junks to Nagasaki every year; and the Dutch had the privilege of maintaining a factory on the miserable little rock of Decima, and of annually sending thither one of their East-Indiamen: but an impassable *cordon* was drawn around them there; no intercourse with natives was allowed except under the most rigorous espionage; and this footing was purchased under conditions humiliating in the extreme—more degrading even than the cringing submission which was for a long time the price paid at Canton by the old India-House authorities for their season's teas. The Spaniards and Portuguese had been violently expelled long before our own departure; and the hatred which had been conceived against these nations was the first symptom of that animosity which was afterwards extended to all other foreigners. The extraordinary spread of Christianity under the successors of the Jesuit Xavier, and the enormous export of precious metals annually effected by the Portuguese, were the ostensible motives of the expulsion; and the Dutch, being Protestants, with that short-sighted policy which is often the characteristic of theological partizanship, gladly magnified the danger of their rivals' proceedings, and ultimately afforded the Japanese Government material assistance in effecting their destruction. It was the Dutch artillery under Kockerbecker that mainly caused the rout of the Portuguese and their adherents at Simabara, and that enabled the authorities to proceed with those massacres which effect-

ually exterminated the alien religion. The foolish and malicious policy of the Dutch soon met with a fitting though unexpected reward; the suspicions which they had helped to excite were before long directed against themselves; and though they willingly conceded that every Dutch *employé* should be compelled annually to renounce Christianity by a public ceremony named the "cross-trampling"—a custom which has obtained up to the present time—they were soon reduced to that isolated and oppressed condition in which they were found not twenty years ago. During the ages that have intervened, the Western world has at long intervals obtained glimpses of the life and history of the hidden land from the accounts of writers connected with this factory. Until very recently, all that was known of Japan\* was mainly derived from the narratives of Kœmpfer and Thunberg.

The first attempt at a renewed intercourse on the part of the civilization of the West was made by the Americans; and in March 1854 the celebrated treaty of Commodore Perry, though as yet nothing more could be obtained than the promise of shelter for vessels in distress and the hospitable reception of shipwrecked mariners, paved the way for the advances which have followed. The ports of Simoda and Hakodate were still the only harbours of refuge; and the use to be made even of these was sternly restricted to the simplest requirements of humanity, whilst the crews of ships wrecked on any other part of the coast were to be transported with all haste and secrecy to those ports. Toward the close of the same year Admiral Stirling obtained the same meagre terms for the British; the more convenient harbour of Nagasaki being substituted for the almost useless one at Simoda. The following year astonished the inhabitants of the sea-board with the spectacle of two hostile fleets, the allied English and French and the Russian squadrons, driven by the exigencies of warfare to play a game of hide-and-seek amongst the creeks and harbours of the unfriendly coast. The Russians have not lost sight of the lesson taught them, of the value of Japanese ports; from that time they have striven unceasingly to secure a safe and permanent footing in the country.

It is not within our scope in this paper to enter into all the negotiations and treaties that followed the introduction of Commodore Perry's "thin end of the wedge." The Americans improved the advantage they had obtained; Mr. Harris, who had come to Simoda under the First Treaty in 1854 as Consul-Gene-

ral, obtained, in spite of the most determined and obstinate resistance, a regular commercial treaty ; which was at last hastily concluded on the news of a threatened visit of the English and French fleets in 1858, who had just brought the Chinese to reason and established Embassies at Peking at the point of the bayonet. It is worthy of note that each of the American treaties was accompanied by the sudden death of the reigning Tycoon. It has been generally believed that these lives, and those of most of the public men at all concerned with the treaties, were sacrificed to the national exclusiveness ; it is certain that a long series of tragedies, attempted massacres of whole Legations, and frequent assassinations of individual officials, has followed and attended the progress of what is regarded as foreign intrusion at Yeddo. Mr. Harris' Treaty was followed by those of Count Pontiatine on behalf of Russia, Baron Gros for France, Mr. Donker Curtius, the Chief Commissioner and head of the Dutch Factory at Decima, for Holland ; whilst for our own nationality the mission of Lord Elgin secured, at all events nominally, free and protected intercourse for all British subjects at the chief ports, and the residence of a British Envoy at the jealously-secluded capital itself. Subsequent foreign progress at Yeddo has been, as we have already hinted, a matter of common report and of newspaper-reading for most of us. Contenting ourselves with this brief survey of our re-introduction to Japan in these modern days, we now turn to the story of the early history of the country and of our early dealings there.

Europe first heard of Japan (or Zipangu as it was then called) after the travels of Marco Paolo. Ferdinando Mendez Pinto was the only other early traveller who wrote any account of the country ; and his narrative was embellished to such an extent with the marvellous and the impossible, that credence was for ages refused even to those parts of his work which have since been proved to have had their foundation on fact. "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude," is put into the mouth of one of the characters in Congreve's *Love for Love* ; and the saying illustrates the verdict which posterity passed on these "travellers' tales." Another source of information, more or less trustworthy, on the early history and condition of Japan is afforded by some extracts from a Chinese historical work (the original was contained in no less than three hundred volumes<sup>1</sup>) entitled *Annals of the Art of War* ; selections

from which have been translated by Mr. Wade, a Secretary of Legation in China, and are largely quoted by Captain Osborn in his valuable and unpretending little book. From a comparison of what appears reliable in the accounts of Marco Paolo and Pinto with the traditions of the Japanese themselves as communicated to recent travellers, and with the narrative of Mr. Wade's voluminous *Chinaman*, we gather that Japan, though with no pretensions to the high antiquity either of civilization or of power that are justly put forth for the Chinese monarchy, has in all probability been for centuries an empire of the first importance in Eastern Asia. We hear of the Japanese gallantly rolling back the tide of invasion when attacked by the Mongol hordes of Kublai Khan, the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century. It was shortly after this time, in 1278, that Marco Paolo wandered into these regions ; and the same period witnessed the establishment of the power of the Tycoonat. The Zio-goon or Tycoon, at first nothing more than a great Officer of State under the Mikado, King of Nipon, had ere this become a sort of hereditary Mayor of the Palace. Yoritomo, Tycoon in the twelfth century, had secured the submission of the other great Princes of the empire to his authority as a *quasi* assistant-Emperor ; during the perilous times of the Mongol war, a subsequent Tycoon consolidated his power by taking on himself the entire management of military affairs and the direction of Government generally ; and the Mikado henceforth was confined, as a being too sacred to be exposed to vulgar gaze, within the precincts of the Palace at Miako. Relieved by his Lieutenant of the cares of empire, he has been allowed to enact the more serene, if less ambitious and practical, rôle of praying for the success of his armies ; and hence, apparently, has arisen the very general belief that his functions are those of a Spiritual Emperor. The Tycoons however, unlike their types the French Mayors of the Palace and the Mahratta Peishwas, appear never to have entirely superseded their nominal Suzerain ; and the tenacity with which the influence of hereditary right and a sort of spiritual supremacy over a race of highly conservative and somewhat mystic tendencies has been maintained, is evidenced by the forms of Japanese etiquette at the present day, which give precedence over the reigning Tycoon to several officers in attendance on the person of the Mikado—these officers in matters of ceremony holding the highest rank in the empire by a sort of Grand Serjeanty. The consolida-

tion of the power of the Tycoons soon produced a strong military movement in Japan; and the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbouring part of the Continent and of the isles of Eastern Asia suffered severely during more than two hundred years from the buccaneers and marauding parties that issued from the ports of Nipon. The Chinese chronicles speak of incessant levies raised, from 1350 to 1579, to resist these inroads. By writers of the fifteenth century, according to Mr. Wade's translations, the invaders are described as "a fierce people, naturally cunning; they would always put on board ships some of the produce or merchandise of their own country and also weapon of war; with these they would stand off and on, and so they could parade their goods, and call them tribute to the Crown, until a favorable opportunity offered, when they would take arms and make a wild inroad on the coast." From the same source we learn that in 1552 the Japanese vessels covered the seas and spread terror along the coasts of China for thousands of *li*.<sup>\*</sup> Shanghai and several other great cities were sacked by them in that year; and in the following year they plundered Soo-chow-foo, Ching-keang-foo, and the Island of Tsung-ming in the entrance of the Yangtze-kiang. The whole of the country between this great river and the Ning-po, and as far back as Hang-chow, Soo-chow, and Nankin, was devastated by them in 1554; and it was said by the miserable and terror-stricken Chinese that the leaders in this campaign were so bent on conquest that they burnt their ships on landing, so as to leave their followers no alternative but to advance,—a method which has been successfully adopted on more than one occasion in the history of Western conquest. The most powerful of the Tycoons, one Taico-Same, of whom we shall hear more presently, towards the end of the century reduced Corea well nigh to the condition of a province of the empire; in 1575 we find that the valuable little island of Chusan was in the hands of the Japanese; in 1579 they possessed the Pescadores in Formosa Channel, Tien-pak in Quantung, and some places in Fuh-kien; the Loo-choos have long been an appanage of the great Princes of the Satsuma family; and Taussima, off the coast of Corea, lately occupied by the Russians, has always been considered only an outlying island of the Japanese group.

It appears likely that Pinto, notwithstanding his European

<sup>\*</sup> An English mile is about equal to three Chinese *li*.

reputation as a liar, successfully directed the attention of his countrymen to the land of which he wrote such marvels; for we hear of not unfrequent visits of the Portuguese even before their formal reception in 1542; up to that time, however, every visit of a Portuguese ship, even if (as is often not improbable) it had been arranged at Macao or some other Chinese port by Japanese subjects, was represented to be an involuntary one, occasioned by stress of weather. In 1542 the foreigners received the warrant of the Tycoon to allow them to trade freely, their friendship and commerce were eagerly cultivated, and even their religion (by the exertions of the great Xavier) widely disseminated throughout the empire. For forty-five years the Portuguese influence steadily increased; until at length the enormous increase of the number of followers of the new religion, and the immense export of gold to Portugal—amounting for some years to three hundred tons per annum, if we may believe the account of Kœmpfer—aroused the jealousy of the reigning monarch, the Taico-Same, of whom we have spoken as the conqueror of Corea. The Christians were banished by an edict of this Tycoon in 1587; numbers of them sent to perish in the wars in Corea; and from this time the existence of the Portuguese was a continual struggle, until the time of their final expulsion by the aid of the Dutch.

The entrance of the last-mentioned nation on the scene brings us to that portion of the history to which, as we have indicated by the title of this paper, we desire to direct especial attention. "In the year of our Lord God 1598," says Purchas, "Peter Vanderbaeg and Hans Vanderguck, chiefs of the Dutch Indian Company, made ready a fleet of five Hollanders to traffic unto the Indies. Tempted by the success of the Portuguese, the Dutch desired to enter upon the trade of those regions in spite of the Dons, the Bulls of the Pope, or the fires of the Inquisition. The Admiral was stout Master Jacque Mahay, in the good ship *Erasmus*." The pilot of this ship, and almost the only man of the crew who survived the expedition, was William Addames, the Robinson Crusoe of Japan, to whom both Dutch and English owed their introduction. We will extract his account of his adventures, as it is given in the précis in the Record Office Calendar; premising that for eleven years he was a prisoner at Yeddo unable to communicate with his friends or even with any of his own nation. The Emperor's despotic friendship prevented his leaving the country, whilst the jealousy of the Dutch and Portuguese intercepted all his letters. At

length the letter of which the following is the précis, found its way to England in 1612:—

“October 23, 1611.—William Addames to [‘my unknown friends and countrymen, desiring this letter by good means, or the news or copy of this letter may come into the hands of one or many of my acquaintance in Limehouse or elsewhere or in Kent in Gillingham by Rochester.’\*] Hearing that certain English merchants are in Java, he is emboldened to write, desiring the Worshipful Company to pardon his ‘stoutness.’ Is a Kentish man, born in Gillingham, and was brought up in Limehouse, apprentice 12 years to Nicholas Diggines, and has served as master and pilot in† Her Majesty’s ships and the Company of Barbary Merchants about 12 years, until the Indian traffic from Holland began. Was hired in 1598 by the [Dutch East] India Company as pilot-major to a fleet of five ships, the General, Jaques Maihore, which set sail about the 23rd June. Account of their voyage to Cape Gonsalves, Brazil, and Annabona, arriving at the Straits of Magellan, 6th April 1599, where there was much snow, ‘and with cold on the one side and hunger on the other our men grew weak.’ Forced to winter there until 24th September, in which time, for lack of victuals, many of their men died of hunger. Refreshed themselves at Chili, finding the people of a good nature, but who would not trade with them by reason of the Spaniards. Directed their course to the island of Much (Mocha), but finding none of their fleet there, sailed for St. Maria, and came by the Cape, where they anchored. The people would not suffer them to land, ‘shooting great store of arrows at us; nevertheless, hoping to find refreshing, some 30 men landed by force, who drove the ‘wild people’ from the water side, ‘most of our men being hurt with their arrows.’ Made signs of friendship, showing them iron, silver, and cloth, to give in exchange for victuals. The next day, 9th November 1599, the captain with 22 officers and men, armed with muskets, landed, contrary to that which was concluded on board, the people making signs they should do so; ‘and when they were about a musket shot from the boats, more than a thousand Indians which lay in ambush, immediately fell upon our men with such weapons as they

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\* The words in brackets form the indorsement of this curious letter.

† Addames speaks of *Her Majesty*; for though this is written in 1611, it will be remembered that he has not heard from England since his departure in 1598, and consequently believes Queen Elizabeth to be still reigning.



" had and slew them all to our knowledge.' Scarce men left  
 " to wind up their anchor. Went over to St. Maria, where  
 " was the admiral who had left Mocha the day before their arri-  
 " val, ' having the general, master, and all his officers murdered  
 " on land ; so that all our officers were slain, the one bemoaning  
 " the other. His good friend, Timothy Shotten, pilot in that  
 " ship. Consultation at St. Maria to take all things out of  
 " one ship and burn the other, but the new-made captains would  
 " not ; resolution to direct their course for Japan, having un-  
 " derstood that cloth was good merchandise there, and that the  
 " King's [of Spain's] ships were seeking them on the coast of  
 " Peru. Left St. Maria, 27th November, ' with our two ships,  
 " and for the rest of our fleet we had no news of them.' Lost  
 " their consort in ' a wondrous storm of wind as ever I was in,  
 " with much rain.' Found not the Cape they sought, ' by  
 " reason that it lyeth false in all cards and maps and globes.'  
 " Came in sight of land, 19th of April 1600, ' at which time  
 " there were no more than six, besides myself, that could stand  
 " upon his feet.' Anchored about a league from Bungo ; not  
 " being able to resist, many people came aboard, but they did  
 " no harm, ' neither of us understanding the one the other.'  
 " The king of Bungo showed them great friendship. Death  
 " of six of their men out of 24. Addames sent for to the  
 " Emperor's court, about 80 English leagues from Bungo. Au-  
 " dience of the Emperor ; after which he was commanded to  
 " prison, but well used. Second audience two days after ;  
 " questions demanded by the Emperor ; was again sent to pri-  
 " son, but his lodging bettered, where he remained 39 days, and  
 " looked every day to be crossed [crucified] as the custom of  
 " justice is in Japan as hanging is in our land.' The Jesuits  
 " and Portugals against them, telling the Emperor they were  
 " thieves and robbers of all nations, and procuring friends to  
 " hasten the writer's death. The Emperor's answer, ' therefore,  
 " against reason and justice to put them to death.' In 41  
 " days brought before the Emperor again, who allowed Addames  
 " to go to the ship and see his countrymen, when he heard that  
 " they with the ship were come to the city ; was received with  
 " weeping eyes, they having understood that he was executed  
 " long since. Everything taken from the ship, with all the  
 " writer's instruments and books, unknown to the Emperor, who  
 " commanded that they should be restored ; but they got back  
 " nothing, ' saving 50,000 ryals in ready-money was commanded  
 " to be given us, and in his presence brought,' for buying victuals

“ and other charges. Their ship ordered from Sakay (Sakai)  
“ two or three leagues from Ozaka, where the Emperor was, to  
“ the easternmost part called Quanto, about a 120 leagues near  
“ to Yeddo. Suit, in which much of their money was spent, to  
“ go where the Hollanders had trade. Mutiny among their  
“ men ; every one would be a commander, and have part of the  
“ money given by the Emperor, which was divided about two  
“ years after they had been in Japan, when their ship was denied  
“ them, and they were ordered to abide in Japan. The Empe-  
“ ror gave every man 2lbs. of rice a day, and eleven or twelve  
“ ducats yearly ; himself, the captain, and mariners all alike.  
“ In process of four or five years, was again called before the  
“ Emperor ; built him a ship of about 80 tons at his command,  
“ he coming aboard to see it, liked it very well ; by which means  
“ I came in more favor with him, so that I came often in his  
“ presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at  
“ length a yearly stipend to live upon, much about seventy du-  
“ cats by the year with 2lbs. of rice a day, daily.’ Taught  
“ the Emperor geometry and mathematics, and pleased him so  
“ ‘ that what I said he would not contrary.’ Wonder of his  
“ former enemies the Spaniards and Portugals. After five years  
“ made supplication to go out of the land to see his wife and  
“ children ; the Emperor not well pleased, and would not let him  
“ go. Further supplications, and promise that Addames would  
“ be a means that both English and Hollanders should traffic in  
“ Japan, ‘ but by no means he would let me go.’ Leave given  
“ to the captain, who sailed to Patani, and was shot in a fight  
“ with Portugals, ‘ so as yet I think no certain news is known  
“ whether I be living or dead.’ Entreats that his being in Ja-  
“ pan may be made known to his wife and two children, ‘ which  
“ thing only is my greatest grief of heart and conscience.’ Is  
“ not unknown in Ratcliffe and Limehouse, by name to Nich.  
“ Diggines, Thos. Best, Nich. and Wm. Isaac, Wm. Jones, M.  
“ Becket, and many others, ‘ therefore may this letter come to  
“ any of their hands, or the copy ; I do know that compassion and  
“ mercy is so, that my friends and kindred shall have news, that  
“ I do as yet live in this vale of my sorrowful pilgrimage.’  
“ Built another ship of 120 tons for the Emperor, in which  
“ Addames made a voyage from Miako to Yeddo ; it was  
“ lent in 1609 to the governor of Manilla to go with 80 of his  
“ men to Acapulco. Ship of 1,000 tons cast away on the  
“ coast of Japan. The governor of Manilla sent in a bigger  
“ ship, made by Addames, to Acapulco in 1610, which the

"Spaniards have now in the Philippinas. Another ship returned in 1611 with a great present and an ambassador to the Emperor. The Emperor has given Addames a living like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen that be as his slaves or servants, 'which or the like precedent was never here before given to any stranger.' Knows not whether he shall come out of this land; there has been no means until now, through the trade of the Hollanders. Arrival of two Holland ships at Firando in 1609, where they were received with great friendship at the court, making a condition with the Emperor yearly to send a ship or two, and so with the Emperor's pass departed. Also of another ship in 1611, with cloth, lead, elephants' teeth, damask, raw silk, pepper, and other commodities, wondrously well received. 'The Hollanders have here an Indies of money;' merchandise vendible in Japan, raw silk, damask, black taffetas, black and red cloth, lead, and such like goods. Understands there is a settled trade by his countrymen in the East Indies, and presumes that amongst some, either merchants, masters, or mariners, he must be known. Description of the Island of Japan; the people of good nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in war; justice severely executed, without partiality, upon transgressors of the law; not a land better governed by civil policy; very superstitious in their religion, and of divers opinions; many Jesuits and Franciscan Friars in the land who have converted many to be Christians, and have many churches in the island. Hopes by some means or other to hear of his wife and children, and prays all into whose hands this letter may come to do the best that his wife, his children, and good acquaintance may hear of him, and that before his death, he may hear news or see some of his friends again."

This letter was probably forwarded by Augustin Spalding, the Company's Factor at Bantam; which place, next to Patani in Siam, was at this time the chief emporium of their Asiatic trade east of Surat.\*

\* It is worthy of notice that at this time (Circa 1612) the trade with the East Indian Archipelago was more important than that with the Indian Peninsula itself. This vast trade was lost to England during the troubled period of the Civil Wars. The Dutch took advantage of our distracted condition at home, to drive us from the Eastern Seas; and the supine and unpatriotic foreign policy of the Restoration completed the ruin of a trade which Cromwell's determined measures and maritime successes had for a time promised to restore. At the time of which we are speaking

If this was the first letter which was not intercepted or did not miscarry (and we have no record of any earlier one), the Company certainly lost no time in sending out orders to their agents to adopt Addames' suggestion about opening a trade with Japan. As early as January 13, 1613, the latter writes again to Spalding to say that he has at last received letters from England by the *Globe*, and that the Governor of the East India Company, (Sir Thomas Smythe) writes "that he will send a ship to Japan to establish a factory." Addames continues—"Told the Emperor that next year the King of England would send his ambassador, with merchants and merchandise, to trade in Japan, at which he was very glad, and rejoiced that strange nations had such good opinions, with many other good speeches. \* \* \* I do praise God for it, who hath given me favor with the Emperor and goodwill to me so far as that I may boldly say our countrymen shall be so welcome and free, in comparison, as in the river of London. Fears there will be no profit for English commodities, which are here so good cheap, by reason of the ships from New Spain and of the Hollanders. Cloth, eight or nine years ago very dear, is now very cheap. Commodities brought by the Hollanders, and their prices. Great profit made on China goods. In respect of the wars in the Moluccas, Japan is very profitable unto the Chinese; and if the wars do continue in the Moluccas, Japan, with the traffic they have here, will be a great scourge unto the Spaniards. If the English merchants can get the handling of trade with the Chinese, they will make great profit in Japan, and the East India Company will not have need to send money out of England, for there is gold and silver in Japan in abundance. The Hollanders are now settled; has got them that privilege in Japan which neither the Spaniards nor Portuguese could get these 50 or 60 years. The charges in Japan are not great; presents for the Emperor, the King, and the Secretaries; other customs here be none. If a ship come, she should make for the easterly part of Japan in lat. 35° 10', where the King and the Emperor's

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in the text, the Company's factories were dotted about on every shore in these regions. In spite of the formidable hostility of the Hollanders they had seven stations of more or less importance in Sumatra, one at Macassar in the Celebes, four in Borneo, four in Java, besides very flourishing establishments in Pegu, Siam, and Camboja; and not unfrequent intercourse with Malacca and Cochin China.

“ court is, and there are the best harbours ; not to Firando, “ where the Hollanders come. Has sent ‘ a pattron of Japan,’ “ [a chart or map] for security of the ships, the same as he made “ for the Emperor. Thanks for the present of a Bible and other “ books. Condolences on the death of many of their good “ friends. No strange news, the whole land being in peace. “ The people very subject to their Governors and their “ superiors ; very zealous and superstitious in religion. Many “ sects, but the most part pray to one saint, called Ameeda. “ There are many Christians according to the Romish order. “ The Franciscans put down in 1612. Many Jesuits in “ Nangasaki. Very severe in justice, having no respect of “ persons. Their cities governed with great civility and love, “ for the most part none going to law. A thief rarely put in “ prison, but presently executed. If a murderer escape, the “ Emperor offers a reward equal to £300 sterling, and he who “ knows where the murderer is, receives the gold without “ trouble. Their cities may be travelled all over at night “ without peril. Is known all along the sea-coast, and must “ be inquired for by the name of Augin Samma. Hopes the “ Worshipful Company will be satisfied with his service. “ Thanks Sir Tho. Smythe for lending his wife £20, which “ he is ready to re-pay. Knew not that the English traded to “ the Indies till 1611 ; the Hollanders have kept it most secret.”

The fulfilment of Sir Thomas Smythe's promise to establish the Japan trade was not long delayed. In April 1611, Captain John Saris had been commissioned as “ General ” of a fleet of three ships, the *Clove*, *Hector*, and *Thomas*, to sail from London for “ a voyage to the East Indies, set forth by divers merchants of London, with authority to use martial law.” A letter to the Company from Bantam in November of the following year, after stating that the trade there is very rich, and that all the ships are full of indigo, silk, and spices, adds that the *Clove* is about to proceed to Japan, and that a junk had already been sent thither with “ the remainders of the fourth and fifth voyage,” *i. e.*, with the balance of the cargoes brought out from England in those voyages remaining unsold after the trade with Bantam. On the last day of 1612, Captain Saris, still at Bantam, orders a thousand sacks of pepper to be sent on board for the Japan trade. He writes that he “ has nothing to keep New Year's Day “ with, but hopes to be provided either with ducks, hens, “ goats, or geese.” On the 20th of January 1613, he sails for Japan.

Of the voyage of the *Clove* from Bantam to Firando we have several accounts in the letters of the various Agents who were subsequently settled by Captain Saris in several of the ports of Japan. On the 24th of February they were at Bachian, one of the Moluccas, at which place, and at Tidore, they suffered many indignities at the hands both of the "Flemings" (who "threatened to make the *Clove* a prize, alleging that the land was theirs") and of the Spaniards. On the 23rd April, at "the unfortunate Island of Doy," they lost three men; and on the 12th June they anchored at Firando, where the King received them very favorably. Addames, their patron, was at this time, according to his own account, 250 leagues up-country; but he immediately posted down to Firando to meet his countrymen, and took the "General," Captain Saris, back with him to the Emperor at Yeddo. At Miako horses were provided for them by the Government, and at Yeddo they were courteously received by the treasurer and other high officials. Here the same difficulty occurred in a point of etiquette, as that which occasioned so much annoyance to the European embassies not twenty years ago, through the fact that all communications addressed to the Emperor must be transmitted by one of the Imperial servants. Captain Saris, like a true Briton, thought that the envoy of H. B. M. King James ought to be allowed personally to deliver an autograph letter from his royal master. Ultimately the Emperor himself solved the difficulty by coming forth to meet the Englishman, and receiving the royal letter from his secretary as it was handed to the latter by Saris. Addames' account of the interview is not without value; especially as the Emperor, strange to say, seems to have taken particular interest in the question (at that time continually agitating the commercial and maritime world of Europe) of the possibility of a north-west passage to India. "He seemed very glad of the General's intention to settle a factory in his land, not far from his court, and asked if part of the General's coming was not for discovery to the north-westward or northward. 'Now, in my simple judgment, if the north-west passage be ever discovered, it will be discovered by this way of Japan;' and so thus with divers other speeches most friendly used I took my leave of him." Both Saris and Addames, as well as Cocks, (who was the chief of the agents brought out by the *Clove*, and who was subsequently settled at Firando as a sort of English Consul-General,) continually impressed on the authorities at

home the advisability of attempting the north-west or north-east passages from Japan. Saris writes, with rather confused geographical notions—"If ever these passages be found, it must be from these parts; I have already had entrance to the 'Island of Yeddo, which is thought to be part of Tartary. The 'Hollanders had taken this discovery in hand before, but that 'they have so many irons in the fire with their wars in the Moluccas against the Spaniards." Addames, with a practical energy characteristic of the man, makes all the arrangements necessary for undertaking such voyages of discovery, "if your Worships have any such purpose." He offers (on the strength of the ships he had built for the Emperor) to make such shipping as shall be required; and only requests "some 15 or 20 "good mariners to be sent over, for the people of this land are "very stout seamen—for victuals there be plenty, but cordage, "canvas, tar, pitch, rosin compasses, hour-glasses, a pair of "globes, and some cards or maps containing the whole world, "are wanted. If furnished with these things, you will find me "not negligent in such an honorable service. I have been "somewhat long in making the particulars apparent of this "discovery, which I trust shall be one of the most famous that "ever hath been." Good Master Addames' list of ship-stores would certainly not be thought in these days an excessive one for an Arctic voyage!

The General and his *cicerone*, after obtaining all the concessions they desired at Yeddo, made a tour in the country; they visited Quanto, where the Emperor's eldest son resided, and afterwards returned to Firando by way of Yeddo. We now have many details, in the letters that follow, of the Japan trade. Saris naively tells the Company that he cannot do much with his broadcloth (although there is great store of silver amongst the natives) because "they are so addicted to silks that they "do not enter into consideration of the benefit of wearing "cloth; *but time may alter their minds!*" We are also told that there is much cloth in the country left unsold, that had been brought from New Spain, Manilla, and Holland, and abundance of elephants' teeth brought by the Hollanders. Tin is as good cheap as in England, and ordnance not in any great request; abundance of cotton in the country; pepper and cloves not much used, and "now being overlaid, is very cheap." Addames strongly recommends that 1,000 bars of steel should be sent out as merchandise; and, for presents to the Emperor, "Rousse (Russian) glass of the

greatest sort to glass him a room of two fathoms four square ;" fine lamb-skins, holland, and three or four pair of spectacle glasses. The singular cheapness of so many commodities usually relied upon by the merchant-adventurers of the period as saleable at a large profit, is complained of by all the factors, and exhibits in a strong light the commercial enterprise and energy of their rivals the Dutch merchants. The Flemings had settled themselves three or four years before "our arrival," and had already built a house at Firando which had cost them £2,500 ; "they disperse themselves to look for trade, as we must do the like." Tempest Peacocke, who seems to have been the factor next in authority to Cocks, declares that he has small hopes of the place, for that there is "a great depreciation "in the price of cloth, and English commodities will not yield "cent. per cent. at Firando." It will be remembered that the method of trading in those days was to sell as much cargo and to buy as much of the productions of the country as possible, at *each* port visited ; thus each port, if trade prospered, would yield a large profit on a great portion of the cargo, and would also supply the materials for a similar profit at the next port visited. Thus, in a long East Indian voyage, the capital originally invested in the venture would be turned over many times ; and if the profits each time were usually as large as they seem to have been, from the contempt with which Master Peacocke speaks of cent. per cent. at Firando, the lucrative nature of this early commerce may easily be understood. The method pursued is well illustrated by the trading directions left by Captain Saris, on his return to England in the *Clove*, with the chief agent in Japan. He is "first to fit a junk for Siam and "Patani with cloth, elephants' teeth, &c., and get there by the "5th February, before the Chinese Junks. From Patani to "procure Chinese wares and return to Siam. Inquiries to be "made of the commerce to be had with the people of Corea. "Frugality to be used, the place requiring great charge, and "their knowledge as yet producing little profit." Saris leaves with him 16,000 ryals in money and directs him, with regard to his bearing towards the court, "rather please them often with small matters than seldom with things of worth." With Cocks were left, as his subordinates, Peacocke, Wickham, Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Saris, and William Nelson, besides Addames : they are to be dispersed at Siam,\* Patani, Surunga,

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It appears odd that the Siam and Patani agencies should be made subordinate to the factor at Firando. It was probably on account of the



Osaka, and Tushima (probably Tokousima in Sikok); and Peacocke was to succeed Cocks in case of death; after him, Wickham.

We hear of Captain Saris (the "General") at Bantam on the 2nd January 1614, whence he writes a full account to the Company of his settlement of a trade at Firando, having "obtained large privileges from the Emperor, with the hope of venting Guzerat commodities and procuring China silks, Brazil wood and skins." Later on we shall find Saris, on his return to England, recommending a singularly miscellaneous list of wares to be sent out for the trade in Japan,—a list which gives us a lively picture of the curious semi-civilised state of the country at this period. The cargo subsequently despatched on this recommendation consisted of broad-cloth, baize, lead, galley-pots, writing-tables, refined camphor, elephants' teeth, Holland cloth, cambric and lawns, slesier-cloth, pictures of wars (!), steel, skins, sanders-wood, raw silk of Canton and Lanctou, (this was probably to be procured from the Chinese Junks at Patani, *en route*), and sundry other things.

Towards the close of 1615, a considerable extension of the trade was obtained by the opening up of the dominions of one of the greatest of the Feudatory Princes—curiously enough an ancestor of the Daimio with whom we were embroiled at the time of the *fracas* at Kagosima a little while ago—the Prince of Satsuma, to whose family, as we have already noticed, belong not only the territories about Kagosima, but also the great outlying fief of the Loo-choo Islands, which was conquered about the time of which we are writing. Raphe Copindall, one of the Company's factors, obtained letters from the Emperor to "the King of Shashma (Satsuma) to grant the "English free liberty of trade in the Leques (Loo-choos) and all "his other dominions;" and it was arranged that Wickham should go there in February 1616, and remain there. Copindall, in his letter announcing the fact, informs us that the King of Shashma is "King of certain of the western-most "islands of Japan, a man of great power, and has conquered the "Leques Islands, which not long since were under the Government of China; Leque Grande yields great store of the "best sort of ambergris, and will vent 1,000 or 15,000 (*sic*)

high character of Cocks, and the necessity that existed for the presence of such a man in Japan. The fact, however, serves to illustrate the importance attached to the Japan trade at this time.

"pieces of coarse cloth yearly." Cocks writes that white and brown gingham will prove a good commodity in the new market.

Coppindall appears to have had but a poor opinion of the value of the Japan trade in general; "what little profit is made is eaten up by great presents and charges, which this country requireth, though no customs are paid." He affirms that the Dutch had for a time overthrown the English trade in broad-cloth; he has a good hope that "a course will be taken to make them pay dearly for all the cloth they have out of England, for such a business the Parliament had in hand at the time of his coming out of England." After enlarging on the shamefully low prices at which the Hollanders sell English broad-cloth, he piously adds: "The Devell hawle some of them for their paines." He sees, however, several very good reasons why the Company should not withdraw from Japan, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they labour. "Next to the hope of profit to be made in Firando "by trade into China, if it can be obtained, is the trade of Siam (*i. e.* "between Siam and Japan), which is like to be a great help to mitigate the great charge of continuing this factory, which must of force be continued, if the Company join not with the Hollanders to watch an opportunity of setting foot in the Moluccas, as the Hollanders, Portugals, and Spaniards have done, and then this place will be a commodious store-house to furnish the Company with men, munition, and victuals, at much cheaper rates than elsewhere, for which cause the Hollanders principally continue this factory." The experience of another year had by this time taught the English agents to make many modifications in their lists of trading commodities. The Company is now (1615) requested to send out yearly several sorts of India cloth and new paintings, for the Japanese are said to desire English goods not so much for cheapness as for strangeness, "having both silk and linen stuffs made rather better and cheaper than we can afford ours." Of the excellence of the silk manufactures of Japan, Cocks subsequently speaks in high terms; "some of them may be compared to those of Naples and other parts in Christendom: none such go to Bantam." Quicksilver is brought by the Company's ships from Siam and Patani, but the Emperor is the only customer for it. There is, however, we are told, a capital market for raw silk and also for lead; and later we hear of steel and iron being in great demand. Wax, pepper, and lead, are imported at Osaka and Miako by Eaton, who writes to ksa for more of the two

first. We read of several cargoes of "red-wood" and deer-skins being sent to Siam.

It is interesting to compare these lists, and those of Captain Saris mentioned above, with the export and import lists, in the tariffs negotiated by Sir Harry Parkes in 1867, as set forth in the Parliamentary papers. Silk in its various forms still holds its place as a leading export, but the importation of the raw material has apparently ceased; and this must be accounted for by an increased cultivation of the silkworm in the country. In the export list we still see timber, peony-bark or "botanpi," and old deer-horns; whilst hides and deer-skins appear no longer to be obtained, doubtless on account of the small quantity of pasture and of uncultivated land in Japan at the present day. Sir Rutherford Alcock informs us that almost every acre of the whole country, as far as he was able to examine it, is under the plough. The Import Tariff shews us that cotton and wooden manufactures (but no longer linen fabrics) still form the bulk of the imports, with steel, lead, and other metals; and to these are of course now added many of the innumerable products of western civilisation—"printed books" in the nineteenth century fitly taking the place occupied by "pictures of wars" in the seventeenth.

We have seen that the Dutch were formidable competitors of our countrymen in commercial matters; and their rivalry did not confine itself to affairs of buying and selling. In every port their superior numbers and their better organization enabled them to carry matters with a high hand; and we often find them forcibly driving their rivals out of a good market. Nearly all the letters written home at this period represent them as already far more powerful in the East than the Spaniards and Portuguese, although the latter had been so much earlier in the field, and at the same time as far more hostile to English progress and (if possible) more jealous of English encroachment. It well illustrates the old English animosity against the Spaniards, generated by the Armada and never fully appeased until Trafalgar, that in spite of all the ill-treatment experienced from the Dutch, English captains and English factors were always ready to co-operate with the latter against the former. Cocks, writing from Firando of the report circulated by the Dutch, that the East India Companies of Holland and England were about to amalgamate, says: "If this be true, it will be an easy matter to drive both Spaniards and Portugals out of these eastern parts of the world." He recounts gleefully how the Hollanders have

already daunted the Spaniards and Portugals, especially in the Moluccas; and adds, as if to impress on the home authorities the overwhelming power of the Dutch, that he "cannot conceive what will come in the end of the daily practice of the Hollanders to rob and pilfer the China junks; if the Emperor should fall out with them and debar them from trade in his dominions, they will make prize of Japans as well as Chinas, for out of doubt their forces at sea are sufficient in these parts to do what they list, if they have but a victualling place to retire unto." Public opinion at home, however, at this time was more advanced, and more sensible of the danger of the Dutch competition. In the Court minutes of the East India Company for January 4, 1614, we find that the Company has received "comfortable news from thence [the East Indies], and the Hollanders discouragements; the Hollanders are of a more humble spirit than formerly, because of their losses; the English ought not to give way to be debarred from the trade of the Indies." Notwithstanding these opinions, the Company cannot as yet overcome their old prejudices; at this very Court it was decided "that it is convenient to yield to the motion of the Hollanders to enjoy the places they have conquered or first discovered, where the English are to pay them custom, with condition that the Hollanders do the like in those places where the English claim a similar prerogative, that by a peaceable agreement they may both become strong against the Portuguese and Spaniards, the common enemy." About the same time a narrative was drawn up by order of the Company, "in order to prove the *interloping*\* of the Hollanders, and to answer Sir Noel Caron the States' ambassador's suit for the restitution of two ships taken."

Poor William Addames, the real hero of the early intercourse with Japan, seems to have met with but scanty gratitude from his countrymen, except at such times as they stood in need of his good offices with the Japanese Government. Captain Saris, who owed his success at Firando and Yeddo entirely to Addames, appears to have been jealous of him throughout. In his reports to the Company he speaks in disparaging terms of Addames' services, taking to himself most of the credit of the negotiations; and in his instructions to Cocks, on leaving, he tells the latter that Addames is only fit to be

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\* This word appears to have already become the technical term for describing an infringement of the rights of the Company, though its monopoly had only existed thirteen years.

master of the junk, and to be used as linguist at Court when there is no employment for him at sea. It is true that a formal agreement had been made with him by Saris on behalf of the Company; but even this was worded somewhat to Addames' disadvantage:—"The East Indian Company building their hopes upon the long experience of Captain Addames for settling a factory in Japan, sent out the *Clove*, commanded by Captain John Saris, *who has since obtained large privileges from the Emperor, and procured Addames' freedom.* Being asked whether he would return home or remain as the Company's servant, and upon what terms, Captain Addames replied that his desire was to go to England, but having spent so many years in vain, he would not now go home with an empty purse, and was willing to serve the Company either by sea or land, but demanded £12 a month, saying the Flemings had given him £15. The General's offer of £80 per annum was refused; but after further consultations, Captain Addames is entertained in the Company's service with a salary of £100 a year to be paid at the end of two years, or so soon as news shall come out of England of the arrival of the *Clove*. Signed by Wm. Addames, in the presence of Rich. Cocks, Tempest Peacocke, and Rich. Wickham." This agreement appears to have been considered by Saris as binding only so far as might be determined by the necessities of the English trade, for he writes to Cocks that "the forced agreement with Addames "can not be eschewed, the Flemings and Spaniards making false proffers of great entertainment, and himself more affected to them than to his own nation, we wholly destitute of "language." He adds: "It is necessary that you stir him, his "condition being well known unto you as unto myself, otherwise you shall have little service of him, the country affording great liberty whereunto he is much affected. He is not "to have the disbursing of any of the Company's money; no "need to send him to the Emperor for setting out the junk, it "being already granted. If he says she cannot depart without a "licence, believe him not, for his wish is but to have the Company "bear his charges to his wife; but rather than he betake himself "to the Spaniards or Flemings, make a virtue of necessity; and "let him go." The inferior agents of the Company, Wickham and others, were not slow to imitate this unkind attitude of Saris towards Addames; but Cocks, who seems to have been a man of great judgment and of good feeling, constantly interfered on his behalf either from prudential motives or from

a sincere regard for Addames—and insisted on his subordinates behaving towards the latter in a way that was certainly no other than was demanded by the justice of the case. He appears to have allowed him to go to the Emperor in spite of Saris' directions to the contrary; for shortly after the departure of the *Glove* he writes to Wickham at Yeddo not to detain Captain Addames after the business with the Emperor is dispatched, but to send him back to Firando, where there will be necessary use of him; and he requests Wickham to give him content with kind speeches, "for he is persuaded he could live seven years with him before any extraordinary speeches should happen between them;" and he proceeds to explain "the necessary use they have of him." After this we find Addames making a successful trading voyage to Siam as Captain of the Company's junk, Wickham and Sayer going with him as merchants. They appear, however, not to have agreed well during the voyage; for after their return, Cocks writes to Wickham that he "finds Captain Addames is sorry that he was mistaken in advising or writing against Wickham as he did, and is glad to hear they are good friends and drank together." The last that we hear of Addames is contained in a letter from one of the Company's Captains to the chief factor in Siam in 1616, when Addames has just returned to Firando after an unsuccessful visit to the Emperor at Yeddo. We shall see that by this time the privileges acquired by Addames' early friendship with the former Emperor had been rendered null and void by the accession of a new dynasty. Captain Totton writes, in sailor-like language, that the English "cannot be permitted to sell any goods aloft as formerly, all Christians being banished from aloft, and must keep in Firando only." Taking leave here of Captain Addames, we may mention that the last notice that we have of the astute Captain Saris is in keeping with what we have seen of him. Eaton writes from Firando to Wickham at Miako, in June 1616, giving him the news just arrived out of England by the good ship *Thomas*, and mentioning that "Captain Saris is in good estimation with the Company; he has married Mr. Mexses' daughter in White Chapel, and it is thought he will come out this year in the best fleet ever sent to the East Indies."

The first grant of trading privileges, to which we have already alluded, was made by Ticus Same, or Taico Same, (Addames' patron), in October 1613. It gives a "licence to the King of England's subjects, Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor, and

“the Company of East India Merchants for ever, freely to enter the ports or empire of Japan, and to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own manner, with all nations, customs free.” The Japanese Government agreed not only to assist all ships in danger, but to return what might be saved to the captain, merchant, or their assigns; to permit the English to build in any part of the empire, and at departure to make free sale of their houses; the goods of any deceased were to be at the disposal of the “Cape Merchant,” at whose discretion also all offences were to be punished, “and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.” Commodities bought by the Emperor’s subjects were to be paid for without delay, or the wares were to be returned. No arrest was to be made of merchandise for the Emperor’s service, but immediate payment to be made at such prices as the Cape Merchant could sell them for. The English were to be furnished with men or victuals at need upon payment; and permission was given “to go for discovery for Yeadzo” (Yeddo?) or any other part of the empire, without the Emperor’s further pass. This treaty was dated “from our Castle of Sorongo (Surunga) this first day of the 9th month, and in the 18th year of our Dary (Dairi) according to our computation. Sealed with our broad seal, Minna Mittono Yei Ye Yeas.” We see by a letter from Cocks to Wickham (forwarded “per *Sr. George the Portugal*”) that the former had already established himself at Firando, and that the latter was trading either at Ximonaxeque, (doubtless Simonosaki, a port at the south-west corner of Nipon) or at Yeddo, at the time of this important treaty. Shortly afterwards we find Cocks ordering Wickham, now either at Yeddo or Miako, when he shall have received money for the goods in his charge, either from the Emperor or elsewhere, “to furnish Tome Saime, the young King of Firando, with 1,000 *tais*, or what he stands in need of, taking a receipt for re-payment at demand in Firando.” In January 1614, Wickham is still at Yeddo; instructions are sent to him for his voyage to Sherongo (Surunga) and other places with a cargo of merchandise; he is to “go overland from Oseky (Osaka) to Surunga, to choose a native assistant, for much deceit is used; to make much of friends and use the country people kindly, for fair words will do much, and as soon are spoken as foul.” The last injunction is again impressed on Wickham at a later period by Cocks, who tells him to remember “the old proverb, that fayre words make fools fayne.” In February, Master Tempest Peacocke, the second

in command under Cocks, is reported as ready to go to Langa-saque (Nagasaki). On the 1st of March, Eaton is at Qsaka ; he writes to Wickham at Yeddo that " all the houses and " churches that belonged to the Friars and Jesuits are pulled " down and burnt, so as now there is no more Christians of " Japanners in these parts." He adds that at least 750 persons have been apprehended for buying and selling tobacco, contrary to the Emperor's command, and are in jeopardy of their lives; and that great store of tobacco had been burnt.\* The news of the commencement of a persecution of the Christians is fully confirmed in a subsequent letter from Cocks at Firando. He says—" It " is generally reported that all *Padres* are to avoid out of " Japan ; it seems the name of Christian is odious. On Sunday " we put out our flag, as our custom is ; but in the afternoon " Foyne Same the old King (of Firando) sent word to take it in, " because it had a cross on it. Cocks explained ' that the cross " was not made in the form of the cross of Christ, but as a badge " or token whereby the English nation was known from all " others ;' yet all would not serve, but down it must, full sore " against my will, Foyne telling me it was the Emperor's will, it " should be so, only that we might put out any other mark we " would."

In the same month (March, 1614) Peacocke, having exhausted the trade at Langa-saque (Nagasaki) is ready to depart for Cochinchina ; of the disastrous result of that voyage we shall hear presently. Sayer is at Tushma (Tokousima), but " is out of " hope of any good to be done there or at Corea, and is very " desirous to go for Focaty." In April, Eaton writes that he has been at Miako with goods, but could only sell very few at very poor rates ; he has, however, heard that the Emperor has already bought some goods, and is hesitating about buying the ordnance and gunpowder. In May, Cocks is still at Firando, and is busy building, having more than 100 men at work ; he complains that Sayer has not sold one yard of English cloth at Tushma or Faccaty, and that the cloth sold to the Emperor has been returned as moth-eaten. Eaton from Osaka explains how it is that the market is generally bad for cloth—" all the gentlemen are at Yeddo who buy cloth." The whole

\* It is a curious fact that three contemporary monarchs, in far distant parts of the world, and each unknown to the others, issued edicts against, or published their objection to, the fragrant weed almost simultaneously ; viz., James I. in England (in the celebrated *Counter-blaste*, imprinted in London in 1604), Jehanghir in India, and Taico Same in Japan.



available stock was sent up to Yeddo accordingly; for in June, Cocks regrets that the cloth was not sent overland to Yeddo, as the Dutch are likely to serve the market first, but now it is too late, to their everlasting scandal; "we shall never have the like time to have vented our cloth as at this general assembly of the nobility."

This gathering of the nobles at Yeddo is a very important event, for it appears to have been the first trial of a system which has subsequently formed an essential feature in the policy of the Government of the Tycoon towards its formidable and almost independent Feudatories. Two years later, apparently in consequence of the success of this trial, a further step was taken; the Emperor with his son the King of Yeddo (so we learn by a letter from Firando to the factor in Siam), has sent for all the Kings of Japan to come to Yeddo and bring their wives or queens with them, there to stay seven years; "the King of Firando left to go ten days past, most of the others having gone before." The policy thus inaugurated—that, namely, of compelling the feudatories to reside in the capital under the eye of the Imperial Court,—whilst it has undoubtedly consolidated and confirmed the power of the Tycoonat—has in recent years been the chief obstacle to peaceable foreign intercourse with Japan. The great Daimios are the most obstinately conservative class in the Empire; and their presence with large bodies of armed followers at Yeddo, a source of strength to the Tycoon in crushing any individual pretensions, seriously impedes the free action of the Government in any question of national progress to which they are collectively opposed. Moreover, the turbulent character of the armed retainers, protected by the name and influence of their lords, renders the residence of foreign diplomatic agents at the capital (as we have already seen) a matter of considerable personal risk.

In June 1614, Cocks is taken ill; and this is the occasion of an interesting notice of a Japanese *Sanatorium*, for he informs his correspondent that he intends going to the hot-baths at Yshew, an island of Nobisanas, to recover his health. Japan is notoriously the country of hot-springs, as of every other kind of volcanic action; but the medical properties of these waters appear to have been overlooked of late years.

In October of the same year, we hear of two Japanese junks at Siam, "which had obtained trade by force, having been prohibited to go without license within the walls, for breach of which eight (all Japanese) were killed in one day

This is probably the last notice of any Japanese voluntarily and lawfully leaving their country; for the same edict (to which we shall refer presently) which expelled all Christians from Japan, also prohibited all Japanese subjects from journeying beyond the limits of the Empire.

During the last quarter of this year several events happened of considerable importance to the English in Japan. The old Emperor, Taico Same, appears to have died; and his kinsman Ogusho Same to have succeeded, notwithstanding the wealth and influence of Fidaia Same, Taico's son. This change, though it somewhat altered the state of affairs, for Taico had been Addames' fast friend—had not such an ill effect upon the English trade as the next change of monarch in 1616, when Shongo Same succeeded Ogusho. At this period took place the first attempt at founding a regular trade with China; also a disastrous expedition to Cochin China from Nagasaki. These topics are dwelt upon with much graphic vigour in an interesting letter from Cocks to the East India Company, of which the following is a précis:—

“ Rich. Cocks to the East India Company. Journey to Langa-  
“ saque, accompanied by Edmund Sayer and others. Orders left  
“ by Captain Saris. Resolution to make a voyage to Cochin  
“ China, because some Dutchmen had been well received by the  
“ King some two or three years before, and had made a far bet-  
“ ter trade than they would have done at Siam. Goods taken  
“ by Tempest Peacock and Walter Carwarden, who carried His  
“ Majesty of England's letter [see below] with them, and were  
“ kindly entertained with large promises. The Hollanders must  
“ needs also make a voyage there. Money owed them by the  
“ King for commodities he had bought. Both English and Dutch  
“ set upon in the way and slain, with all their followers. General  
“ report that the King of Cochin China did this to be revenged  
“ on the Hollanders, who burnt a town and slew many of his  
“ people not many years past. A great quantity of false dol-  
“ lars bartered away by the Hollanders for commodities said  
“ to be the original cause. Peacocke is slain, but Carwarden  
“ is thought to have escaped; of five that went away from hence,  
“ only two returned. The junk that Carwarden went in has  
“ arrived, so that the writer is now out of hope to hear any good  
“ news of him. Much foul weather and many shipwrecks in  
“ those parts this year. Goods sold; describes those which it  
“ would not be amiss to make trial of. Doubts not but if three  
“ English ships come and go every year, and leave factors suffi-

"cient to do the business, that in a short time they may get into  
 "the mainland itself ; " for as the Chinas themselves tell me,  
 "their Emperor is come to the knowldge how the Emperour of  
 "Japan hath received us, and what large privileges he hath  
 "granted us ; but the Hollanders are ill spoken of on each part  
 "by means of their continual robbing and pilfering the junks of  
 "China, which at first they put upon Englishmen, but now it  
 "is known to the contrary." Is informed by the Chinas that  
 "if the King of England\* will write to their Emperor, and send  
 "a present, it will be taken in good part ; wishes to have the  
 "credit "in pursuing of it," [*i. e.* the Chinese trade] his hope  
 "being great, "and, as the saying is, nothing seek nothing find."  
 "Is sure the Chinas will not seek the English. Account of com-  
 "modities sent to Siam, with presents for the King. Has bought  
 "the house, for which they paid £40 a year, and made it "fire-  
 "free." Wm. Addames has paid him £20 lent by the Company  
 "to his wife in England. • I find the man tractable and willing  
 "to do your Worships the best service he may ; " he has a great  
 "desire to find out the northern passage for England from hence,  
 "and thinks it an easy matter to be done, in respect the Em-  
 "perour of Japan offers his assistance ;† is as willing as any man  
 "to second Addames. The Emperor of Japan has banished all  
 "Jesuits, Priest-, Friars, and Nuns out of his dominions. It is  
 "thought wars will ensue between the Emperor [Ogusho Same]  
 "and Fidaia Same, son to Ticus Same [Taico Same], the deceased  
 "Emperor. Has been advised by John Jourdain, chief mer-  
 "chant at Bantam, of the mortality happened to Sir Henry  
 "Middleton and his company, and the loss of the Trades [In-  
 "crease]. Cannot as yet get trade from Tushma. Understands  
 "there are great cities in the country of Corea, and betwixt that  
 "and the sea mighty bogs, so that no man can travel there ;  
 "but great waggons have been invented to go upon broad flat  
 "wheels under sail as ships do, in which they transport their

\* Four royal letters had already been sent, and were received in Bantam August 8, 1615 : one was to the Emperor of Japan, another to the Emperor of China, and the other two were left blank, to be used as occasion might require. One of the letters was delivered to the King of Cochin China by Peacocke.

† This proposition was favourably entertained by the Board of Directors (*vide* Court Minutes) at their meeting on April 13, 1615. It was ordered "to be enlarged upon in a letter to the factors in Japan, to procure the furtherance of the Emperor, so much as he shall be willing to contribute. Addames was adjudged fit to command in such a voyage, and a pair of globes and some maps were ordered to be sent out for their use."

“ goods. Damasks, satins, taffeties, and other silk stuffs, are made  
“ there. It is said that Ticus Same, called Quabicondono, the  
“ deceased Emperor of Japan, did pretend to have conveyed a  
“ great army in those sailing waggons to assail the Emperor of  
“ China in his city of Paquin [Pekin], but was prevented by a  
“ Corean nobleman who poisoned himself to poison the Em-  
“ peror and other great men of Japan, which is the reason why  
“ the Japans have lost all the possessions they had in Corea  
“ some 22 years past.”

In a letter to a merchant at Patani of the same date as the above, Cocks drily observes that this bruit of wars makes every one look on and keep his money, “ it being a thing light to carry.” Nothing further is heard of Carwarden, and he doubtless perished with poor Tempest Peacocke in Cochin China. On the next voyage to Siam, Wickham is prudently instructed not to land any goods on the coast of Camboja or Cochin China, as the memory of the late disaster was still fresh; the fact that it was necessary to give explicit instructions on the point, says much for the determined enterprise of these pioneers of English trade. An account of the expulsion of the Jesuits (told of course with all the Protestant zeal of a subject of the Protestant King James), together with a most interesting description of some of the current events and manners of the country, is contained in a letter from Cocks, addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, and dated December 10, 1614. We may note that Salisbury had been dead more than two years before this letter was written.

“ Rich. Cocks to Lord Treasurer Salisbury. Informed his  
“ Lordship in his last of 1st December 1613, by Captain Saris  
“ in the *Clove*, of their long and tedious voyage from England.  
“ All Jesuits, Priests, Friars, and Nuns, have since been banished  
“ by the Emperor from his dominions, their churches and monas-  
“ teries pulled down and burnt, and themselves shipped for  
“ Amacan [Macao] in China, and the Philippines; they reported  
“ the English nation was the cause, but it is well known to be  
“ through their own deserts. The Jesuits were the first to enter  
“ Japan, arriving at Langasaque, then a little village under the  
“ King of Ombra, or Umbra, but now a populous city. The  
“ King allowed them to build a church, and became a Christian  
“ with most part of his subjects; the whole Spanish trade thus  
“ drawn from the Philippines, and the Portugals from Macao,  
“ which caused Langasaque to become so great, the Christians  
“ had there ten or a dozen parish churches and monasteries  
“ with a bishop's see. The design of the Jesuits to get the  
“ whole revenue of Langasaque into their power gave the King

" of Umbra such distaste that he forsook the Christian religion,  
 " and with him many thousand more, and has ever since been  
 " a mortal enemy to the Jesuits. In 1584, the Jesuits took  
 " three Japans to Spain, giving out they were sons or nephews  
 " of the Kings of Bongo, Arima, and Umbra; knighthood was  
 " conferred upon them by the King of Spain, with many rich  
 " presents from other princes, the Pope included; but they  
 " were, in truth, of base parentage, and all the gifts were taken  
 " by the Jesuits for their own private benefit; strife amongst  
 " them which should be vicar-general under the Pope in these  
 " parts. A Jesuit trying to save a picture, and being found  
 " with it, beheaded and quartered. Great likelihood of wars  
 " in Japan, Ogusho Same the Emperor demanding the castle  
 " or fortress of Osaka, the strongest in Japan, to be given up,  
 " where Fidaia Same, the son of Taico Same the deceased  
 " Emperor, resides, and the treasures are kept which his father  
 " left him. Fidaia Same, about 22 years of age, and has about  
 " 80,000 or 100,000 malcontents and banished men with him;  
 " the Emperor has come against him with an army of 300,000  
 " men; they have already had some bickering, and divers have  
 " been slain on both sides. It is thought this young man can-  
 " not long stand out against the Emperor, who is more politic  
 " and powerful than ever Taico Same was. It is said Taico  
 " Same was of base parentage, yet by subtlety and his  
 " great value, got possession of the whole Japan empire;  
 " he was poisoned by a Corean Lord, who poisoned himself  
 " to kill the Emperor, the government of whose son and  
 " the empire he left to three great Japan Lords, of which  
 " the present Emperor was the chief, and is 75 or 78 years of  
 " age. Is in great hope to procure trade in an island in China,  
 " near the city of Lanquin (Nankin), and informed that if the  
 " King of England will write to the Emperor of China, and  
 " send him a present, it will be taken in good part. The Dutch  
 " offered 100,000 ducats or dollars to have trade at Canton, but  
 " could not obtain it, because of their having taken certain  
 " junks. Englishmen better thought of than ever. Distaste  
 " taken by the Emperor of Japan against the Dutch; a present  
 " which they sent him refused. The years in Japan called after  
 " the names of wild beasts and birds; this, the Tiger year, in  
 " which the Emperor was born, so that his diviners and sooth-  
 " sayers do interpret it to presage the Emperor's death.  
 " Chinese are suffered quietly to trade in Japan, although  
 " Ogusho Same holds the Emperor his enemy, yet he doth all  
 " he can to make peace with him. Danger of the Hollanders

“losing the Moluccas if the Emperor of Japan forbid them entrance into his country, for Japan is their store-house, where is iron and copper in great abundance, to make ordnance and shot, and skilful workmen to cast them. At present the Hollanders have a ship at Firando of 600 or 700 tons, fully laden, for the Moluccas, where they prevail very much against the Spaniards. Great hope of finding out ‘the northern passages from Japan for England’ with the assistance of the Emperor. Wm. Addames, an Englishman, who has lived 14 or 15 years in those parts, speaks the Japan language perfectly, and is a good pilot, willing to take the matter in hand, if the King, Council, and Company, will give assistance. Will most willingly venture his own person in the action. Incloses a ‘luster or memorial’ of the names of most part of the princes and lords of Japan, with their yearly revenues rated by a measure of rice,\* ‘whereby may be esteemed the mightiness of this empire, for here is no mention made of any other sort of commodities.’ Great abundance of fruits, grain, cattle, minerals; the profit of the mines of silver and gold goes to the Emperor. ‘This Government of Japan may well be accounted the greatest and powerfulest tyranny that ever was heard of in the world.’ Upon the least suspicion or jealousy, or being angry with any man, be he ever so great, the Emperor causes him ‘to cut his belly, which, if he refuse to do, not only he, but all the rest of their race shall feel the smart thereof.’ Every prince and lord has similar privileges; parents may sell their children, the husband his wife, if necessity constrain him, to supply his wants. The most horrible thing of all is that parents may kill their own children so soon as they are born, if they have not wherewithal to nourish them; or the master his slave at pleasure, without incurring any danger of the law, ‘the which I have known committed by parents to two children since I came to Firando.’ A great Portugal ship arrived this year, richly laden, and with a present to the Emperor, but he would not receive the present, or speak to them who brought it, neither loving Spaniards nor Portugals for the great hatred he beareth towards the churchmen lately banished.”

On the same day as that on which this letter was written, Cocks wrote a similar one to the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England, resident in Middleburgh, which is interesting

\* It is interesting to note that Sir Rutherford Alcock gives a precisely similar muster-roll of the Daimios and high officials of Japan, with their revenues rated in the same way, for the year 1860.

because of its enclosure—a “Japan Almanack—whereby they “may see the *printing letters and characters*, and how they “divide the year into twelve months.” A printed almanack of the kind described, in the year 1614, seems to imply a considerable degree of civilization. With regard to the opening of the trade with China, a debate which occurred about this time, as given in the Court Minutes of the East India Company, discloses the high-handed notions, these worthy merchants had of the principles of international law; they proposed to procure “a letter from His Majesty to the Emperor of China to persuade him to permit trade with his subjects in a peaceable manner, or else he will *force it according to the law of nations*.”

From a voyage undertaken by Wickham at the close of this year to the Lequeos (the Loo-choo Islands), we have an account of the important Island of Oxima, now called Okosima, lying eastward of Formosa, whither the junk was driven by stress of weather. Wickham says that when they sprang aleak, the “merchants and other idle passengers began to murmur, saying, “we had brought them out in a rotten junk to drown them;” so he cast anchor on the north-west of Oxima. The Governor, apparently a Lieutenant of the Prince of Satsuma, who was the lord of Oxima as well as of the Loo-choos, came on board, received them kindly, and gave them their bearings for Nafe, the chief harbour on the island of Lequeo Grande. The people of Oxima, we are told, much resemble the Chinese, yet speak the Japan tongue, “although with difficulty to be understood,” of the Japans; they wear their hair long, bound up like the Chinese “with a bodkin thrust through, but it is made up on the right “side of their heads; they are a very gentle and courteous “people.”\*

The whole of the year 1615, and the early part of 1616, passed quietly and prosperously. The factors at the various ports were busy consolidating and extending the trade; and we have little of note in the correspondence during this period, which is mainly taken up with accounts of sales, gains or losses, and the private and personal gossip of the agents. We hear of fine Japanese screens and cabinets being sent home as presents to the King, a Japan staff set with mother-o’-pearl for

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\* There is another important island, named Okosima, lying between Japan and the mainland; but the island mentioned in the text seems to be the one meant by Wickham, as it is somewhat in the route a ship would take in going from Cochin to the Loo-choos, the other Oxima being far to the northward in the latitude of Yesso.

Sir Thomas Smythe, the Governor of the Company, and similar curiosities for other personages. By the middle of 1616, the English trade had reached its climax. Under the Captain of the factories at Firando, a sort of Consul-General were agents at Langasake (Nagasaki), Yeddo, Osaka, Miako, Sakai, Surunga (the Imperial Castle), and established settlements at Simonosaki, Tushima (Tokousima), the Loo-choos, Shashma (Satsuma), Okosima, and probably at other places on the neighbouring coasts. On 6th December 1615, the Emperor graciously received a present brought for him by Captain Coppindall (who appears afterwards to have succeeded Cocks as Captain at Firando), and "offered to give the English anything that "might be for the benefit of their nation, esteeming us above "all other Christian nations whatsoever." On 30th March 1616, Nealson is said to be enjoying a holiday at the Baths at Ishew; and in the same letter, like the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast, is an ominous sentence—"doubtful news of the Emperor's death." In May, Eaton gets into trouble for killing a cooly who was unloading a ship at Ikanoura; he grumbles very much at being put into prison on this mau's account, inasmuch as he only-broke a *little part* of his head!" In June, (so slowly did news travel), there are general reports in Firando that the Emperor "is dead and openly buried in sight of all the Tonas; but in July there is no longer any doubt about it; and from this time the aspect of affairs for the English in Japan is altogether changed. Cocks writes that he has had much ado with the Tono of Firando, who had given him warning not to sell any goods until he "heard answer" from the new Emperor. Cocks told him of the privileges from the old Emperor, but the Tono replied the old Emperor was dead, and they had not been renewed; he therefore "secretly sold those goods to the Spaniards." We shall see presently that the privileges ultimately granted or confirmed by the new Emperor were so insignificant, notwithstanding the prolonged visit of Cocks and (afterwards) of Captain Addames to the Imperial Court, that they virtually crippled the English trade.

The man who had succeeded to the throne of Ogusho Same appears to have been his son;\* his name was Shongo Same,

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\* For Wickham writes:—"It is said the Tono's repair to Yeddo was for "some especial business appointed by Shongo Same and his Council; in "the meanwhile he [Shongo] has taken all his *father's* soldiers of Surunga [Surunga, Ogusho's Imperial Castle], and other places, and



and there can be no doubt that he was one of the most remarkable monarchs that ever ruled in Japan. He appears to have effected the seclusion of all foreigners within the narrow limits of Firando and Nagasaki, to have shut up his own subjects within their own territory, and generally to have devided, and established that obstinately conservative policy which kept Japan for more than 200 years a *terra incognita*. An interesting, but not entirely accurate, paper has very recently appeared in one of the ablest English Journals,\* giving a full account of the celebrated Code of laws put forth by this sovereign,—a code which has been the *Code Napoleon* of Japan to the present day, and which has perpetuated the feudal and semi-barbarous customs of that period. The writer of the article referred to, says—"One of the greatest difficulties our diplomatists have had to encounter in Japan has been to acquire a knowledge of those mysterious laws of Gongensama to which Japanese officials so often refer as containing the basis of their political system, and in which they profess to find precedents for any line of conduct they may choose to adopt. These laws, variously called the 'Legacy of Iyeyas,' 'the laws of Gongensama,' and 'the laws of Japan' were framed by Iyeyas, a celebrated Tycoon, the founder (?) of the family of the Tycoon of our own day. Iyeyas lived in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and after his death was deified (?) under the title of Gongensama." The account of the laws which follows is very interesting; but our space forbids our reviewing it in this place. The above prefatory statement is however obviously inaccurate. Gongensama, or Shongo Same, so far from having obtained his name by an apotheosis, was (as we have seen) known by that name at his accession; *Iyeyas* being evidently his formal name *Yei-Ye-Yeas*, borne by his father *Ogusho* and the still earlier *Taico Same* [see page 210] as well as by himself. Moreover, the father (*Ogusho Same*, who ejected *Fidaia* the son of *Taico*) must obviously be considered as the founder of the present dynasty; if indeed we can talk of a dynasty at all in the case where the office of Tycoon (nominally, as we have already said, subordinate not only to the Mikado,

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"will force them to serve him." Neilson says later—"The old Emperor, being dead, Captain Cocks has gone up to *his son* to renew our privileges."

\* *Vide the Pall Mall Budget* for February 12, 1869, on "the Laws of Japan."

but also to some of his great attendants) is an elective one, though (it is true) confined to three collateral lines of the descendants of Ogusho—the Princes of Mito, Kiu-Siu, and Dwari. The office of Regent is hereditary in another family.

The “Articles” granted to the English by Shongo Same shortly after his accession, confined them to the port of Firando. “All the English with whatever shipping arrived at Japan to retire to Firando to make sale of their merchandise.” If they were forced by stress of weather to any other port, they were to be friendly used; and in settlements of disputes and in freedom of trade at Firando, they were allowed the same privileges as formerly. Shortly after the reception of this unsatisfactory concession, Captain Addames returned from his Siamese voyage; and he immediately followed Cocks and Wickham to Surunga, and thence to Yeddo, to endeavour to obtain more favourable terms. For four months they were detained at Yeddo, continually importuning the Emperor; and from their letters we hear a good deal of the gossip of the capital. On one occasion we are told that “the Emperor went out hawking this morning, it is said with above 10,000 men; “at another time there is “much ado about banishing all Friars and Jesuits that “go about disguised as merchants, writings having been set up “by the Emperor against giving meat or drink or harbouring “any such upon pain of cruel death to them and their kindred.” At length, after all the suspense of this residence at Yeddo, the only improvement in the terms obtained was that Nagasaki should be open to English traders, as well as Firando, two places (Eaton writes on December 18th, 1616,) where they “will “never sell their commodities; it is so with all strangers as “it is with us.”

That Eaton undervalued the commercial capabilities of Nagasaki appears probable, when we remember the profitable trade carried on by the Dutch for so long at Decima, a miserable off-shoot of the former city,—but it is certain that the English trade never recovered this blow.

Our correspondence leaves us here; but it will be in the remembrance of some of our readers that the factory, after struggling on for a few years, was entirely suppressed in 1623; the unprofitable nature of the commerce conspiring with other reasons at home, to which we have already referred, to produce this result, so unsatisfactory after all the enterprise and capital that had been expended in forming it. An attempt was made in 1679 to renew the intercourse, but it was unsuccessful. The exclusive policy of Shongo Same had ere this become firmly established. We had

then no Captain Addames to recommend the trade to Imperial favour; moreover, the King of England was the husband of a princess of the Royal house of Portugal; and the Japanese, ignorant of the slight importance attached to this union, thought of the English only as the allies of the race most hated by them of all foreigners. Nearly 200 years, as we have seen, elapsed before another attempt to obtain a footing in the country was made by British subjects; and even then its success was owing rather to a change in the circumstances and attitude of the visitors than to any progress of Japanese opinion. The moral effect of rifled guns and iron-clads in the background appears to have had more influence in securing a reception for our merchants and our diplomatic agents, than any desire of the Japanese to participate in Western commerce and civilization.

The large mass of correspondence before us contains incidental notices of numerous topics of high interest to the antiquarian—many of them are equally valuable to the historian, and not a few might possibly prove of considerable practical importance as containing suggestions that might occasionally be utilised even at the present day. The account of the early trade with Japan, for instance, would not improbably afford useful hints to the Japanese merchants of this age: for it should be remembered that this commerce, having been dormant for centuries, is scarcely more developed now than it was in 1615.

The health and comfort of the Company's officers and men, both in the ships and in the factories, was naturally a subject that attracted much attention at their meetings; and the Court Minutes and the memoranda furnished for the information of the Courts are full of proposals and suggestions on this head. The "flux" especially was a disease "incident to the English" in the East; and any remedies that seemed worthy of attention were carefully considered. In 1607, "lemon-water and alligant wine from allicant were recommended not only as very fit beverages, but also as good against the flux." For the benefit of the crews of the vessels making the long oriental voyages, "trial was directed to be made of sundry of "Captain Castleton's proposals, including the baking of fresh "bread at sea, with the grinding of corn,—an exercise fit to "preserve men in health,—distilling fresh water from salt water "by having stills fitted to the furnaces, and carrying a hogshead "of fresh provisions to be used only in cases of necessity." We are told of men dying from the flux through the "inordinate

drinking of a wine called 'tadie,' distilled from the palmetto trees," and through drinking water "in which a multitude of "grasshoppers have fallen." The amusement of the sailors was provided for in a somewhat ludicrous way: a virginal was brought "for two to play upon at once, and by a pin pulled out, one man will make both to go, which is a delightful sight for the jacks to skip up and down in such manner as they will." A love of terpsichorean exercises has always been characteristic of the English mariner.

Frequent mention is made of those violent tempests which to the present day have always rendered the navigation of these Eastern seas somewhat hazardous. The typhoon of September 1860 will long be remembered for the melancholy loss of *H. M. S. Camilla* on this coast. On 18th September 1613, Cocks writes that "an extreme tuffon" has done much hurt at Firando and Langasaque. Again, in December of the following year, he tells us that he has "news from Yeddo,—a city in Japan "as big as London, where the chief of the nobility have beautiful houses,—of an exceeding tuffon, or tempest, which has "defaced the most part of the houses, the whole city being overflown with water, and the people forced to fly up into the mountains. The King's palace stately built in a new fortress, "the tiles being all covered over with gold on the outside, were "all carried away by a whirlwind, so that none of them are to be found. The pagans attribute it to some charms or conjurations of the *padrés* lately banished, but the papist Japans do "rather attribute it to the punishment of God for banishing "such holy men." We frequently hear of ships being in extreme danger on their voyages from the prevalent tempestuous weather.

In many of the letters reference is made to the extremes of climate experienced by the English residents in Japan. Eaton writes to Cocks in October 1614 that he wishes he had another fur cap, for that "I am now so extreme cold;" and in another place the latter laments the theft of a "warm kerymon" in which he had been in the habit of wrapping himself. Extensive fires appear to have been as frequent in those days in Japanese cities as they are represented to be now by Sir Rutherford Alcock. During the residence of the latter in Yeddo, the British Embassy was burnt down, and similar conflagrations are stated to be of almost nightly occurrence. Both Osaka and Sakai were nearly destroyed by fire at different times from 1613 to 1616; and we are told of fires in almost all the cities of which we have any account. Wick-

ham, on his going to Yeddo, is instructed "to take lodgings in "the best merchant's house in the town, where he may have a " *godunge* (godown ?) fire free, to prevent the danger of fire, "which the country is much subject to." Eaton writes in 1616—"Osaka is here on fire, and there are seven streets "already burnt, at least in them 500 houses, and still the fire "is very vehement, and is likely to do much harm by reason "the wind is so big." Subsequently we hear it reported that 300,000 men lost their lives in the two fires at Osaka and Sakai.

We have noticed the recent occupation of Tokousima by the Russians; the vigorous efforts that have been made by the latter nation, continuously since the period of the Crimean war, to establish themselves firmly in Japan, are commented on by almost all recent writers on this subject. By their late conquests on the Amour, they are now immediate neighbours of the Japanese; and their policy seems to point, if not to a further extension of their frontier in that direction, at all events to the acquirement in Japan of that kind of moral ascendancy which we have allowed the French to acquire in Egypt. In an Indian newspaper of recent date,\* after mentioning that the Mikado (the Tycoon is probably meant) had left Yeddo on a visit to Kiakto, it is stated, that the Kerais are fortifying Hakodate, and that the *Japan Gazette* attributes the occupation of Yesso by Tokugawa refugees to Russian intrigue. Anglo-Indians are apt to watch very jealously the advances of Russia in Central Asia, whilst they scarcely bestow a thought on her rapid progress in the far East. As the resources of Japan become better known, the immense importance of a footing there, to any nation with an extensive trade in Eastern Asia (and, above all, to the nation that owns the vast territories of austral Asia), will doubtless be more fully and generally appreciated. That the English Government has not overlooked this fact, has been shewn more than once by the attitude of our representatives at Yeddo, who appear to have been wisely instructed to uphold in a marked manner the British prestige in those regions. The prudence of such a course will be obvious to any one who bears in mind that, as Affghanistan is the boundary between Russia and India in a geographical, and perhaps in a military, point of view, Japan similarly is a boundary in a commercial and perhaps (remembering Pietropaulovsk and Nicolaieff) even in a naval point of view.

\* See *The Friend of India*, for March 4th, 1869.

Sir Rutherford Alcock has aptly compared his interesting account of Japan as it is at the present day, to that class of writing which holds an important place in French literature under the name of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire*—which, without aiming at the gravity and authority of history, furnishes nevertheless the most valuable materials for it. To this class also we would assign the correspondence which we have been reviewing; with the all-important proviso that these letters, being not only contemporaneous and impartial records, but also for the part most the reports of men placed in positions of responsibility, may fairly claim an authority which might be denied to a *mémoire* pure and simple, written by an irresponsible author for the gratification of his readers, or possibly for the promulgation of his private views. From such materials, until recently hidden beneath the dust of centuries in our English Record Offices, and in the archive-rooms of Simancas, in Spain, of Paris, of Venice, and of other Repositories of State Papers, European history is now being re-written by European scholars. We believe that the history of European enterprise and progress in Asia may, and should, derive equal elucidation from the same and similar sources. One of the most important of the Feudatories of the Indian empire,—a prince who is looked upon by some as a favorable type of Indian enlightenment and sagacity—has recently declared in strong terms his admiration for the care which the English bestow upon their records, and for the political and administrative use they make of them. This praise has been, and may fairly be, accepted as well-merited; but the historical student will be reminded, by its terms, that records have other uses besides political and administrative ones—uses doubtless not practically so important, but still legitimate and such as no cultivated nation can afford to neglect. The literary and historical value of official and contemporaneous records, and their immense superiority (considered as documents *pour servir à l'histoire*) over narratives compiled subsequently from other sources, are receiving their full recognition in Europe; and there are not wanting indications to prove that the like scholarly view is gaining ground here in India. It appears probable that when this idea has received its full development, and has been carried out in practice, oriental modern history—that is, the history of this vast Eastern world of ours since the appearance of the races of the West on its shores—will have to be re-written too; it will undoubtedly require the addition of many chapters which are at present either entirely lost, or enveloped in such obscurity as to be unintelligible.

## ART. VIII.—ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE.

SINCE the publication of the last number of the *Calcutta Review*, a change has taken place in the Government of India,—a change as simple in itself as an entry of a birth, a marriage or a death, but yet one which will find a lasting place in the future history of this country. Sir John Lawrence has resigned the post of Viceroy, and the Earl of Mayo is reigning in his stead.

Sir John Lawrence has now fairly left the scene of his Viceregal labours, and, we trust, is enjoying the repose which he requires, and the rewards which he deserves. The detractions by which he was assailed during the greater part of his administration were nearly silenced as his Indian career drew towards a close ; and he departed amidst such a general demonstration of good-will as is rarely displayed in Calcutta. Even those who least approved of his administration, willingly joined with his ardent admirers in doing honour to the statesman who had served his country for nearly forty years, and who, without family or political interest, had literally risen from the ranks of the Civil Service to fill the Viceregal throne. But now that the attacks of Indian journalists are mouldering away in dusty files, and the eulogistic speeches of Sir William Mansfield and Mr. Seton-Karr are half forgotten, it may perhaps be possible to take a more impartial view of our late Viceroy and his measures than is to be gathered from rabid attacks or polished laudations. Indeed, in this respect Sir John Lawrence has shared the fate of the most illustrious of his predecessors. He has been denounced as a man devoid of statesmanlike views, who owed his elevation to mere luck and circumstance, and whose reputation was chiefly derived from that of his noble-hearted brother, the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence. On the other hand, his admirers have sounded his praises with the fervour of men who are worshipping a family idol or deity of good fortune ; and have indulged in exaggeration which may be excused as the language of enthusiastic friendship, but which cannot be adopted by the impartial reviewer who desires neither to praise nor to blame, but to state matters as they are.

The early career of Sir John Lawrence is not one which calls for any detailed notice in the present review. He was born in 1810, four years after his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence; and, like other Civil Cadets of the period, he was educated at Haileybury, and went out to India as a Civil Servant in 1829. In 1831 he was appointed Assistant to the Resident at Delhi, and subsequently passed through the usual career of a Revenue Officer in the North-West Provinces, until February 1840, when he proceeded to England on furlough. In December 1842 he returned to India, and was appointed Commissioner of the Delhi Division. It was not until 1845, when Mr. John Lawrence was thirty-five years of age, that he first attracted the special notice of a Governor-General. The first Sikh War had broken out; and Lord Hardinge, who was marching through the Delhi Division towards Sikh territory, duly appreciated the energy and promptitude with which supplies were furnished to his camp by Mr. John Lawrence. Meantime great powers of administration and organisation were being displayed by the Commissioner; and, at the conclusion of the campaign, Mr. John Lawrence was appointed to superintend the administration of the Trans-Sutlej States, including the Jullundur Doab, which had been taken by the British Government in part payment of the charges of the war. Then followed the second Sikh War of 1848-49, which terminated in the permanent annexation of the Punjab. Accordingly, a Board was formed for the administration of the Punjab, consisting of three members, namely, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, and Mr. Charles Grenville Mansel. The Board worked on till 1853, when Lord Dalhousie abolished it, and appointed Mr. John Lawrence to be Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. The remaining portion of Sir John Lawrence's Civilian career may be summed up in a few words. He ruled the Punjab alone from 1853 to 1858, when he returned to England, and obtained a Baronetcy as the reward of his services during the Mutiny. He was then appointed to a seat in the new Indian Council; and on the death of Lord Elgin in 1863, he was created Viceroy and Governor-General.

It will be seen from the foregoing data that for nearly twenty years the career of Sir John Lawrence in this country was apparently an uneventful one. When he first landed at Calcutta, India was in a state of profound peace. The Mahratta wars and the war in Burmah were all over; and the British occupation of Cabul, which occurred about ten years later, had no effect upon



his destiny. Indeed, it so happened that he was at home on furlough throughout the occupation of Cabul, and until the return of the avenging army to Ferozepore. During nearly twenty years he was undergoing a revenue training in the North-West Provinces preparatory to entering upon the administration of the Punjab; and it is consequently not surprising that he belonged to that dangerous school which sought to crush out the native aristocracy, and to reduce the whole community to the dead level of village proprietors. The revenue settlement of the North-West Provinces is perhaps an obsolete question now-a-days; but without attempting to revive the discussions of a past generation, it may be advisable to indicate very generally the great social revolution and practical transfer of landed property from one class to another, which were involved in what has been familiarly known as the North-West Provinces' system; inasmuch as it was the notions which Sir John Lawrence imbibed during his training in the North-West Provinces that ultimately damaged his reputation as a statesman, and led to those personal detractions and aspersions with which he was assailed by the Indian Press during a considerable part of his Viceregal career.

The landed aristocracy of Hindoostan had originated in the old days of Mussulman rule, and had perhaps exercised new and dangerous powers during the anarchy which succeeded; but nevertheless it was an aristocracy respected by the people, and capable and willing to render good service to the British Government, which had delivered them from the tyranny and oppressions of the Mahrattas. Villages and lands, and shares in villages and lands, had been acquired in a thousand and one ways, regular and irregular, during the period of weakness and decay which followed the death of Aurungzebe at the commencement of the eighteenth century, and during the period of lawless anarchy which characterised the days of Mahratta ascendancy. Villages, districts, and provinces were obtained by bribery and intrigue at Delhi, or by the strong arm of military force, or by taking up and cultivating depopulated districts under regular engagements, or by complaints, misrepresentations, lavish promises, or skilful distribution of presents. The language of these grants, like the language of Asiatic treaties, was of the most authoritative and permanent character. The lands were given for ever and ever, for as long as the sun and moon continued to move or shine; but, like the treaties, they were all personal; and although in theory the

sovereign might be supposed to live for ever, it was thoroughly understood that the lands were only granted during the existing reign. Accordingly, when a sovereign died, all the landholders and farmers of revenue presented their muzzars and distributed fresh bribes to obtain a renewal of the grants from the new Emperor; and this was the regular practice so long as the grants from Delhi retained any value as title deeds. But amidst all these irregularities, a rude patriarchal system had sprung up, in which the respective rights of landholders, rent collectors, cultivators, farmers, and village proprietors, were understood, and more or less respected, although after a barbarous and anomalous fashion. Tenants were rarely or never turned out of their holdings. If the season was bad, the landlords collected what they could, and converted the remainder into a debt, which was subsequently brought forward as an excuse for levying an extraordinary contribution during a season of plenty. In those days all the wild and adventurous spirits, who loved the sword and saddle better than the arts of peace and civilization, enjoyed their bent to the utmost, though somewhat at the expense of the peaceful trader, cultivator, or herdsman. It was also a rare time for the more timid but equally unscrupulous classes who lived more by fraud than by violence. There was great sport and excitement for the retainers of a revenue collector or landholder whilst watching the crops of the rascally under-proprietors or farmers, who were dilatory with their revenue or rent; and there was equal amusement and profit for the latter worthies whilst gathering in the crops in the darkness of the night, and secreting portions of the harvest from the myrmidons of an oppressive landlord. Meantime landlords lived in forts and fought against each other, like feudal barons of the olden time; whilst the tenants had their several feuds, and the labourers cultivated the ground sword in hand. From the downfall of the Moguls, to the rise of British ascendancy, lawlessness and anarchy reigned supreme; and rent, revenue, and tribute, were either collected by force or paid up as blackmail.

Such was the state of affairs when Lord Lake marched through Hindoostan. Rights and sunnuds may be said to have lost their value, and, at any rate, were but little regarded by the *de facto* possessors of the soil. When the Raja of Hattaras was asked by Lord Lake as to the tenure by which he held possession of his villages, he significantly pointed to his sword; and this action was perfectly intelligible to the great military Com-

mander. The landlords held their lands by the same right that the British Government held their territories, namely, that of the sword and the sword alone.

The North-West Settlement was undertaken and carried out some thirty years after the campaigns of Lord Lake. It simply ignored the rights of the sword, and attempted to settle the country by the light of landed tenures which belonged to an obsolete order of things. It was carried out under the idea that a landed aristocracy was a mistake, and that it was better that British officials should perform the part of landlords and be brought into direct contact with the cultivators. The rights and wrongs of this policy have been discussed *ad nauseam*. The result of the investigation and settlement was that the aristocracy was shorn of its possessions; and the famine of 1837 completed the good work which the settlement began. In a word, we abolished the landlords, and encouraged and fostered the money-lenders, and introduced all the tender mercies of law and regulation. We are told, however, that the country has prospered from this date, but we hold that this proposition proves nothing. Lord Macaulay tells us that after a large proportion of the population of Ireland had been literally massacred by Oliver Cromwell, the country began to prosper; but he does not thereby leave his readers to infer that the massacre of the Irish was a justifiable measure. The fact is that any foreign interference with existing institutions, such as land, marriage, or religion, are always dangerous and frequently productive of evil. Such institutions form a part of the national growth, and are often essential to the national being. The result of the destruction of the aristocracy by our settlement operations has deprived the British Government of the loyal support in the hour of trial of the most influential class of the Native community, and has rendered the extension of British empire obnoxious to the popular sentiment, because it has been accompanied by the rapid disappearance of the old landed nobility.

In 1849, when the Punjab fell under British administration, the condition of that territory differed in no material degree from the old *status* which had prevailed in the North-West Provinces. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had been Resident at Lahore since 1846, and was President of the Board of Administration, wished to deal tenderly with the old Sikh aristocracy; whereas Sir John Lawrence, who had been imbued with the North-West system, was apparently prepared to wipe it away altogether. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, was a statesman of the

thoroughly English type. He had little faith in Asiatics, and no sympathy in their ideas and aspirations; and although a member of the aristocracy of Great Britain, he entertained but small respect for the aristocracy of India, and failed to perceive the important part which it might be called upon to play in the extension and consolidation of the English empire in the east. He was a profound believer in modern European civilisation, as the grand panacea for all political and social evils; and inspired with this belief, he did more towards developing the resources of India, and promoting the material prosperity of her people, than any other statesman that ever landed in this country. The Punjab was a new province, and it was the ambition of Lord Dalhousie that it should be a model province. Under such circumstances, the Board at Lahore could scarcely be expected to work well. The three members undertook separate branches of the administration, but were actuated by different principles and ideas. Sir Henry Lawrence conducted all the political business with the Punjab Chiefs, whilst John Lawrence superintended the revenue administration; and some clashing was therefore to be expected, and seems to have taken place. Ultimately, Lord Dalhousie appointed John Lawrence to be the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, and provided for Sir Henry Lawrence elsewhere. By this change in the administration, the aristocracy of the Punjab was doomed.

That Henry and John Lawrence differed widely in their opinions is a matter of public notoriety; but we are not prepared at this distance of time to hold the balance very nicely between the two brothers. The elder one opposed the policy of Lord Dalhousie as based on injustice; the younger one accepted that policy as the only way of protecting the people against the native aristocracy. Our opinion is that Sir Henry Lawrence was by far the greater and wiser statesman of the two; and that had his counsels been followed, annexation to the British empire would have been a popular aspiration throughout India, and the Mutiny of 1857 would never have attained the importance of even a military revolt. Each, however, did his work his own way, and it will suffice to say that a nobler spirit than Sir Henry Lawrence never existed, whilst the administration of the Punjab by his younger brother appeared for a while to be an unmistakeable success. In truth, Sir John Lawrence may be regarded as the model of a Chief Commissioner under Lord Dalhousie. He was energetic, hard-working, endowed with a strong sense of duty, combined with a large talent for

organisation and great love of details. His subordinates were all picked men, who followed the example of their Chief. The prosperity of the Punjab was inconceivable to those who had seen it under Sikh rule. Law and order prevailed throughout the province; but meantime the aristocracy of the Punjab, like the aristocracy of the North-West Provinces, passed away out of the land; and another fatal example was set to native states throughout India, that whenever a territory is absorbed or annexed by the British Government, the aristocracy is literally destroyed by the new administration. The condition of the masses might be improved, although this is doubtful; but the old families who had exercised large territorial powers for generations, although perhaps not legitimately obtained, nor capable of being accurately defined, were despoiled of much of their possessions and deprived of all their local influence and authority. This is the true cause of the recent outcry against annexation. The native aristocracy, like the subjects of native States, are perfectly able to appreciate the advantages of British administration, so far as it confirmed them in the possession of their estates, and protected life and property. Yet they can never be induced to admit the merits of a policy which reduced them and their tenants to one dead level, and robbed them of those territorial powers, which for ages had been associated in the minds of all classes of the community with the actual possession of the land.

But the further consideration of this subject may be postponed until we notice the policy which has been pursued by the late Viceroy in Oude and elsewhere. It will suffice to say that whilst Sir John Lawrence obtained much praise for his vigorous administration of the Punjab, it was during the Mutiny that he gained that high reputation which has earned for him the title of the saviour of India. The position of Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab in 1857 resembled that of the British force in Cabul during the disastrous winter of 1841-42; but Herbert Edwardes, Neville Chamberlain, and John Nicholson, were a different stamp of men to Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and Shelton. Disaffection was put down with a strong hand by Sir John Lawrence and his able subordinates; and it was the Punjab moveable column, under the gallant Nicholson, that enabled the British force to capture Delhi. There have been strange rumours, and still more rash assertions, about the relations between Sir John Lawrence and John Nicholson in these troublous times. Misunderstandings may have arisen, and in-

deed might have been expected between men of such characteristics. Both were men of strong will, but Sir John Lawrence was fearful of making a mistake, whilst Nicholson was prepared to take upon himself any amount of responsibility. It will suffice to say that if Nicholson thought himself in any way doubted or thwarted, all was forgotten in the last hour when cheered with the knowledge that Delhi was recovered from the rebels, he found strength in his dying agonies to express his grateful thanks for all the kindness he had received from his old Chief, in language which showed that no irritation remained. When the mutiny was fairly over and order was restored to India, the reputation of Sir John Lawrence reached its climax, and he returned to his native country amidst general acclamations to receive the rewards which were justly due to one of the saviours of India.

From 1858 to 1863 Sir John Lawrence served as member of the Indian Council at home; but with the exception of the efforts which he made to save the Indian army from amalgamation, and which he somewhat prematurely abandoned, nothing is clearly known in this country. It was at the end of 1863 that the news reached Calcutta that he had been appointed by Sir Charles Wood to succeed Lord Elgin in the post of Viceroy and Governor-General. It will be remembered that Lord Elgin died in October 1863, when affairs were in a critical state on our North-Western frontier. An expedition against the Sitana fanatics had met with a repulse. General Chamberlain, who commanded the force, had fixed his camp in a dangerous position, and been assailed by tribes whom it was supposed would keep neutral. The Punjab was in a state of excitement. Meantime Sir William Denison arrived from Madras to take up the post of Provisional Governor-General until a successor could be appointed from England. It was Sir William Denison's obvious duty on arriving at Calcutta, to have proceeded at once to Lahore, and there to have brought the campaign to a conclusion in communication with Sir Robert Montgomery, who was at that time the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Sir William Denison, however, preferred remaining at Calcutta, and leaving the settlement of affairs to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Rose; and Sir Hugh Rose, roused like a war-horse at the sound of the trumpet, commenced preparations for a campaign on a scale which would have sufficed for the occupation of Cabul. The North-West Provinces were alive with the movements of troops; and a dangerous feeling was abroad in the

Punjab. The news reached England in an alarming shape. The Punjab was supposed to be in peril, and the public eye naturally turned to Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who had saved India in 1857. The appointment of Viceroy was offered to Sir John Lawrence, and on the 12th January, 1864, he landed from the *Simla*, and was received on the steps of Government House with a more universal demonstration of welcome than had been accorded to any previous Governor-General within the memory of man. Meantime, however, the Sitana Campaign had been brought to a satisfactory termination by the able and experienced diplomacy of the late Colonel James; and the military forces were being withdrawn, and the public mind was being rapidly tranquillised. It cannot be denied that the appointment of Sir John Lawrence excited general satisfaction throughout India. Immediately on his arrival he set himself vigorously to work to clear off the arrears which had accumulated in consequence of the sickness of Lord Elgin; and the rumour that India had at last obtained a working Viceroy was noised abroad in all directions. Meantime the large Punjab experience of Sir John Lawrence enabled him to exercise a beneficial supervision upon every administration; and Commissioners and Chief Commissioners, who had sorely felt the want of sympathy and interest which had been displayed by Lord Elgin in their proceedings, speedily saw that their measures were being subjected to a rigid scrutiny which had been previously unknown. At the same time nothing revolutionary was attempted at Headquarters. Shere Ali Khan had already been recognised as ruler of Cabul by Sir William Denison, and the recognition was accepted by the new Viceroy. A mission had been dispatched by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Bhootan Government, under the sanction of the deceased Viceroy Lord Elgin; and the mission went on its way without let or hindrance from the new Governor-General.

It will thus be seen that Sir John Lawrence commenced his Viceregal career under favourable circumstances. His elevation to the highest post in the empire was received with general acclamations. A few had uttered warning words; but dissentients are to be found on all occasions; and those who doubted that the administration would prove a success, were regarded as more political croakers. But after a few months had passed away, the more independent portion of community began to express the opinion that although Sir John Lawrence was apparently a man of large local experience of the Punjab,

and was endowed with an immense capacity for dealing with details, yet he scarcely seemed destined to become a great Viceroy whose name would be handed down to posterity as the representative statesman of his generation. He was not wanting in capacity like Lord Amherst, nor a weakly philanthropist like Lord William Bentinck, nor an unfortunate victim to a vicious policy like Lord Auckland; but it was urged that he did not comprehend, like Lord Ellenborough, the true Roman ideas which are involved in our imperial rule in India; and that he was not endowed with the imperial spirit of Lord Dalhousie, nor with the thoughtful dignity of Lord Canning.

But here at the very starting point we must protest against an idea which has been eagerly promulgated in certain quarters, that Sir John Lawrence was not a great Viceroy by reason of his being a Civilian; and that our Indian empire can only be appropriately ruled by an English Peer. We have a great respect for the English aristocracy; but we see no reason why, under certain circumstances, a member of one or other of the Indian Services should not make as good a Viceroy as any nobleman in the British empire. All that we ask is that such an officer or official should have had a training in the school of imperial statesmanship corresponding to that of a British Peer who has served the State. The want of that training was, we believe, the weak point in the administration of Sir John Lawrence. He had never served in either of the Secretariats. He had apparently small experience of Courts, and had he followed his own devices, he would probably have affected the republican simplicity of a Washington, rather than the pomp and display which befit a representative of the British Crown, and which from time immemorial have been expected from an Asiatic ruler. He had certainly served as a member of the Indian Council in England; but as such he was not responsible to Parliament, nor to the Cabinet, nor to public opinion. Above all he had never served as a member of the Supreme Council in India, where he might have acquired larger ideas; although even then he could never have gained that knowledge of men, whether as individuals or in parties, which can only be acquired during a Parliamentary career. His experiences were chiefly those of a Commissioner and Chief Commissioner, and his mind by sheer force of circumstances was thus narrowed down to his particular province, and he was emphatically a Punjabee of the Punjabees; and as it is a natural tendency of the human intellect to form a low opinion of all whom it does



not know, so the late Viceroy was a long time before he could appreciate a Bengal Civilian at his just value, and never till the end of his administration could he be brought to appreciate the merits of Madras or Bombay. Moreover in the Punjab he was practically the irresponsible ruler of his own division or province; and up to the time of his elevation to the Viceregal throne, he may have occasionally found it necessary to bend to superior authority, but he had never been called upon to encounter the bracing criticisms of Parliament and the Press. The consequence was that he could understand superior authority, and bend to it when necessary, and that he thereby attained the respect and esteem of successive Secretaries of State; but he never appreciated the value of a constitutional opposition; and if we may judge from his recent observations that it is difficult to govern the people of India so as to please every one, we are led to the inference that he never understood opposition, and that he never derived that profit and advantage from the conflict of opinion, which he might have gained had he enjoyed a more imperial training in his earlier years. Again, as a Commissioner and Chief Commissioner, he had acquired that love of details, which, however befitting in the head of a local administration, is apt to interfere with the efficiency of a Viceroy, whose general attention should be occupied with imperial measures, rather than with the insignificant details of provincial administrations.

The ideal of a Viceroy can scarcely be pitched too high. British India is an empire which has been brought into existence in the east to counterbalance the democracy of the western hemisphere, and to deliver the Hindoo people from the anarchy which had spread throughout the peninsula, consequent on the decay of the Mogul empire of Delhi as a paramount power. The advance of British rule in this direction should also be regarded, not only as part of a grand effort to establish the English speaking people in two hemispheres, but also as a flank movement on the part of Great Britain, as the representative of the Western powers, for the purpose of keeping at bay the restless hordes of Cossacks, the representatives of the great Tartar races, which have convulsed Asia and Europe at recurring intervals from time immemorial, and which are now being trained, disciplined, and organised by Russia for one more attempt at the conquest of the eastern world. The old struggle of Iran against Turan of the civilised south against the rude barbarism of the north—

is already looming in the distance ; and under such circumstances, India naturally looks for a Viceroy who shall represent the grandeur and majesty of that empire upon which the sun never sets. A Viceroy of India should be a statesman educated in imperial views, endowed with high moral courage and intellectual sagacity, grave and deliberate in council, but prompt and resolute in action, dignified and gracious on all occasions, and ever forgetful of all private and personal considerations whilst performing the arduous but honourable duty of representing our sovereign lady Victoria in the government of the empire of India, and control of its various principalities.

But if Sir John Lawrence fell somewhat short of this ideal of a Viceroy, such as Lord Dalhousie undoubtedly was, and such as Lord Canning showed himself to be during the latter part of his career, his administration with some exceptions was generally successful. All those qualifications which he had displayed whilst Chief Commissioner of the Punjab were brought to bear upon the Government of India. Public Works were carried on under a wiser control and more stringent supervision than had ever existed under any previous Governor-General. The finances were carefully kept in hand, and a liberal expenditure has been accompanied by a judicious economy ; although it would have been as well if a little more judgment had been displayed in dealing with a so-called deficit, which is in reality little more than a bugbear. The military administration is also deserving of high praise. The Native and European officers may be discontented, but still the army generally is more thoroughly efficient than at any previous period. The welfare of the troops has been considered with a minuteness and assiduity bordering on extravagance, and no effort has been spared to render them healthy and satisfied. But one monstrous anomaly still remains, which hangs like a dead weight upon Indian finances, and which is productive only of evils which are increasing day by day, and that is the expensive and useless abortion known as the Staff Corps. We have heard of a variety of schemes for inducing unemployed officers to retire from the service, and for placing promotions on a sound footing, but no scheme has hitherto proved successful ; and no scheme will ever prove successful which endeavours to keep up this useless and expensive institution, and which does not find some way of abolishing the whole system. Indeed, the hasty and ill-considered amalgamation of the Indian army and creation of a Staff Corps have resulted in evils, all of which were fully

anticipated and explained to Sir Charles Wood and his advisers, and which must now be met by radical measures, under which the Staff Corps will cease to be, and the services of a large number of unemployed officers be either utilised, or the officers themselves be induced to resign the service and enter upon other careers. If there is any deficit—if there is any necessity for an income tax in time of peace—it is because the finances of India are burdened with a peace expenditure equal to a war expenditure, and one which is as utterly thrown away in time of peace as in time of war. We trust that under Lord Mayo the axe may be laid at the root of the evil. The host of unemployed officers in this country on full military pay is not only a reproach to our military financiers, but is exciting the wonder and marvel of continental armies. We should like to see the anomaly removed at any cost, even if a public debt were incurred for the special purpose, funded under any pretty name which can be devised to gloss over one of the greatest military administrative blunders of the age.

With the exception of the Staff Corps fiasco, for which Sir John Lawrence is not responsible, and the income tax which it apparently entails, the history of the administration during the last five years will bear investigation. The supervision maintained by Sir John Lawrence by virtue of his qualifications and experiences as Chief Commissioner has been complete and thoroughly efficient; and we believe that no branch whatever, and certainly no public office whatever, has escaped his attention. The wheels of Government have moved efficiently and noiselessly. There have been occasional mistakes, and these are not likely to be soon forgotten; and we shall indicate them, not so much as blots upon a generally successful administration, but as administrative lessons for the future. Thus it would have been as well if, whilst Sir Cecil Beadon was sick at Darjeeling, the late Viceroy had interfered more directly in the relief of the Orissa famine. Had he been a Viceroy of imperial experiences, he would undoubtedly have done so, but his experiences as Chief Commissioner stood in his way. As Chief Commissioner he had imbibed the notion not uncommon to local Governments, and of which the past history of India furnishes some amusing examples, that when the Supreme Government exercises no interference everything goes right, but that when the Supreme Government interferes, everything goes wrong. As Governor-General Sir John Lawrence in a great measure threw off this prejudice, but his interference was chiefly confined

to matters of detail, of which he was certainly master, and for which he entertained an inordinate passion. But in larger matters which involved a grave responsibility tantamount to an expression of want of confidence in a local Government, he hesitated and doubted until the opportunity had passed away never to be re-called. The action of the late Viceroy as regards the Bombay Bank is open to the same criticism. Had he effectually interfered in the affairs of Orissa at an early stage of the proceedings, he might have saved the British Government from much obloquy; and had he, in like manner, interfered in the conduct of the Bombay Bank, when its affairs first attracted public notice, he might have saved the British Government from the glaring disgrace of being mixed up with transactions of the most unequivocal and even fraudulent character. The day has not arrived yet, and humanly speaking perhaps never will arrive, when the world will really know who are to be blamed for the thousands of deaths which followed the famine in Orissa, or for the hundreds of families who were ruined by the rash speculations which were fostered and encouraged by the Government Directors of the Bank of Bombay. But every admirer of Sir John Lawrence must deeply regret that the same interference which was exercised when an establishment was to be reduced and a few rupees recovered for the public exchequer, should not also have been exercised when a province was to be saved from starvation, and hundreds of unprotected families were to be delivered from the tender mercies of the reckless and unprincipled speculators of Bombay. Unfortunately he interfered only so far as to incur a share of the responsibility, without succeeding in averting either calamity.

But we gladly turn aside from this painful subject to review the foreign policy of Sir John Lawrence, which we believe to be the strongest branch of his administration. This conclusion will seem to militate against what has been already stated as regards the merits of Sir John Lawrence as Viceroy; for in the conduct of foreign relations, the Governor-General especially appears as a representative of the Queen. But it so happens that the cautious policy, which generally characterises a local administration under the Supreme Government, was precisely the kind of policy which was best suited to the existing condition of foreign and political affairs. The attitude which has been assumed towards Afghanistan and Central Asia has been appropriate and successful; and it has been persistently and

consistently maintained throughout. Sir John Lawrence accepted the recognition of Shere Ali Khan, which had already been conceded by Sir William Denison; and having done so, he declined to throw over Shere Ali Khan; and notwithstanding repeated suggestions that he should afford material support to Mahomed Azim Khan, he steadily refused to withdraw his recognition of Shere Ali Khan so long as the latter retained possession of a single province in Afghanistan. Thus the Afghans were left to settle their quarrels without foreign interference; and although it was impossible for the most astute politician to prophesy what would be the termination of the fratricidal war which had raged ever since the death of Dost Mahomed Khan in 1863, still there is nothing to regret in the dealings of the British Government with the rival parties in Afghanistan during the whole five years of Sir John Lawrence's administration. The recent conference of Lord Mayo with the Ameer at Umballa would most assuredly have taken place under Sir John Lawrence, had the late Viceroy remained in this country; and we have no doubt that in that event the results would have been practically the same, although some may question whether the off-hand manner of our late Governor-General would have left the same impression upon the astute ruler of Afghanistan which appears to have been created by the present Viceroy.

But the great question which was raised during the government of Sir John Lawrence, was the progress of Russia in Asia. It has long been a diplomatic expression that Russia leaned towards the east; but this expression is geographically incorrect inasmuch as Russian territory already stretches over Siberia to the eastern extremity of Asia. It should be said that Russia leans toward the south, and the conflict between the rude and barbarous north and the warm and civilised south has been carried on from times primeval. The conquest of southern Asia is said to have been contemplated by Peter the Great and Catharine II; but the progress of Russia towards India must never be regarded as a mere paper policy laid down by an imaginative statesman. It is in fact a national impulse, the instinct of a great nation,—an instinct corresponding to that which burns in the hearts of Englishmen, and which they have doubtless inherited from the old Vikings, that impels them to go out to sea in great ships and plant new empires in America, in Australia, and in India; and no amount of diplomacy, no arrangements or understandings between the Cabinets of

St. Petersburg and St. James's can do more than postpone the inevitable conflict which fifty years hence or a century hence must take place between Russia in Asia and Britain in Asia. We may vamp up Asiatic states like Persia and Afghanistan, and regard them as buffers between the two great European powers; and it is quite possible that even China may be made to play a part in the new balance of power in Asia; but national destinies will eventually triumph over Cabinets, and the inherent weakness of Asiatic states when brought side by side with European civilisation is fatal to all ideas of permanent neutrality; whilst a secret game at intrigue between the agents of rival European powers in an Asiatic court must, sooner or later, eventuate in a final trial of strength between the two empires, and a final appeal to the God of Battles. In a word, Central Asian politics are a great imperial question, not of yesterday, nor of to-day, nor of to-morrow; but it is the question of a century, and may lead to a revolution throughout Asia as important as that which was effected ten or twelve centuries ago by the followers of Mahomet. It must also be remarked that in the field of diplomacy as regards this Central Asia question, the Anglo-Indian statesman is at a considerable disadvantage in comparison with a Russian statesman. Russia has all the advantage of a secret and irresponsible imperialism, which is moreover exercised in strict accordance with the public opinion in the Russian capitals. If her intrigues are discovered, she can throw over her agents and disavow their designs, as she did thirty years ago in the case of Vikovitch. Great Britain, on the other hand, is compelled to act with an openness amounting to publicity upon every question which is at all likely to lead the nation into war; and, consequently, she has not only to explain her intentions to the different courts of Europe, but to act in accordance with the public opinion of her own people, who are ostensibly opposed to all ideas of Asiatic empire. The time has long gone by when a Governor-General, even with the consent of a Cabinet, could initiate a new line of policy and incur responsibilities which may eventuate in hostilities, unless he is assured of the support of both of the great Parliamentary parties, Conservatives as well as Whigs. Unfortunately, in European questions it is impossible to avoid party sympathies in dealings between State and State; but it is not so in Asia when Great Britain is dealing with States in which party feeling is unknown, beyond court intrigues connected with the ordinary oriental rivalry between families and individuals.

Under such circumstances, we generally approve of the attitude which has been taken by Sir John Lawrence, and the policy which he has pursued throughout the five years of his administration. It has been an attitude of watchfulness, without premature alarm or mischievous activity,—an attitude which has been approved by Secretaries of State of both parties; and so far as it has been understood, has been approved by all moderate men. An imperious statesman of strong individuality and self-reliance might have taken a bolder course; might have occupied Afghanistan and commanded the Oxus; or, at any rate, might have listened to those pugnacious politicians who desired to locate a brigade beyond the frontier, where it could achieve little beyond indicating needless alarm, and convulsing half the bazars in Asia with wild rumours of the designs of Great Britain. But any action of the kind indicated would only have precipitated the collision, before public opinion in England was sufficiently ripe for contest; and the result would have been either the re-call of the over-vigorous Viceroy, or the downfall of the Cabinet of the time being. The military spirit of the people of England is as strong as ever, but they are devoid of Napoleonic ideas, and have no sympathy with the mere lust for empire. Their conception of military glory is not the acquisition of territory, but the defence of the weak against the strong, the rescue of the oppressed from the tyranny of the oppressor. Thus the expedition in Abyssinia was extremely popular in Great Britain because it involved no idea of territorial conquest, but only the deliverance of European captives from captivity. So, too, would have been the defence of Denmark against Prussia, or even the defence of the Southern States of America against the North; because, right or wrong, the people of England in both cases sympathised with the weaker party. Again, the great Russian war owed its popularity to the fact that all idea of conquest was deprecated from the beginning, and that the expedition against the Crimea was undertaken for the defence of Turkey against the Czar;—a plain straight-forward policy which was perfectly understood by the masses, who were alike ignorant of the history of the European States' system or the modern theory of a balance of power. In like manner, our Indian wars have only been popular so long as they have been regarded as undertaken against cruel tyrants, like the Nawob of Bengal, who authorised the Black Hole massacre; or the Sultan of Mysore, who kept Englishmen chained and fettered in Seringapatam. Under

such circumstances, the prayer of every Governor-General of India who values the evanescent popularity of the day, ought to be that peace may be maintained throughout his administration ; and it is certain that on this ground alone, Sir John Lawrence has been received by the people of England with a far warmer welcome than Warren Hastings, who founded our Indian empire ; or the Marquis of Wellesley, who established it on sure foundations ; or Lord Dalhousie, who extended it beyond the Indus and beyond the Irrawaddy, and opened up the whole of these vast and populous territories to all the material blessings of western civilization.

Turning aside from the imperial questions involved in our foreign policy, we now have to notice those dealings with Native States within our frontier which have received the name of Political. In reference to these relations, there exists a large amount of ignorance, especially in Great Britain, which has engendered a corresponding amount of what may be termed political fanaticism. Orators and pamphleteers, who are totally unable to furnish an intelligible idea of either the religion of the people of India, or the nature of the political system which existed when the Mogul Emperors were the paramount power, have yet denounced a great statesman like Lord Dalhousie, because, in the interests of law and order, he carried out measures which the Mogul or the Mahratta would have carried out for the mere greed of gold. We are not about to defend annexation or to condemn it. Our opinion of Native States, as it is of every other existing institution, is that it is better to maintain things as they are, until it is proved beyond the possibility of doubt that, by so doing, we are guilty of a manifest injustice towards the people of India, to whom the British Government is responsible as the paramount power. Take for example the annexation of Oude. We consider that so long as the Parliament and people of England were not fully acquainted with the hopeless decay of Native rule in that territory, and fully convinced of the necessity for annexation, such an annexation was premature ; but we do believe that were the people of England accurately and completely informed of the misrule and anarchy which prevailed in that unhappy country during the thirty years which preceded annexation, they would have been seen that some radical change of the administration was not merely justifiable, but the plain and obvious duty of the paramount power. We trust that this matter will be borne in mind by future Indian statesmen ; and that no future annexation will be carried out until public opi-



nion in England has been thoroughly enlightened as to the expediency and necessity of the measure. In connection with this subject, we would take this opportunity of correcting a widely-spread misunderstanding which appears to exist respecting the relations between the British Government and the Native States within the British frontier. These Native States are not substantive States in the European sense of the word. They are not invested with full sovereignty, inasmuch as they are only in subsidiary alliance with the British Government ; and they have surrendered all their international life to the paramount power, inasmuch as they can carry on no negotiations with any other state whatever, excepting with the knowledge and by the consent of the paramount power. To quote International Law in reference to the dealings of the British Government with Native States is thus palpably absurd ; inasmuch as such International Law is only applicable to dealings between substantive States like the great European powers, and not to such political relations as exist in India between a paramount power and its feudatories. Such relations must be guided by the treaty obligations, and the interpretations of those obligations, which have been made from time to time, and amount to precedents. Moreover, treaties in Asia are not alliances between States for the maintenance of a balance of power, such as exist in Europe, but are mere definitions of the relations which are to exist between rulers of different countries, or are expressions of policy on the part of the paramount power. It is true that the sage experience of those Anglo-Indian statesmen, who arranged the terms of the treaties of 1817 and 1818, has left nothing to be modified or desired ; and for half a century, the country has flourished under a system of law and order which had been previously unknown, and which was only disturbed for a brief interval by the military revolt of 1857. Consequently, the treaties, and the interpretation of those treaties, are the only International Law existing in India ; and Native States derive their rights from no other source whatever save what may be granted by the grace and favour of the paramount power.

This position must have been thoroughly understood by Sir John Lawrence, and therefore it must have been with grave misgivings that he consented to such obviously unwise and ill-judged measures as the restoration of Mysore to Native rule, and the re-consideration of the claims of the last representative of the obsolete Nabobs of the Carnatic. However, these measures have been carried out, and we are not unwilling that the

experiment should be tried of establishing a Native administration in Mysore according to the English system ; but we were unable at the time to see what possible good could result from re-considering such extinct and obsolete claims as those of the Carnatic Nabobs, and we need hardly remark that the result has fully answered our expectations. The prospects of European agents for extinct principalities and obsolete dynasties have however greatly improved, and few works of literature meet with such rewards as may now be gained by advocating the causes of families, from whom every spark of political life has long since ebbed away, and whose very names only live in the fond remembrances of their creditors. The result has been that, during the last few years, the British public have been deluded with a variety of works setting forth the so-called claims of Native Princes against the British Government ; but the same public has rarely been enlightened by works of practical utility and reliable information as regards the political administration of the country. Our only surprise is that the field of speculation in behalf of Native feudatories has not attracted the attention of city men, who have been recently distinguished as promoters of Companies. Should, however, the spirit of speculation return again to Great Britain, we may expect to see Prince Azim Jah, and other worthies of a like character, converted into Limited Liability Companies, and floated upon the credulous public amidst the acclamations of testimonial loving sympathisers, and the certificates of law officers of the Crown, based not upon the spirit of Asiatic treaties but upon the dicta of European jurists.

It is in the highest degree creditable to the political sagacity of Sir John Lawrence that he weighed at their due value all such half-informed agitations, whether disinterested or otherwise, whether originating in mere political fanaticism, or greed of further pickings from the pagoda tree. Whilst more than one Secretary of State has pandered for popularity by giving countenance to such agitations, Sir John Lawrence has been generally contented to follow the imperial lines of policy laid down by Lord Canning. Accordingly, during his administration, the relations between the British Government and the feudatories of the British Crown have undergone no material change. Where the paramount power has been called upon to interfere, as in the case of Tonk and Jodhpore, there has been no whisper of annexation ; but there has been a dignified and determined policy of putting down atrocious misrule by the deposition of the Native sovereign, and

the elevation of a successor under a guarantee of better government for the future. This duty of the British Government is universally acknowledged and accepted by every Native State throughout India ; and its action in Rajpootana has been regarded as the righteous interference of that paramount power which has existed in India as a fact or an idea from time immemorial. Possibly the landed aristocracy of both countries would have been prepared to go further and pray for the introduction of British Government ; but such has been the confiscating tendencies of the boasted landed settlements in the North-West, in the Punjab, and in Oude, that there is not a landed proprietor in any Foreign State within the British frontier, who would not prefer the occasional confiscations and oppressions of an incapable or debauched ruler, to the more systematic confiscations which have been carried out under the name of "settlement" by the strong arm of British power.

We have now to consider the most important measure in Sir John Lawrence's administration, and one which has left a lasting impression upon the people of that territory which may be regarded as the last of the annexations. We allude to that dangerous and ill-judged step which was taken shortly after the arrival of the late Viceroy in this country, and which is known as the unsettlement of Oude. We approach this subject with considerable reluctance, for the administration of Sir John Lawrence hereafter will be chiefly judged by his measures in Oude and the Punjab, for which he is himself individually responsible. Before, however, indicating what has been done, it will be necessary to glance at the previous *status* of the landholders in Oude from the annexation in 1856 to the arrival of Sir John Lawrence in 1864.

When Sir John Lawrence landed in India, there had been two landed settlements in Oude ; one in 1856 and the other in 1858. The settlement of 1856 was carried out immediately after the annexation, much in the same spirit as that which had been made in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab. The talookdars were in a great measure thrown over ; they were treated as mere collectors of revenue, and their rights to the possession of land were ignored ; whilst settlements were made directly between the British Government and the small landed proprietors. Now, it cannot be denied that many of the talookdars were oppressive scoundrels, who had acquired many of their landed possessions in an unjustifiable manner, and whose cruelties and outrages placed

them out of the pale of humanity. But still they exercised a legitimate influence over the people as a landed aristocracy; and as such they were respected by the people. The sovereign of Oude had on the other hand been long regarded with contempt by every class of the community, as a mere puppet in the hands of fiddlers, eunuchs, and dancing girls, who devoted such sums as could be procured from the Revenue contractors to the lowest sensual gratifications. As far back as 1849 or 1850, many of the talookdars had admitted to Sir William Sleeman that strong measures were necessary to remove the existing anarchy, but opposed the idea of annexation, on the ground that it would be destructive to their own power as the aristocracy of the country. They pointed to the districts which had been ceded to the British Government in 1801, and which amounted to the entire half of Oude territory; and they declared that four times as many aristocratic families had died out in these ceded districts under British rule, than in the districts nominally under the sovereign of Oude. Their anticipations were fulfilled in 1856 to the very letter, and the consequence was that a considerable disaffection was excited, and annexation which would otherwise have been acceptable to all classes of the community, pressed heavily upon the nondescript aristocracy, who had previously exercised more or less territorial and proprietary rights over large provinces, but who now found themselves suddenly reduced to the condition of small proprietors. Had circumstances been allowed to run their course, the aristocracy would simply have passed away from Oude, as it had already passed away from the North-West Provinces and the Punjab; and time, which heals all things, would ultimately perhaps have healed the injustice which had been committed by the simple curative process of burying it in oblivion. Meantime, however, the mutiny of 1857 broke out in the Indian army. This military revolt, which is mainly to be traced to a panic which had seized the mind of the sepoy as regards the threatened destruction of his caste, was aggravated in Oude by the action of the talookdars, who made common cause with the mutineers against that Government which had literally stripped them of their possessions and influence. At the same time, by a strange anomaly only intelligible to those who are familiar with the social ideas and aspirations of the masses, the very sub-proprietors whose rights to the soil had been specially recognised by the British Government, joined manfully in the rebellion, and appeared in arms in

all directions. But here a distinction must be made between a rebellion, which has some definite object in view, and that mere love of excitement, that fascination which appertains to disorder, which leads the general mass to join in any outbreak which holds out prospects of plunder, or furnishes opportunities for gratifying private revenge. The talookdars had substantive grievances of their own, sufficient to induce them to strengthen themselves in their forts, and make common cause with the mutineers with whom they could have no sympathy or community of interests. On the other hand, the small landed proprietors might have been expected to rally round the representatives of the British Government, to whom they specially owed all the rights and privileges which they had acquired under the settlement of 1856. But the old love of disorder, which had been fostered during the later years of native rule, literally impelled them to join the rebels, and to clear off their family or individual feuds, which had remained in abeyance since the annexation, and especially to plunder and put to death all the money-lenders and decree-holders who had taken advantage of our law Courts to enforce their claims. In this way old arrears of debts, and old affronts and injuries, were cleared off without risk of punishment or retaliation. When these amusements drew towards a close, these small landholders cared not to join the local British authorities, whose power had been defied by a mutinous soldiery and exasperated aristocracy; but they followed their old custom and rallied round their own talookdars, to whom they had always been accustomed to look up as their territorial chiefs, and whose rights they had always respected in the old lawless days of native administration.

When the mutiny was crushed out, a settlement with the talookdars was a matter of extreme urgency. The whole country was bristling with armed forts, whilst the people of England were clamouring for a pacification. The result was that a settlement was made upon the battle-field. The talookdars were informed that they would be secured in the possession of the estates which they had held under the Oude Government, and that the revenue demand of the British Government would be limited to one-half of the gross rental of the land. This arrangement was simple, intelligible, and satisfactory. It removed one of the main objections to annexation, and moreover had all the advantage of a battle-field settlement in being decisive and final. The rights of talookdars and sub-proprietors were strictly confined to the lands which they had actually enjoyed at the time of annexa-

tion in 1856. This proceeding at once restored tranquillity to Oude. The talookdars were restored to their original position ; and if the sub-proprietors suffered by the change, they were themselves responsible ; inasmuch as they refrained from joining the British authorities to whom they owed the rights which they enjoyed under the settlement of 1856, and by their own acts showed that they still owed a certain allegiance to the talookdars who had been previously ignored. It may also be remarked that as war breaks up all treaties, so rebellion destroys all landed rights ; and this latter point had been definitely settled in Oude by the confiscation-proclamation of Lord Canning. Thus all the vexed questions connected with landed tenures in Oude were-disposed of by a single *fiat*, and the tenures themselves were placed on a permanent footing. Possession in 1856 was henceforth to be the only claim to the possession of land. If this decision involved any injustice, such injustice was fairly attributable to the rebellion, and the rebellion alone !

It is difficult, perhaps, to over-estimate the value of finality in dealing with the difficult question of land tenures, especially in a country like Oude, where rights based upon any thing but possession must in most cases have been of a very dubious character, and were little likely to be accepted or recognised by the people themselves. However, in the sunnuds granting proprietary rights to the talookdars, it was stated that the right was conceded " subject to any measure which the Government " may think proper to take for the purpose of protecting the " inferior zemindars and village occupants from extortion, and " of upholding their rights in the soil in subordination to the " talookdars." This was a special clause, intended no doubt to restrain the talookdars from exercising too oppressive an authority over the inferior zemindars and village occupants ; although in reality, if law and order are maintained, landlords and tenants may be generally left to themselves, as they are sufficiently sharp to understand that their interests are identical ; and it may be laid down as a general rule that no landlord will turn out a moderately good tenant, and that no tenant will leave a moderately good landlord.

This settlement of 1858 worked well during the last four years of Lord Canning's administration, and no case arose for interference to protect the assumed right of the inferior zemindar or village occupant. Again, during the government of Lord Elgin, in 1862 and 1863, the question of land tenures seemed at rest for ever. Talookdars, sub-proprietors, and village occupants, if not in all

cases satisfied with the extent of their holdings, were at any rate under the full impression that their *status* was final and never would be disturbed. This was the settlement which Sir John Lawrence deliberately upset, on the ground that the rights of inferior zemindars and village occupants had not been sufficiently recognised by the settlement made six years before in 1858. In vain it was urged that the settlement had been fully and finally accepted by the people of Oude, and that no complaints had been received from the classes whom Sir John Lawrence desired to invest with tenant rights. In vain a Special Commissioner was appointed to investigate the matter, and, after some months of careful enquiry, reported that no such rights existed in Oude, although some tenants were desirous of being invested with the right of throwing up their lands at will. Sir John Lawrence was imbued with a deep sense of the rightness of that policy which had destroyed the aristocracy of the North-West Provinces; and for two years, namely, from 1864 to 1866, the unsettlement of Oude was the great question of the day. At length, in 1866, a so-called compromise was effected by Mr. Strachey, chiefly, it is understood, through the medium of one of the most clever and influential of the talookdars, namely, Maun Sing; but to this day it is with many a moot point whether Maun Sing took in Mr. Strachey, or whether Mr. Strachey took in Maun Sing. Our impression is that Maun Sing has been playing a double game. Openly he has been vaunting his loyalty to the British Government, and his anxiety to be on good terms with the British authorities; whilst secretly he has been endeavouring to create an agitation against the very arrangement to which he gave his nominal adherence. We are also of opinion that neither Maun Sing nor the other talookdars of Oude would have agreed to the compromise, had they not grown suspicious and fearful of a still more radical change in their position, and at the same time saw that there was none to help them. But whether this compromise will continue to stand, or whether it will ultimately be found necessary to modify it or set it aside, we cannot say; but this we can emphatically declare that another quarter of a century must elapse before the evil effects of the impolitic upsettal of Lord Canning's settlement of 1858 will have passed away from the province of Oude.

That this unsettlement of Oude created much opposition is now a matter of history. At its commencement the leading member of the Calcutta press was Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, the

Editor of the *Englishman*, a gentleman of forty years' experience in India, and representative of a family or firm who had possessed factories in the North-West since the end of the last century. Mr. Saunders was practically acquainted with the ruin and injustice which had been perpetrated in the North-West Provinces under the name of "settlement;" and naturally enough he drew attention to the grave evils which would accompany any further interference in the land question in Oude. If we remember rightly he pointed out that it was no longer a question of tenure, which, indeed, was always doubtful, and doubly so in Oude after a period of anarchy and misrule extending over thirty years; but that it was a question of policy, and of policy alone. Under the policy of Lord Canning the province was tranquillised, and all classes had settled down under a battle-field settlement, which was meant to be final. Under the new policy which was initiated six years later by Sir John Lawrence, a disaffection was spreading which was dangerous to the reputation of the British Government. Mr. J. O'B. Saunders was of course ignored, and indeed it was plain that at this juncture the head of the administration did not wish to see the subject ventilated, but only aimed at winning the support of the Press in a matter on which he had already made up his mind, but in which he found himself opposed by many of the most eminent men of the day. Older men who had been accustomed from time to time to contribute to the leading journals, now began to withdraw from the field; and the Press became characterised by aspersions and personalities, which were not favourable to its reputation, or of much use in averting the evils it encountered. It was this opposition, however, that led to the compromise under which the old zemindars of villages appear to have been the victims, whilst the talookdars are almost as unsettled, and disturbed, and discontented as ever. But if the compromise has not proved more completely successful, Mr. Strachey is scarcely to blame. There ought never to have been any necessity for a compromise at all. The task undertaken by Mr. Strachey could never under any circumstances have settled matters effectually; and we are inclined to suspect that the talookdars who gave in their adhesion to Mr. Strachey, were at the same time engaged, or very shortly afterwards were engaged, in getting up an underhand agitation of their own. We know that they attempted to enlist the Indian Press in their behalf, but the Press declined to fight. The time had gone by. Having consented to a compromise in



1866, they could not expect that the Press would assist them in 1868 or in 1869; and so the matter stands.

The proceedings of Sir John Lawrence's administration, as regards the landed tenures in the Punjab, is still a matter of discussion. In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the opinion still largely prevails that the legislative enactment upon this subject was hurried through the Council with a considerable degree of haste, and in the teeth of strong local opposition. The injustice committed in the first settlement must have been somewhat startling and palpable, if it was necessary to confirm that settlement by a legislative enactment passed sixteen or eighteen years afterwards. We hear that Sir Donald Macleod, who has been little more than a cypher under the strong supervision maintained over the province by Sir John Lawrence, is about to express his own independent views upon the subject of the Punjab Land Tenures' Bill; and should he do so, the important questions involved, may, perhaps, meet with a careful and deliberate consideration, and the repeal or modification of the Bill will be found to be a matter of positive necessity. Indeed, it must be regretted that Sir John Lawrence, in his capacity as Viceroy, should have been called upon to sit as Judge upon his previous proceedings as Chief Commissioner. Under such circumstances, it was only natural that he should have pronounced the first settlement all right, when many persons, including Members of his own Council, had arrived at the grave conclusion that it was all wrong. As regards the North-West Provinces' Bill, we need say nothing. It was not passed, and consequently does not belong to the administration of Sir John Lawrence. Had it passed, we should have had some further observations to offer.

There is another feature in the administration of Sir John Lawrence, which calls for some notice, and that is the little wars which took place during his government, such as the war against Bhootan, which resulted in the permanent annexation of the Dooars, and the expedition against the Black Mountain which is believed to have over-awed the Hill tribes. But whilst there are some points in these operations which are open to criticism, we shall let the matter rest, as it is impossible to ascertain how far Sir John Lawrence was personally responsible for all that has taken place. As regards the Bhootan War the published official correspondence told one story, whilst the demi-official correspondence told another; and if we may be allowed to venture a surmise, Sir John Lawrence seems to have

allowed a great many things to have appeared in his demi-official correspondence, without a sufficient consciousness of the amount of the responsibilities which they involved. Demi-official correspondence is always dangerous. It seems easy for a Minister or a Viceroy to pour out his ideas and confidences in demi-official correspondence, freed from all the trammels and reservations of official forms; but it might be as well to bear in mind that such letters may be produced and quoted by the recipient at a time long after the exact phrasology has been forgotten by the writer. Official correspondence guards against all these evils, and it would be as well to lay down the rule that demi-official correspondence should never be employed if official correspondence will answer the same end.

We thus bring our brief and imperfect review of Sir John Lawrence's administration to a close. We have left much unsaid that we might have stated; but we trust that we have said nothing that we should wish hereafter to erase. We have aimed at the truth,—not merely at the truth of a statement, but at the truthful expression of independent views. Many may think that the unsettlement of Oude was the perfection of policy, and that Sir John Lawrence was every inch a Viceroy, just as George the Fourth was every inch a King. Many, on the contrary, will be of opinion that we have bestowed too much praise on his general administration, and have passed over blots and mistakes to which the public attention might well have been drawn. We have however endeavoured to review the character and administration of Sir John Lawrence, as it appeared to us, avoiding all censure on small matters which will have no interest for posterity, but giving a full and liberal share of praise, where praise appears to us to have been justly his due, or at least due to the administration of which he was the head, and for which he must be generally held responsible.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

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### ROBERT BROWNING'S NEW POEM.

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"THE RING AND THE BOOK."

*Vol. I.—Smith, Elder, and Co.*

A NEW thing in literature is the issue of a poem in four monthly volumes. Mr. Browning has led the way. The reader will soon see the appropriateness of this method of issuing the work. The peculiar interest it is calculated to excite (infinitely beyond that of the most thrilling of sensation novels) will make all lovers of poetry long for the succeeding volumes.

We have heard a traveller tell how (in Copenhagen we think it was) he was aroused one night by a single silver sound, one simple note breaking the stillness of the night, and as he listened, after due pause, another sounded out, and then, when the last vibration had ceased awhile, another and yet another. It seemed to him the most exquisite of all music—the four reveillé notes—

... .."smoothing the raven down  
Of darkness till it smiled" . . .

Such, in its way, will be the effect on lovers of poetry, of these four volumes, following one another after due pause, each renewing and deepening the effect of its predecessor. The first volume of this remarkable series has reached us. It contains three books and about five thousand lines. This is poetry in a flood. Browning, Tennyson, and Longfellow are the three poets of whom we hear most in our days. *Tennyson* is generally considered to be the greatest artist. *Longfellow* is the sweetest and most domestic; but *Browning*, we think, possesses the most dramatic power. His "*Dramatis Personæ*" contains a few of the most powerful bits of composition we have ever read. We hope to notice some of his other writings at a future time. Our purpose now is to give an analysis of the first volume of this poem,

which, in a peculiar way, challenges attention. First, there is the "ring ;"

"The rondure brave, the lilyed loveliness,  
Gold as it was, is, shall be evermore."

• Then the "book ;"

..... "pure crude fact  
Secreted from man's life when hearts beat hard,  
And brains, high-blooded, ticked two centuries since."

What is the connection between the two—the *Ring* and the *Book*?—and why does Mr. Browning's poem bear this name? The ring then is a very elaborately manufactured affair. Gold has to be mingled with alloy, and the mass, thus tempered, is worked up, bearing "the file's tooth and the hammer's tap." When finished by the artist,

..... "just a spirit  
O' the proper fiery acid o'er its face,  
And forth the alloy unfastened flies in fume,  
While self-sufficient now, the shape remains."

The *ring* is the truth and reality of the story, as finally taken into the mind. The alloy is the mixture of theory or imagination or falsehood with it, the wrong or imperfect conceptions of it formed by the men who canvass it. What is the story? It is contained in the *book* (which is the gold). A marvellously real bit of description it is, in which the poet tells us where and how he obtained the "square old yellow book, small quarto size, part print, part manuscript." Well, the original story is in this *book*, on which the poet happened,—in which are the documents, letters, and memoranda relating to the whole affair. The poet himself must help us to get the *Ring*.

"Now, as the ingot, ere the ring was forged,  
Lay gold (beseech you, hold that figure fast !);  
So, in this book lay absolutely truth,  
Fanciless fact, the documents indeed."

The *Book* is

"The mere *ring-metal* ere the ring be made."

The poet bought the book, read the whole, pondered the story, and produces it in verse. Whence?

"From the book, yes; thence bit by bit I dug.  
Yes; but from something else surpassing that,  
Something of mine which, mixed up with the mass,  
Made it bear hammer and be firm to file,  
*Fancy with fact is just one fact the more.*"

The curious old story in the book is this: one Count Guido Franceschini was condemned to death at Rome in 1698, with four assassins, whom he had employed for the three-fold murder of his wife Pompilia, and her supposed father and mother, Pietro and Violante. This old couple had lived in Rome for many years. They were childless, and their whole property was the interest of a sum of money, which was to revert, on Pietro's death without heirs, to distant relatives. This led Violante to impose upon her husband a supposititious child of base birth, whom they named Pompilia. Count Guido resided at Arezzo (Arretium), on the slopes of the Apennines. He was poor, and lived in his "palace"—well nigh in ruins—with the old lady mother, Beatrice. The Count had a brother, the Abate Paolo in Rome; another, Giralomo in Arezzo; and a friend, a Cardinal, from whose patronage he had long expected some lucrative office.

#### In Rome

"He waited and learned waiting, thirty years."

#### And at length

"Determined on returning to his town,  
Making the best of bad incurable,  
Patching the old palace up, and lingering there  
The customary life out with his kin,  
*Where honour helps to spice the scanty bread.*"

In this mood he happened to see Pompilia, now 12 years old, and thus mused:

"Would not a wife serve at Arezzo well  
To light the dark house, lend a look of youth  
To the mother's face grown meagre, left alone  
And famished with the emptiness of hope,  
Old Donna Beatrice?"

So he married Pompilia, by the contrivance of Violante and of his brother Paolo, but unknown to old Pietro. However, an agreement was at last made, by which the whole family went with Guido to Arezzo, where they were to be

"Guilt with an alien glory, Aratine  
Henceforth and never Roman any more."

Pietro and Violante set out for Arezzo with great hopes, imagining that in the palace of their son-in-law they would enjoy all they had missed in Rome; but they soon found out their mistake. The life in the old tumble-down palace was not to their taste. Pride and starvation ruled in Guido's mansion. So the old couple soon

"Left their heart's darling treasure of the twain  
And so forth, the poor inexperienced bride.  
To her own devices, bade Arezzo rot  
And the life signorinal, and sought Rome once more."

. There the Pope had just proclaimed a jubilee, and all sins confessed that year were to be remitted with slight penance. Violante straightway confessed her fraud :

"Pompilia was a fable not a fact."

Thence arose a law-suit. Since Pompilia was not their child, her dowry, the money on the interest of which the old couple were living, was no longer her's, or her husband's. Meanwhile was the palace at Arezzo after the departure Rome-wards of the old couple

"Quiet as Carmel where the Flies live?"

No, Guido with his old mother and younger brother Giralomo treated the young wife cruelly, and at last she eloped with a young priest of noble family, Giuseppe Caponsacchi ;

"— ..priest and priest .  
Nowise exorbitantly overworked.  
*The courtly Christian, not so much Saint Paul  
As Saint of Cæsar's household....."*

This priest and the lady reached Rome; where the husband followed them, and brought the case before the tribunals. The lover was sent to Civita, and the lady to a convent, although it was pleaded that the priest had merely interfered to rescue her from the intolerable cruelty of her husband and his family. The question was a difficult one !

After a few months Pompilia was allowed to leave the convent and reside with her parents in a retired villa in the suburbs of Rome. There she became the mother of a son, Guido's first-born and heir. Two weeks after, as Pompilia with her child and her supposed parents were around the fire, on a cold January evening, Count Guido and four ruffians came to the door, and asked admission, under the name of Caponsacchi. The door was opened at the sound of that favoured name, and they burst in and ruthlessly murdered the poor wife and the old couple. Pompilia lived some days and protested her innocence to the last. The assassins were taken red-handed, and tried. The plea was that the husband had merely avenged his wrongs. He was at length condemned to die, with his brutal accomplices. Guido, however, pleaded that he had taken minor orders and the case was remitted to Pope Innocent the twelfth, the great enemy of the Molinists, and the high-minded reformer

of abuses. He promptly confirmed the sentence, and Guido was beheaded, while the others were hung, two on either side of him.

This is the old Italian story, which Browning tells again and again with a powerfulness and pathos almost unrivalled in poetical composition.

We can fancy exception being taken to the subject as not having sufficient interest, considered as the theme of a poem considerably longer than the "Paradise Lost." But the story, as Browning treats it, is the story of human nature—of life itself, with its lights and shadows—of man. And if "the proper study of mankind is man," then is Browning the proper poet of mankind.

"..... See it for yourselves  
This man's act, changeable because alive!  
Action now shrouds, now shows the informing thought:  
Man, like a glass ball with a spark a-top,  
Out of the magic fire that lurks inside,  
Shows one tint at a time to take the eye:  
Which, let a finger touch the silent sleep,  
Shifted a hair's-breadth shoots you dark for bright,  
Suffuses bright with dark, and baffles so  
Your sentence absolute for shine or shade."

This idea converts the poem into a grand philosophical epic, which as truly as Milton's "vindicates the ways of God to man:" we take leave to add that we doubt whether any poet since Shakespeare has dealt with human nature and human action in so sublime a way.

His way of telling it is quite characteristic of the poet: a miracle of ingenuity. He gives it first briefly, as the book states it. He then tells it again, as the poet's imagination realized it, and as his poetic instincts pronounced judgment—

"The life in me abolished the death of things,  
Deep calling unto deep: as then and there  
Acted itself over again once more  
The tragic piece. I saw with mine own eyes  
In Florence as I trod the terrace, breathed  
The beauty and the fearfulness of night,  
How it had run, this round from Rome to Rome."

Then the question comes—"How much of the tale is true?" "What is the truth?" "What were the real characters and motives of the actors?" This is expanded in the remainder of the four volumes. First, "Half Rome" took the husband's side. This is given in the second Book. A Roman in the crowd that thronged to see the bodies set out in St. Lorenzo's Church, goes

over the whole story to his neighbour. Here Count Guido is the injured husband and Pompilia the erring wife. Fifteen hundred and forty-seven splendid lines tell us .

*"How Half Rome found for Guido much excuse."*

But others again took the part of Pompilia. The third Book in 1894 lines, equally impressive, enables us

*"To listen how to the other half of Rome,  
Pompilia seemed a saint and martyr both."*

With the third Book ends the present volume. The plan of the remaining three volumes is sketched out in B. I,' 910—1347.

Book IV. will contain the "reasoned statement of the case," as, after the first commotion had subsided, the upper classes spoke of it. We shall hear, in courtly halls,

*"How quality dissertated on the case."*

Book V. is to enable us to hear Guido's defence,

*"In a small chamber that adjoins the court."*

We shall hear

*"How Guido, after being tortured, spoke."*

Book VI. will introduce Caponsacchi, the priest, either the guilty betrayer or the magnanimous self-sacrificing rescuer of poor Pompilia, and shew us

*"How the priest Caponsacchi said his say."*

Book VII. is to take us to the bed-side in the convent-hospital, where the dying Pompilia gives her version of the story. We shall hear

*"How she endeavoured to explain her life."*

Book VIII. is to introduce Don Giacinto of the Arcangeli,

Called Procurator of the poor at Rome,  
Now advocate for Guido and his mates.

And we shall hear his speech for the defence. Book IX. will be occupied with

*"Giovambattista o' the Bottini, Fisc,"*

the advocate-general. He has the gift of eloquence :

*"Language that goes as easy as a glove  
O'er good and evil, smoothens both to one."*

He will be heard delivering—

*"The last speech against Guido and his gang,  
With special end to prove Pompilia pure."*



We shall thus know—

*How the Fisc vindicates Pompilia's fame.*

Book X. is to introduce the good old Pope,

.. .. "Innocent by name  
And nature too, and eighty-six years old,  
Antonio Pignatelli of Naples, Pope  
Who had trod many lands, known many deeds,  
Probed many hearts, beginning with his own,  
And now was far in readiness for God."  
.. .. "Pope Innocent the twelfth,  
Simple, sagacious, mild, yet resolute,  
With prudence, probity, and—what beside.  
From the other world he feels impress at times,  
Having attained to fourscore years and six."

We shall have—

*"The manner of the judgment of the Pope."*

Book XI. is to take us to the dungeon, where we are to hear,  
and shudder as we hear (for such is Browning's manner),

"How Guido, to another purpose quite,  
Speaks and despairs, the last night of his life,  
In that New Prison by Castle Angelo."

We shall find that—

"The tiger-cat screams now, that whined before,"

as we hear

*"How Guido made defence a second time."*

Book XII. is to conclude the work. We can only infer that  
it is to draw the moral. We are to come back to earth again,

"Though cognizant of country in the clouds  
Higher than wistful eagle's horny eye,  
Ever unclosed for 'mid ancestral crags,  
When morning broke and spring was back once more,  
And he died, heaven, save by his heart, unreachd."

The lesson is to be Shakespeare's—we fancy

"Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all."

Or, as Browning puts it,—

"Once set such orbs,—white styled, black stigmatized,  
A-rolling, see them once on the other side  
Your good men and your bad men every one,  
From Guido Franceschini to Guy Faux,  
Oft would you rub your eyes and change your names."

Here, then, is the sketch of a noble,—what shall we call it?—  
epic or tragic poem? There is nothing in English literature  
that resembles it. There is Crabbe's pathos, Cowper's satiric

point, Wordsworth's insight into nature, Byron's fire, and, added to all, there is a power of dramatic representation of character that none has ever possessed since Shakespeare. This is high praise; but we believe the verdict of the world will sustain it. The poem will extend, it seems, to near twenty thousand lines, and, if they are such as are found in this volume, no lover of poetry will find more than twenty he would like to lose. We may mention among these the play upon words about Manning, Newman, and Wiseman, in Book I., pp. 444—446; and Jack and his Beanstalk, in Book I., p. 1347, which seems out of place to us. Comparing this volume with Mr Browning's six other published volumes, we fancy we note a great and striking growth in the poet. Among other things we are delighted to find that we can understand every line. He seems to be conscious that he is not loved by the British public as he deserves, and he has an inkling of the reason. He says:—

"Such British Public, ye who like me not,  
(God love you;)—whom I yet have laboured for,  
*Perchance more careful whoso runs may read*  
*Than erst when't all, it seemed, could read who ran,—*  
Perchance more careless whoso reads may praise  
Than late when he who praised and read and wrote,  
Was apt to find himself the self-same me,—  
Such labour had such issue——."

He has heretofore written much that was "hard to be understood." The poet has indeed, as he says, laboured with the true artist's patience; and he who so labours shall receive wages. His fame is extending; and the lovers of his poetry are multiplying. This book will bring the question of Browning's position as a poet to an issue. Of the wonderful dramatic treatment of the story we cannot say all we would say, till the work is completed. But we must notice the fact that in no previous work has Browning shown that spontaneity of poetical illustration, and luxuriance of imagery which mark this work. It sparkles all over with gems. Among the brightest of these, we may quote the following lines. Pompilia is married by her supposed mother's arrangement to Guido, she, poor thing, having nothing to say in the matter.

"Pompilia . . . . .  
Who all the while had borne, from first to last,  
As brisk a part i' the bargain, as you lamb  
Brought forth from basket and set out for sale,  
Bears while they chaffer, wary market men  
And voluble housewife, o'er it,—each in turn  
Patting the curly calm unconscious head,  
With the shambles ready round the corner there,  
When the talk's talked out and a bargain struck."

In all Browning's Poems we are struck with his power of condensing an idea into a vigorous line or two. These examples occur in this volume.

" But human promise, oh ! how short of shine,  
How topple down the piles of hope we rear. "

Again,

" Since, how heart moves brain, and how both move  
hand,  
What mortal ever in entirety saw ? "

And,

" The instinctive theorizing whence a fact  
Looks to the eye as the eye likes the book. "

We read, too, of the lawyer, who

" Makes Logic levigate the big crime small. "

The metre is the ordinary English unrhymed Iambic pentameter. The skill with which the pauses are managed and varied will be best estimated by one who reads it aloud for any length of time. There is no monotony. The sound helps the sense, and all flows on for the most part in the most natural and yet most melodious manner. It is not so in all his poems. There are some stubborn lines ! but some of these, when mastered, will be found to be among the strongest. His style of versification is Cowper at his best. Metre is to him not a fetter. He moves as easily and freely under the restraint of metrical form as an accomplished knight in his heavy armour in some gay tournament. Admirable and altogether inimitable, too, is the vein of humour that runs through the book, sometimes kindly and tender, often very quaint, not unfrequently grim and even ghastly. Of poor Pompilia's sufferings a Roman is made to say,

" Thus saintship is effected probably :  
No sparing saints the process ! which the more  
Tends to the reconciling us, no saints,  
To sinnership, immunity and all. "

The poet's power of description, whether of persons or of places, is very striking. Here he seems to us to excel every poet but the greatest Shakespeare. We can hardly give examples. They must be read in their connection to see their real vigour and truth. But this is matchless in its way :

" Givoambattisti o' the Bottini, Fisc,  
Pompilia's patron by the chance of the hour,  
To-morrow her prosecutor,—composite, he,  
As becomes who must meet such various calls—  
Odds of age joined to ends of youth.

A man of ready smile and facile tear,  
 Improvised hopes, despairs at nod and beck,  
 And language—ah, the gift of eloquence!  
 Language that goes as easy as a glove  
 O'er good and evil, smoothens both to one."

Mr. Browning's idea of a poet's power is not exactly Shakespeare's. The poet does not so much give to "airy nothings, a local habitation and a name," as bring back the dead to life:

"..... .. Nothing which had never life  
 Shall get life from him, he, not having been;  
 Yet, something dead may get to live again."

Or as he otherwise phrases it,

"Man's breath were vain to light a virgin wick."—  
 Half-burned out, all but quite quenched wicks o' the lamp  
 Stationed for temple service on this earth,  
 These indeed let him breathe on and relume."

He would seek for an image of the poet's power in the rushing of the wind that shook the valley of the dry bones in the vision of the prophet by the River Chebar. In how many ways is it true "the flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that giveth life!" And what a resurrection is it! The poet compares it to Elisha's raising the widow's son:—

"..... Was not Elisha once?  
 Who bade them lay his staff on a corpse-face.  
 There was no voice, no healing: he went in  
 Therefore, and shut the door upon them twain,  
 And prayed unto the Lord: and he went up  
 And lay upon the corpse, dead on the couch,  
 And put his mouth upon its mouth, his eyes  
 Upon his eyes, his hands upon his hands,  
 And stretched him on the flesh; the flesh waxed warm:  
 And he returned, walked to and fro the house,  
 And went up, stretched him on the flesh again,  
 And the eyes opened. 'Tis a credible feat  
 With the right man and way."

So those that did and those that suffered in the year "since our salvation sixteen ninety-eight" live again: "the breath has come into them, and they live and stand upon their feet." Let us look at them, and consider the problem to be solved regarding each?

"How tittle we the dead alive once more?"

Let us survey them once more in the poet's magic glass.  
 There is

"Count Guido Franceschini the Aretine,  
 Descended of an ancient house, though poor,

A beak-nosed, bushy-bearded, black-haired Lord,  
Lean, pallid, low of stature yet robust."

He awaits our judgment—this man of "like-passions with ourselves." We shall see him painted variously by the men of Rome, who "see through a glass darkly." We shall hear him through two long books, as he first speaks, and "—does his best man's service for himself" while there is hope, and again when "the true words come last," when he is in sight of

"Two gallows and *Mannaia*\* crowning all."

Then there is the wife, the victim, whom anyhow we must pity

"Little Pompilia, with the patient brow,"

married at thirteen, murdered at seventeen. How are we to judge her? We shall hear her voice too, through one mournful book, when her "Soul sighs its lowest and its last." However the judgment be, we cannot chose but drop a tear at the grave of this other Desdemona. Then come the mother and brothers of Guido, the Abate Paolo, Canon Giralomo, and Don Beatrice, widow of old Count Tommaso. Are we to think of the brothers, as the poet first thought, as

"Two obscure goblin creatures, fox-faced this,  
Cat-clawed the other, called his next of kin  
By Guido the main monster...?"

Or shall we find some brighter light thrown on them? Is their's a "wanness" on which the foot of love may fall?

And then Giuseppe Caponsacchi—ah! how are we to judge of him? He, too, will speak through his fifteen hundred lines. Will he be left in our eyes, as the poet first caught a glimpse of him

"As, in a glory of amour like Saint George,  
Out again sprang the young good beauteous priest  
Bearing away the lady in his arms,  
Saved for a splendid minute and no more?"

We shall know the truth, for he is a man

"Whom foes and friends alike avouch, for good  
Or ill, a man of truth whate'er betide,  
Intrepid altogether, reckless too,  
How his own fame and fortune, tossed to the winds,  
Suffer by any turns the adventure take."

Truthful, is he? Does he know the full truth about himself? And again the old couple, Pietro and Violante, what of them? Anyhow, we have a chequered story here. Here are sins, with

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\* The head man's axe.

attendant and resulting sorrows. Poor Pietro! at least the "lyric love" must plead for him. See him,

"Pietro's estate was dwindling day-by-day,  
While he, rapt far above such mundane care,  
Crawled all fours with his baby pick-a-back,  
Sat at serene cat's-cradle with his child,  
Or took the measured tallness, top to toe,  
Of what was grown a great girl twelve years old:  
Till sudden at the door a tap discreet,  
A visitor's premonitory cough,  
And poverty had reached him in her rounds."

And Violante, that toiling woman, with more of Martha's than of Mary's spirit certainly,—shall no voice plead for her?

"The acquiescent and recipient side  
Was Pietro's, and the stirring striving one  
Violante's."

Such stirring striving souls need guidance. Who guided her? So there they lie, in St Lorenzo's church,

..... "on the chancel two steps up,  
Behind the little marble balustrade,"

before the altar where Pompilia was baptized and married. Well, there is the "*mercy-seat*," too!

The noble old Pope Innocent; "the jolly learned man of middle age," Don Giacinto of the Arcangeli; "Giovambattista of the Bottini;" they all live again. "Being dead, they yet speak." The thought of the three thus grouped together suggests the thought that tongues shall cease, but true charity shall abide for ever. Rarely has such a picture been drawn as that of the good Pope, and we shall see him—what a pleasure to come!—in Book X. He is such an one as we hope to meet elsewhere, after a while, if God will.

And now, good reader, say if it must not be good for us to see these shadows, to walk with the poet in this enchanted region, so to gain strength to walk rightly amongst those other mysteries, our fellow-men, and the Presence of the SUPREME MYSTERY, who is "greater than our heart, and knoweth all things." But we must come back to our seer.

In his use of language as a vehicle for his thoughts, Browning has a peculiar expertness, the result of long practice and much, though concealed, art. He who would know the power of the English of the present must study Tennyson and Browning. They, in this wonderful power, resemble one another. If the former has more feminine elegance, the latter has more masculine vigour; but both excel almost all former poets in

England in the faculty of clothing every idea in exactly fitting language, without ever losing either poetic diction or grace. Yet, each sometimes has somewhat of the other's manner. Browning is sometimes sweet and sunny and gracious as Tennyson, and Tennyson is sometimes strong and terse and mighty as Browning. Had they been sculptors they would each have chosen to work in marble without a flaw ; but Tennyson would have given us a Venus or an Apollo ; Browning would have executed another Moses, like Michael Angelo, or a Dying Gladiator. Had they been painters, Tennyson would have drawn sweet, pure, heaven-suggesting pictures like Fra Angelico, or a Last Supper like Lionardo da Vinci : Browning would have painted portraits like Rembrandt, or given us a pieta like Trancia's or a landscape like one of Turner's, or a pre-Raphaelite picture, like the best of Millais'. But they are glorious artists both, and after their names will the age be called.

Milton's language often labours. You see and wonder at the matchless art. Shelley, Keats, and even Wordsworth, often leave us dissatisfied with the scantiness of thought set forth in such a pomp and luxury of words ; but in complete mastery of language, precisely setting forth every species of poetic thought, we think these two great poets of our own day surpass all. Language is their slave, never their master. Browning especially wields a magician's power over words.

We have spoken of Tennyson and Browning as resembling one another. Compare Tennyson's Enid with Browning's Pompilia :

" He found an ancient dame in dim brocade ;  
And, near her, like a blossom vermeil-white,  
That lightly breaks a faded flower-sheath,  
Moved the fair Enid, all in faded silk,  
Her daughter. In a moment thought Geraint  
' Here, by God's rood, is the one maid for me.'"

Now look at Pompilia :

" Yea, Via Vittoria did a marvel hide,  
Lily of a maiden, white with intact leaf  
Guessed thro' the sheath that saved it from the sun :  
A daughter with the mother's hands still clasped  
Over her head for fillet virginal,—  
A wife worth Guido's house and hand and heart."

Two pearls !

Perhaps Browning errs in the two frequent use of words which are not common, derived often from Italian sources. Indeed, by the way, this seems to us one of the reasons why the " British public loves him not" now, as he deserves to be loved, and as he will be loved in the after time. There is something

Italian in his habits of thought and speech. He is not so simply English as Tennyson. It is a voice from Florence. We detect the accent and the garb of the foreigner. As to words, take such as *malleolable*, *dissertate*, *repristination*, and the frequent Italian words in the poem. His mastery of English undefiled is so amazing, so unmatched, that we feel the more sorry he should worry people by using words over which modern precisions will shake their heads. There is no affectation in this use of peculiar words; for absolute freedom from all affectation in thought and language is an especial characteristic of the poet. But the effect is to pain the ear sometimes, and detract in the opinion of ordinary Englishmen, from the merit of some of his finest passages. The idiom sometimes, occasionally the words, more frequently the habits of thought, and very generally the whole colouring of the picture, reveal the man who is more at home in Italy than in England. But these are spots (if indeed they are spots at all) in the sun. In this poem we see a master in his divine art, advancing to take his place among the greatest poets of the world. It is a masterpiece, and will so be hailed, we feel sure, "with tumult of applause." We will append the lines with which the first book, which introduces the whole,—concludes.

" O lyric Love, half-angel and half-bird,  
 And all a wonder and a wild desire,—  
 Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,  
 Took sanctuary within the holier blue,  
 And sang a kindred soul out to his face,—  
 Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart—  
 When the first summons from the darkling earth  
 Reached thee amid thy chambers, blanched their blue,  
 And bared them of their glory—to drop down,  
 To toil for man, to suffer or to die,—  
 This is the same voice: can thy soul know change?  
 Hail then, and hearken from the realms of help!  
 Never may I commence my song, my due  
 To God who best taught song by gift of thee,  
 Except with bent head and beseeching hand—  
 That still, despite the distance and the dark,  
 What was, again may be; some interchange  
 Of grace, some splendour once thy very thought,  
 Some benediction anciently thy smile:  
 —Never conclude, but raising hand and head  
 Thither, where eyes, that cannot reach, yet yearn  
 For all hope, all sustainment, all reward,  
 Their utmost up and on,—so blessing back  
 In those thy realms of help, that heaven thy home,  
 Some whiteness which, I judge, thy face makes proud,  
 Some wanness where, I think, thy foot may fall!"



## CONTISM.

1. *Auguste Comte the Positivist.—A Lecture by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, M. A., Second Edition.*

2. *A reply to the National Paper on Positivism, by a Positivist.*

WE should ordinarily have passed over these two pamphlets with perhaps an extract or two, but without any comments of our own; but as our views on Contism were made the subject of special remark in the review of our last number by the *Friend of India*, we may conveniently take advantage of the present opportunity to say something on the subject of which they both treat. Moreover, we hope that this will not be considered any deviation from our ordinary rule of neutrality in religious controversy. By this rule we understand not that every writer in our columns should divest himself of his religious opinions, and write what any person, Jew or Christian, Hindu or Mahomedan, spiritualist or materialist, might equally have written. Such a position would be absurd: all that is required is that writers should avoid controversy and introduce their views in such a manner as not to attack or give cause of annoyance to others who differ from them. We are always careful on this point, and in the article on Miss Carpenter which was specially selected by the 'Friend' for animadversion, we requested the writer to alter or omit one or two sentences which appeared to approach the questionable limit; and we must say that, after referring to such passages as the 'Friend' extracted, we still fail to see anything which a sensible Christian should take offence at. We do not for a moment doubt that any reader would see that the writer's views were not those of an 'orthodox' Christian; but he must indeed be a touchy and weak-minded brother who can feel himself wounded and attacked by such common place remarks, as that the mind of Europe is turning away from the ancient creeds, or that we ought to agree among ourselves before we try to win over other nations to our way of thinking. In any case, however, to accuse a Review, which is avowedly open to all parties, of being bitterly hostile to Christianity, because the *extreme* passages of a single writer (we see no objection to stating that the same person wrote the articles on Miss Carpenter and Abercrombie) which were just allowed to pass as being within the tolerated limit, are non-Christian in their tone, is illogical and unfair in the extreme.

We say thus much in our own vindication, but we also think that many clear-sighted Christians would be prepared to admit that there is a great deal of truth in the remark that the mind of Europe (meaning by that mind the spirit of the age, rather than the agglomeration of individual intellects) is turning away from Christianity. Considering that Christianity most emphatically condemns 'the world,' and sets itself up in diametrical antagonism to it, it is no cause of wonder that the spirit of the age, which means very much the spirit of the world for the time being, should be hostile to Christianity. The wonder is rather how it should have been so little hostile as it is. In fact, at the outset of Christianity and in the first three hundred years of its existence, this antagonism was as marked as possible; not only cruel rulers such as Nero and Diocletian, but men like Trajan and Marcus Aurelius disapproved entirely of Christianity as a foreign element of confusion and disturbance in society. A hollow truce was patched up at the conversion of Constantine, but the real change dates from the fall of Rome and triumph of the barbarians when the remnants of civilisation were only preserved in the monasteries and other Christian institutions. Hence the origin of what we may call the admirable but anomalous state of things which is now passing away. Christianity is *compatible* with the highest civilisation, and the highest civilisation is compatible with Christianity; but the spirit engendered by the two tends in entirely opposite directions. The tendency of an advanced state of civilisation is to lead men to value more and more highly all that life can give them, to make them devote themselves more and entirely to the interests and occupations of the world, and more and more to look upon religion as a matter of secondary importance whose requirements must be restrained and accommodated to the claims of the world. As long as the custodians of Christianity, more or less held the reins of civilization, the natural tendency to antagonism manifested itself often enough, but was kept in check, and open schism was prevented. Civilisation was built up somewhat slowly, and in a state of subordination, but progressively and solidly; and hence many persons have been misled into fancying that as the one led to the regeneration of the other, the aims of the two are, or ought to be, identical. But certainly since the middle of the eighteenth century, if not from an earlier date, civilisation has broken loose from its state of tutelage; it but thinly disguises, if indeed it disguises at all, its principle that

its ends are of more importance than those of religion ; and that if they come into collision, so much the worse for Christianity. It is not necessary to say whether this is a loss or a gain ; probably it has stimulated the *rate* of progress at the *expense* of its depth and solidity ; but loss or gain, we are surprised that so many persons can shut their eyes to the fact, and delude themselves into the belief that the two, modern civilisation and Christianity, have much in common as regards their aims and aspirations.

Comte, whatever his faults and failings, was clear-sighted enough to see this. He saw that religion was leading in a different direction from the spirit of the age, and appreciating as he did the advantages of the former state of things when they were at least externally in league, coveted to restore their union by re-organising religion. Modern civilisation in its demands upon religion is like Scipio before the walls of Carthage : it ever advances in its requisitions, and makes one concession the stepping-stone to another and greater one. Faint hearted Christians, like the Carthaginians, yield up one principle after another in the hope of saving the remainder, and, like the Carthaginians, will find out their error. Too late they will find out that 'delenda est religio' is the real motto of those with whom this world is everything, and the next not worth a second thought. Comte, however, saw further ; he too was of the school which concentrates all its energies on the present life, but he was no enemy of morality, and he feared that it would suffer by its close connexion with religion. His aim was to cut the cords which united them together. If there is a God of whom we know nothing, then His existence is obviously a matter of no importance to us. If, however, we do know anything of Him, whether by intuition or revelation, then it is evident that this knowledge must take precedence of everything else, and all other interests and claims must be put on one side if they clash with it. As long, therefore, as anything was held to be divine, so long the supremacy of mundane affairs would be challenged, and the antagonism would be continued. Hence he went one step further than usual ; he argued that the spirit of the age had practically agreed to set mundane interests above anything else. This would be irrational if there were any divine obligations with which they could come into collision ; therefore he called upon men frankly to admit that there are no such divine obligations : either, says he, there is no God, or if there is, He has communicated nothing to us except through mere temporal interests and obligations, and therefore let us pursue these without restraint.

Mr. Macdonald's lecture is directed to throw discredit upon Comte by exhibiting the follies and vagaries of his life. The fact of its having reached a second edition seems to indicate that it has not been unsuccessful. It is a legitimate, though not perhaps a perfectly satisfactory, weapon : it is no doubt a capital 'argumentum ad hominem' to shew that the advocate of *ultraism* was essentially *egoistic* and vain ; and in so far as his followers build upon the foundation of Comte's individual intellect, such an argument is very telling. As a matter of fact, however, Comte was the product of the age in which he lived : however vain and at times insane he may have been, and however absurd some of the details of his speculations, the broad principles of his system are too much in accord with the spirit of the age to be overcome by personal ridicule, however just. Many of the leading men of the day from J. S. Mill to Congreve have testified their more or less complete approval of his writings ; and we are quite certain that all who are bitten by the spirit of modern civilisation, will tend more and more in the same direction every year, however meanly they may think of Comte himself. His religion of humanity will never be received : men who have cast off the yoke of the Divinity will never consent to be entangled in the meshes of an imaginary humanity ; and the fact that while he has tens of thousands of *admirers*, he has only between forty and fifty *followers* shews this beyond question ; but with his philosophical system it is different. The *drift* of modern *philosophy* is in the direction of Positivism, and every year this will become more apparent. It will however have one compensatory effect, *viz.*, that many men will awake and find out where they are drifting too, and will perhaps re-trace their steps before they have gone too far.

The pamphlet by a Positivist is evidently written by one who thoroughly understands his system ; and those who wish to see it expounded by an avowed friend, may read it with the confident assurance that its principles are ably and candidly set forth.

*On the Legend of Tristan. Its origion in Myth and its Development in Romance, by Edward Tyrrell Leith, L. L. B.*

THE object of this pamphlet, which was read before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is to show that the legend of Tristan and Isolde is eastern or Aryan in pedigree, and

has its origin in myth. Tristan represents, we are told, the Sun-god, King Mark the Storm god :—

“ His swine or boars, like the Vedic *Maruts*, are the raging winds that follow in his train, whose inactivity during the Summer months would not improbably be figured forth by their being under the custody of the Sun-god Tristan. The antagonism between the aged monarch and his youthful heir would be that between the stormy Winter and the golden Spring-tide. Isolde, retaining the character of Earth-goddess already ascribed to her, gives herself up joyously to the embraces of the youthful Sun-god who woos her. The Magic Draught, brought down by the mythic cloud-bird, becomes the welcome vernal shower, through whose life-giving influence the Earth is rendered fruitful. At length bleak Winter returns, and, like Mark, re-asserts his power over the hapless Queen ; while the stricken Sun-god dies, or wanders to other lands and seeks another bride.”

Any of our readers who believe in the wild hypotheses by which these sort of fancies are worked out, will no doubt be interested in the pamphlet under review. For ourselves we have long since been convinced that the poem about Jack and Jill going up a hill is an ‘ Archaic Arian myth.’ Jack represents the Sun-god, and Jill the Moon-god in his youth, that is his first quarter. The ascent is the sunrise followed, of course, in due course by the moonrise. The hill the arch of heaven ; ‘ fetching a pail of water’ is a poetic metaphor for dispersing the clouds. The ‘ fall-down’ is the sunset. Jack’s crown which was broken is the corona of light which surrounds the sun but disappears (is broken) at sunset. Jill it will be seen, has no crown, and speedily follows Jack in his fall. We are thinking of reading a paper on this subject before the Calcutta Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

## THE INDIAN ANNALS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE, No. XXV.

THIS number contains 336 pages of which as nearly as possible one-half is divided between seven articles on subjects more or less closely connected with medicine, and the other half (166 pages) devoted to a single article entitled *Humanity in War*, which, as treated by the writer, has no possible connection with the therapeutic art in any shape or branch. This

peculiarity, however, which causes offence to our sense of congruity, when we find it dwarfing into pigmies the scientific papers which are grouped around it, marks it out, on the other hand, as the only article which may legitimately be made the subject of unprofessional criticism; and separating it from its context and title page, it is readable enough. In fact, the name of its author (Dr. Norman Chevers) is alone sufficient to secure its perusal. If it was intended to be a systematic exposition of the gradual growth of humanity in war, it would certainly, to our mind, lamentably fail in its purpose. It is too discursive, too replete with incident and illustration to *prove* anything. Undoubtedly there have been many humane deeds in war formerly, and there are, as we unfortunately know, but too well many inhumane deeds in modern warfare. If illustrations were of any value as proof, it would be easy, by contrasting the outrages of the English army in the Peninsular sieges, or the brutality of the Southern prisons in the late American war, with the noblest deeds of the Cid, Turenne or Gustavus Adolphus, thereby to infer that inhumanity is on the increase. Hence Dr. Chevers, whose illustrations proceed on exactly the opposite principle, evidently proves nothing, by his method, without some systematic endeavour to shew how far cruelty was the rule and humanity the exception formerly, and humanity the rule and cruelty the exception now; and of this we find but very faint traces.

But we incline to think that we do Dr. Chevers an injustice in supposing that he intended to prove anything by his paper. It seems rather that he assumes throughout as a well-admitted fact that war is becoming more and more humane, and only uses the subject as an occasion to treat us from the store-house of his varied and extensive reading, to a collection of quaint, amusing, and interesting incidents, grouped in accordance with the subjects of Callot's series of pictures on the miseries and misfortunes of war. On this supposition our criticism is entirely disarmed. The article is still a little long, but it is written in a pleasant, chatty style, which subjugates facts to its sway, making them fulfil the functions of fiction. To us it seems occasionally somewhat too "Tupperian," but this is entirely a matter of taste, and we extract a passage to enable our readers to judge for themselves.

"On the other hand, 'It was a maxim with Gustavus, to which 'his practice was always conformable, that the truly brave soldier 'had no need to commit any acts of cruelty *in terrorem*. He

"considered war as dreadful enough in its own nature and consequences ; and thought it became the man of service and the Christian to mollify its severities rather than heighten them."

"A less humane general bequeathed a like sentiment to his successors,—“ Cruelty can only be justified by necessity.”\*

#### REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

‘Blessed are the merciful for they shall receive mercy.’

Having thus ventilated the only objections we can allege, we are debarred by our modesty from saying more in eulogy of a writer

‘Whose praise is hymn’d by loftier harps than ours.’

A reviewer in the *Englishman* of the 15th March, whose well known picturesque style has enabled the public to identify him at once, has already drawn the public attention to its merits. “The real charm of the book is not so much the graceful style and fund of illustration that render a naturally dry subject attractive, as the noble and unostentatious philanthropy which runs through the whole like a fine silver thread, imperceptible to the careless eye and subdued to the purposes of high art.”

But to this reviewer is also due the merit of having drawn our attention to a particular portion of Dr. Chevers’ paper that might otherwise have escaped the notice of ‘a careless eye.’ “We cordially agree,” he says, “with the concluding pages in which Doctor Chevers urge upon the Indian Government the duty of becoming better acquainted with the tribes and frontier peoples of its Empire as an important step towards Humanity in war.”

Not readily perceiving the connection, we referred to the concluding part of the article for explanation, and eight pages from the end we found the following which is the only passage in which any reference at all is made to the frontier peoples of our Indian empire :

“In that noble Dissertation which precedes his now universally famous *Comparative Dictionary of the non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*, my friend Mr. W. W. Hunter enables us to set forth a beautiful illustration of the means by which the wildest tribes—their languages and their customs being duly understood, their valour, their activity, their natural intelligence and their other good qualities being justly appreciated —may be regarded as good material for friends and allies.

---

\* Buonaparte’s Table Talk.

"He shows that those aboriginal hill people of Bengal of whom the Sonthals, the Garrows, and the Loshais may be taken as representatives, were ever regarded by their Aryan conquerors as beings more degraded and malignant than the brutes—to Hindu and Mussalman alike they were—"serpents," "monkeys," "devil-worshippers," "outcasts, hateful alike to gods and men," "black, ugly, barbarous and dangerous." Until of late years, our own Government has, by no means without reason, viewed them as dangerous and very impracticable neighbours.

"To Mr. Hunter must be assigned the honour of having constructed a bridge, across which we may approach these rude but gallant people with the hand of protection extended.—*He has given us a key to their Languages*—he has given us, as I believe, a better idea than we ever had before of their real national position, virtually besieged and starved in their barren hill-fastnesses, as they have continued to be throughout all historic time, by the people of the plains; and he has pointed out to us that as, a hundred years ago, we at once pacified and indulged the warlike spirit of the Highlander by making him our soldier, the Nagas, Bhutanese and Khasias may, at no very distant period, be appointed the faithful guardians of the plains which now view them only less suspiciously—(and that merely in contempt for their comparative weakness)—than the Saxon of the Heptarchy viewed the Dane."

It will be seen that Doctor Chevers does not urge anything upon the Indian Government, and he in no way introduces the passage as an 'important step towards Humanity in war.' On the contrary, it comes in entirely incidentally, and could be omitted without the context being in the least affected; it seems rather as if Dr. Chevers had gone out of his way to introduce a eulogy of "my friend Mr. W. W. Hunter," in no stinted or measured terms,—and this is the passage which the writer of the review in the *Englishman* specially selects for his cordial agreement!

Horace gibbets two brothers for *mutual* adulation:—

Frater erat Romæ consulti rhetor ut alter.  
Alterius sermone meros audiret honores  
Gracchus ut hic illi foret huic ut Mucius ille.

But even Horace's rhetor apparently shrank from basing his brother's title to be a Scævola on his discernment in detecting a Gracchus in himself.



We hope Mr. Hunter will take it in good part when we say that the public are too much interested in his good name and fame not to view such proceedings with the sincerest regret. Though many may be sceptical of the linguistic attainments, or of the originality or value of the political theories of Mr. Hunter, all are ready to acknowledge the beauty of style and diction and the elegance of thought which stamp his writings. This alone is sufficient to secure him a prominent niche in the temple of Anglo-Indian fame, unless he makes himself his own worst enemy. But one of the consequences of this power of picturesque writing which he possesses, is that his productions are easily identified. Others, if they can reconcile themselves to such a course, may be able to sing their own praises anonymously, but Mr. Hunter cannot with impunity follow the example of 'the great and good Dr. McNeile.'

*Punjab Products, Vol. I, prepared under the orders of  
Government, by Baden H. Powell, B. C. S.*

WE owe this work to the Punjab Exhibition of 1864. Prepared after the close of that Exhibition, it was originally intended as a catalogue, but has grown into a very complete and useful work styled a 'Hand-book,' we suppose because even one volume is far more than any person would like to carry about in their hand.

Not the least useful portion of the work is the copious 'Index and Glossary of Technical Vernacular words.' Surely, however, it was an unnecessary precaution to include in this index such words as 'gídar a jackal ; and 'gadhá, an ass' even if these are to be ranked among 'Punjab products.'—

*Remarks on the State Paper Currency of India, by  
G. W. Cline, L. L. D., F. G. S., Assistant Commissioner  
of Currency.*

AMONG all the sciences, few are generally voted as dull as political economy, and no branch of political economy is more dull than that which deals with 'The Currency'. We therefore arrogate to ourselves no little credit for having had the courage to wade through such subjects as the 'Metallic currency of India limited in its circulation,' 'Difficulties in the introduction of a gold coinage,' 'A universal note for India,' the monotony of this

wading being not unseldom relieved by a little 'skipping.'—but the subject useful and important as we admit it to be, was uncongenial and we cannot undertake to comment on it. Once only was a spark of enthusiasm awakened when the writer comments on the practical suggestions made by the currency Commission and the evidence of Colonel Hide- (*sic*), Head Commissioner of Currency. "Among the practical suggestions offered by the Commission to extend the circulation, none will be found more expedient than to separate the office of Currency Commissioner from that of Mint Master and to raise the salaries of Assistant Commissioners, and to fix them on a uniform system." At last we had a fellow-feeling with the writer. We found we had something in common. Somehow or other whenever we engage in profound meditation on the best means of reforming or improving the department with which we are connected, it always ends in a firm conviction that the most expedient and practical suggestion that can be made is to increase our own salaries.

*A Lecture on the Life and Character of the Hon'ble  
Shumbunath Pundit. By Dinabandhu Sanyal.*

THIS lecture is of course highly, in some places extravagantly, eulogistic; but the late Native Judge of the High Court was too universally and deservedly esteemed to render it an agreeable or needful task for us to pick any holes in it.

*Thoughts from a Bengallee Cottage. By Thakoor Das  
Banerjea.*

No. II.

WHEN confronted with Thakoor Das Banerjea we feel ourselves as awe-struck as the *Pioneer* in the presence of the one hundred and forty languages of the "Comparative Dictionary." Surely there cannot be ten men in the world sufficiently advanced and enlightened to appreciate at their true value the thoughts which emanate from this Bengallee Cottage. We must content ourselves with admiring from a far off while we allow the object of our veneration to dilate in his own words on the crowning virtue which so honourably distinguishes Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen.

"We now come to a more agreeable part of our task. We have heard from several reliable sources that Keshub has abstained,

" from animal food. If this be true, and we have no doubt it is,  
 " then he is a man very much to be respected. It is certainly re-  
 " freshing, at this time of day, when carnivorous gentlemen, both  
 " European and Native, are so numerous, to come across a man  
 " who, like the pious Swedenborg and Pythagoras, feeling com-  
 " passion towards poor, innocent animals, thinks it profane to  
 " butcher them mercilessly and eat their flesh like the vulture.  
 " Persevere, O! Baboo, in your honourable course, and you will be  
 " the healthiest of mortals. Be cautious that you may not fall  
 " back into your former habit. Do not hear, even if you be sick  
 " or weak, the advices of some unphilosophical medical men who  
 " to restore the lost vigour of any individual, prescribe, as is their  
 " wont, chicken broth; as if the chicken, and not the God  
 " Almighty, is the source of all our strength. The way to be  
 " strong, my friend, is to resign ourselves to God. It is an ' open  
 " secret' of the universe, that a short prayer and *this* alcove, can  
 " do *that* for our strength, which millions on millions of chickens  
 " cannot. By the sheer force of Prayer alone, I think I can  
 " shake the world to its centre. Before the awful presence of  
 " the Almighty Force of Prayer, even the British lion, I venture  
 " to assert, is dumb and cannot erect its head. It is mightier than  
 " the mightiest of monarchs and can conquer him in an instant of  
 " time. It fears nothing, but rests securely on the impregnable  
 " fortification of hope. Besides, it washes off the gross impurities  
 " of the mind which are the prolific causes of diseases which flesh  
 " is heir to. Being horsed on Prayer, religious martyrs triumphed  
 " over penury, pain, and even death. O prayer, thou art a great  
 " magician! What secret wonders are you performing in the  
 " interior portion of my brain! I am now superior to all the  
 " petty cares and tumults of this life! My vital light is no longer  
 " flickering, but shining with a steadiness wondrous to behold  
 " and beautiful to contemplate! I see the rays of my soul ascend-  
 " ing in flames to heaven! My thoughts are not skimming over  
 " the surface of things, but penetrating into the inmost depths of  
 " their being! I see my mind, by an ethereal medium, connected  
 " with the angel world! I see I am mesmerized! I am happy! I  
 " am strong! Be off from my mind, O intruding shapes of flesh-  
 " eaters! I cannot brook your presence. I care little, very little  
 " for you. But O poor cows and chickens, goats and fishes, I care,  
 " you very much, care you not for eating, but for the preservation  
 " of your lives. Though the whole *melecho* world has become  
 " your enemy, yet believe you have a friend who is trying, head  
 " and heart, for your good. How far he will be successful in his

“ attempt he can not tell ; but he has determined even to risk his  
“ own life for your welfare !”

After this who will dare to say that the Hindu intellect is  
deficient in depth or solidity ?

WE acknowledge with thanks the Administration Report of  
the Calcutta Municipality for the year 1868. It is interesting  
and well worthy of review ; but even if our ‘ Short Notices  
were not already too ‘ long’ as an Irishman might say, we  
should fear the result of encroaching on Mr. J. B. Roberts’  
preserve. ●



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*In gilt Frames, unless otherwise described.*

Just Caught, 38½ by 27,	Rs. 35, cash 28.	
Ordered on Foreign Service, 33 by 26,	Rs. 35, cash 28.	
The Wounded Hound, 40 by 29,	Rs. 35, cash 28.	
The Girl I left behind me, 33 by 26,	Rs. 35, cash 28.	
The Bashful Lover and the Maiden Coy, 28 by 22,	Rs. 30,	
	cash 24.	
The Orphan's Dream, 34 by 25,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The Emigrant's Letter, 34 by 25,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The Game-keeper's Daughter, 33 by 26,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The First Parting, 30 by 23,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
Daddy's Coming, 32 by 23½,	Rs. 28, cash 23.	
The Dawn of Love, 29 by 22,	Rs. 25, cash 20.	
The Soldier's Home, 32 by 23,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The Mother's Blessing, 28 by 21,	Rs. 28, cash 23.	
The Rescue of Margaret of Anjou, 28½ by 23½,	Rs. 28,	
	cash 23.	
A Distinguished Member of the Benevolent Society, 36 by 24½,	Rs. 28, cash 23.	
The English Game-keeper, 30 by 22,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The Parable of the Lily, 38 by 27,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The Saviour's Advice to the Rich Man, 38 by 27,	Rs. 30,	
	cash 24.	
Christ Blessing little Children, 38 by 27,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
Christ Weeping over Jerusalem, 33 by 26,	Rs. 30, cash 24.	
The Outcast of the People, 40 by 29,	Rs. 35, cash 27.	
Pharaoh's Horses,	30 by 29,	} Rs. 60, cash 55 per pair.
The Society of Friends,	30 by 29,	
Death of the Stag,	42 by 29,	} Rs. 90, cash 70 per pair.
The Combat,	42 by 29,	
The Impending Mate,	29 by 24,	} Rs. 30, cash 24 per pair.
Mated,	29 by 24,	
The Halt,	37½ by 29,	} Rs. 56, cash 47 per pair.
Feeding the Horse,	37½ by 29,	
	37 by 28½,	Rs. 35, cash 28.
Duet,	37 by 28,	Rs. 30, cash 24.
Prison Window,	33 by 25,	Rs. 30, cash 24.
For Belles,	32 by 24,	Rs. 20, cash 17.

The Noble Army of Martyrs Praise Thee, 24 by 20½, Rs. 15, cash 12.

Honor thy Father and thy Mother, 24 by 20½, Rs. 15, cash 12.

Ruth in the Fields of Boaz, 28 by 18½, Rs. 28, cash 23.

Rebekkah sees the Approach of Abraham's Servant, 28 by 18½, Rs. 28, cash 23.

My Chickens for Sale,	24 by 18,	{ In maple frame, Rs. 40, cash 34 per pair.
Maid of the Mill,	24 by 18,	

Wild Honey Suckle,	19½ by 15,	{ Rs. 24, cash 20 per pair.
The Rose,	19½ by 15,	

The Forget-Me-Not,	17½ by 14,	Rs. 20, cash 17 per pair.
Passion Flower,	17½ by 14,	

Emblems of Love,	18 by 14½,	Rs. 12, cash 10.
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The Orphans,	28 by 23,	Rs. 28, cash 24.
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First Lesson in Navigation, 32 by 22½, Rs. 26, cash 21.

The Biter Bit, 29 by 21½, Rs. 28, cash 23.

A Chip of the old Block, 27 by 21½, Rs. 28, cash 23.

The Successful Deer Stalkers, 30 by 23½, Rs. 20, cash 17.

The Sleeping Bloodhound, 26 by 21½, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Liberation of Thomas A. Becket, 27 by 23, Rs. 25, cash 21.

Page d'Or (colored), 24 by 18, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Honor thy Father and thy Mother (colored), 24 by 16, Rs. 20.

The Fairy Well (colored), 26 by 18, Rs. 25, cash 21.

The Maid of the Mill, 26 by 18, Rs. 25, cash 21.

Reine de Champs (colored), 23 by 18½, Rs. 25, cash 21.

Garibaldi,	23 by 17,	Rs. 15, cash 12.
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The Falconer's Son,	17 by 15½,	{ Rs. 30, cash 25 per pair.
The Angler's Daughter,	17 by 15½,	

The Water Lily,	24 by 21½,	Rs. 20, cash 17.
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The Stepping Stones,	23½ by 21,	{ Rs. 30, cash 25.
The Dew of the Heather,	23½ by 21,	

Hopes and Tears, "The Return,"	23 by 17,	{ Rs. 30, cash 25.
Hopes and Fears,	23 by 17, "Home,"	

Deer Stalker's Reposing,	28 by 23,	Rs. 20, cash 17.
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Sylvia, in maple frame, 24 by 18, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Guardian Angels, 23½ by 18, Rs. 15, cash 12.

The Installation on the Musnud of His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, 34 by 28, Rs. 50, cash 40.

The Dussorah Durbar of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, 34 by 28, Rs. 50, cash 40.

The Nautch, 30 by 22, Rs. 40, cash 33.

Waiting for the Deer to rise, 34 by 28, Rs. 50, cash 40.

The Shot, 34 by 28, Rs. 50, cash 40.

The Doves, 25 by 18½, Rs. 22, cash 18.

The Hero and his Horse on the Field of Waterloo, 23 by 21, Rs. 15, cash 12.

On the Thames, 30 by 25, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Mamma's Birthday, 24½ by 22, Rs. 20, cash 17.

The Highland Refugees, 28½ by 23, Rs. 26, cash 21.

Three to one on the Fox, 30 by 25, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Peninsular Heroes at the United Service Club, 40 by 29, Rs. 60, cash 50.

The Waterloo Heroes assembled at Apsley House, 40 by 29, Rs. 60, cash 50.

H. H. the Prince Consort, 31 by 22½, Rs. 35, cash 28.

Sir William Peel, 31 by 22½, Rs. 35, cash 28.

The Maid and the Magpie, 36 by 29, Rs. 35, cash 28.

The Rustic Toilet, 29 by 23, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Cover Halt, 39 by 32, Rs. 32, cash 25.

Favourities, 3 by 29, Rs. 30, cash 24.

The Bible, 34 by 29, Rs. 40, cash 32.

A Piper and pair of Nutcrackers, 31½ by 27, Rs. 28, cash, 23.

Wellington visiting the Relics of Napoleon, in maple frame, 33 by 28, Rs. 40, cash 30.

Lord Clyde, in maple frame, 33 by 21, Rs. 25, cash 20.

Duke of Wellington, in maple frame, 33 by 21, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Lord Raglan, in maple frame, 33 by 21, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Earl of Elgin, in maple frame, 33 by 21, Rs. 30, cash 24.

The Order of Release, in maple frame, 31 by 22, Rs. 30, cash 24.

In Memoriam Lucknow, in maple frame, 35 by 27, Rs. 30, cash 24.

A Dialogue at Waterloo, 47 by 27, Rs. 70, cash 60.

May Heaven protect You, in maple frame, 30 by 23, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Horse Fair, in black papier maché frame, 46 by 25, Rs. 60, cash 50.

Young Scotland (colored), in maple frame, 19 by 15, Rs. 10, cash 9.

The Prison Window, in maple frame, 32 by 23, Rs. 30, cash 24.

Cromwell resolving to refuse the Crown, in maple frame, 22 by 17, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Mother's Shadow, in black papier mache frame, 19 by 18, Rs. 16, cash 13.

The Scape Goat, in maple frame, 36 by 26, Rs. 40, cash 30.

The Prince and Princess Royal of Prussia, in curved bean frame, 19 by 18, Rs. 12, cash 10.

Shoeing the Horse, in maple frame, 36 by 28, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Standard Bearer, in maple frame, 39 by 30, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Shepherd's Prayer, in black papier mache frame, 44 by 28, Rs. 55, cash 47.

Happy as a Queen (colored), in green papier mache frame, 26 by 19, Rs. 20, cash 17.

a Chromo-Lithograph, 24 by 20, Rs. 20, cash 17.

The Lion in Love, 31 by 22, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Death-bed of Wesley, 36 by 30, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Pen, Brush, and Chisel, in maple frame, 29 by 29, Rs. 45, cash 36.

A Speaking Likeness, 26 by 20, Rs. 21, cash 17.

Thine Own, in gilt papier mache frame, 28 by 21, Rs. 25, cash 20.

A Morning Walk, in gilt papier mache frame, 28 by 21, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Stream of Life, 30 by 27, Rs. 28, cash 24.

Nobody ax'd You, Sir, She said, 31 by 22, Rs. 25, cash 21.

Otter and Salmon, in maple frame, 38 by 27, Rs. 35, cash 28.

Rev. Daniel Wilson, in black papier mache frame, 21 by 17, Rs. 18, cash 15.

General Havelock, in black papier mache frame, 22 by 18, Rs. 18, cash 15.

Rev. Dr. Summer, in maple frame, 26 by 20, Rs. 18, cash 15.

Lord Macaulay, in maple frame, 20 by 17, Rs. 18, cash 15.



The Alms Deeds of Dorcas, in papier mache frame, 29 by 22, Rs. 28, cash 20.

Goody Two Shoes, in curved wood frame, 27 by 22, Rs. 20, cash 17.

Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, in papier mache frame, 27 by 18, Rs. 30, cash 23 per pair.

The Inundation, in gilt paper mache, 38 by 34, Rs. 25, cash 20.

The Sentinel, in maple wood frame, 29 by 26, Rs. 20, cash 15.









